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Democrats Agree on Firm Civil Rights Stand

WASHINGTON, Oct. 20 (AP). — The Democratic Advisory Council today adopted what was described as a no-compromise stand on civil rights. It also directed its staff to study the need for recommending new legislation, possibly to cover other than just voting rights.

Inquirer
Mon. 10-21-57

The 24-member council, which includes former President Truman and Adlai Stevenson, voted unanimously not to make public its civil rights statement until tomorrow. However, several of the 17 members who met here today indicated its tenor.

Gov. Averell Harriman of New York, a strong supporter of civil rights legislation, said he was satisfied with the statement. He said it means the Democratic Party will never back down on civil rights.

All Democratic National Chairman Paul M. Butler would say about the civil rights statement was that one of two Southern members present voted against it. One member said the lone dissenter was Mrs. Benjamin B. Everett, North Carolina national committeewoman.

Harriman said the council held up immediate publication of the civil rights statement in order to get a "better play" in the newspapers for an eight-page declaration against tight money and high prices.

Philadelphia Pa.

The economic statement approved by the council criticized the Eisenhower Administration for what it called a "negative" policy to combat the "worst peacetime inflation" in history.

The civil rights statement also was reported to have criticized Mr. Eisenhower for not appointing by now the civil rights commission and a new assistant attorney general provided for in the civil rights bill passed earlier this year by Congress.

That bill confined itself to assuring voting rights to Negroes and other minorities, but several Northern Democrats have indicated they might move next session to broaden the act to cover other rights embraced in the old "Title 3," which were eliminated from the bill before passage. These rights may come within the scope of the council staff study called for in the new policy statement.

10 1957

CIVIL RIGHTS:

What's in the Works

Although the Senate had not yet even voted to take up the civil-rights bill, the final outcome of the great debate was already taking shape this week:

- ▶A civil-rights bill will almost certainly be passed in this session of Congress.
- ▶It will not be the bill that came over from the House; it will be rewritten from beginning to end.
- ▶The rewriting will be a slow, painful process in which every sentence will be hammered out in debate.
- ▶The final product will, more than likely, guarantee voting rights and no other rights, and it will probably provide jury trials where the facts are in dispute.

Some compromise is sure to come, and last week the corridors and cloakrooms of the Capitol were thick with talk of compromise. In fact, in the first hours of the debate, Wyoming's Democratic Sen. Joseph C. O'Mahoney made a major address pegged to the concept of compromise. "Legislation proceeds by compromise," he said. "It is impossible for any person to stand before a legislative body in a free government and say: 'I know what the law ought to be.' In a free government those who propose legislation must be willing to compromise if they want to get results."

The Southerners talked of compromise, too, for many of them conceded that the right to vote should not be curtailed. In a radio-TV talk to his people back home, Florida's Sen. George A. Smathers—speaking as a good Southerner—blasted the bill as "political opportunism." At the same time, he made a significant statement: "I would not condone, or protect, any official who in any way participated in depriving any citizen of his right to vote."

But the compromise talk, though inevitable, also was premature—and highly embarrassing to both the last-ditch Southerners and the last-ditch Northerners. Republican Senate leader William F. Knowland of California was as busy trying to stamp out compromise talk as a prairie farmer trying to stamp out a grass fire.

House Pressure: Knowland was under heavy pressure from Republicans in the House, who had staked their prestige on the bill as written. If Knowland yielded now, he would be letting them down. As a result, both Knowland and Attorney General Herbert Brownell persuaded President Eisenhower to reject all talk of compromise—at least, for the time being.

That was why Sen. Richard B. Russell of Georgia, the leader of the bill's opponents, seemed unsatisfied and disheartened when he came out of his 50-minute conference with the President on the civil-rights bill. The President would talk of "clarification," but he would not talk of "compromise."

Almost everybody on Capitol Hill was resigned now to a round-the-clock filibuster. Nothing, it seemed, could prevent it. The reason was that both the Northern liberals and the Southern segregationists needed to stage a filibuster for the folks back home.

Without a filibuster, such liberals as Illinois's Paul Douglas couldn't convince anyone in the North that they had tried to get a meaningful civil-rights bill. Without a filibuster, such senators as Strom Thurmond of South Carolina couldn't convince anyone in the South that they had bled and died to stop the bill.

But no filibuster can last forever. To get enough votes to end it, the Knowland-Douglas forces will be compelled to yield to compromises written by men like O'Mahoney, men who can safely take a public stand somewhere in the middle.

DEMOCRATS ON CIVIL RIGHTS

The brief statement on civil rights issued by the Democratic Advisory Committee represents a typically political mixture of justified criticism of the President and extreme political partisanship.

The justified criticism is to be found in the attack on President Eisenhower for his failure "to take an early and firm position for observance of the provisions of the Constitution and the laws of the United States." We agree—and have said many times—that the President was inexcusably slow in awakening to the tough realities of the situation in Little Rock brought about when Governor Faubus of Arkansas called out the National Guard in effect to prevent integration.

But this is also where the strident partisanship of the Democrats comes in. The President's failure, they say, was "substantially responsible" for the trouble at Little Rock. They say this without so much as a word of mention of Governor Faubus, whose actions were of course at the root of the problem. In extenuation, the Democrats explain that an earlier pronouncement of Sept. 15 took care of Governor Faubus. At that time they said that his action "does not represent the position or policy of the Democratic party"; but it is strange that they did no more than allude to this comment in their new statement, which focused all blame on the President.

But is it really so strange? The Democratic party is split right down the middle on the civil rights issue; and the more completely blame for civil wrongs can be shifted from the Democratic Governor of a Democratic state to the Republican President of the United States, the happier for the Democrats. The Advisory Council is dominated by the Northern liberal, non-Congressional wing of the Democratic party—the wing that habitually nominates the President but fails to control the Congress—and presumably most of even this group doesn't yet want to alienate the Southerners beyond hope of recall.

However, the feeling is growing among some Northern Democrats that in national elections they would actually be better off without the Southern civil-rights albatross about their necks. That is why we are beginning to hear some pretty independent noises among Northern Democratic politicians who are conscious of the role the Negro vote may play in their own political fortunes. Altogether, a Democrat's lot these days on the civil rights issue is not a happy one; and the Advisory Council's statement doesn't do much—if anything—to improve it

BY CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS

Compromise OKd For Rights Bill

WASHINGTON, Aug. 23 (AP)— A compromise civil rights bill was agreed upon today by congressional leaders in an extraordinary series of conferences that shattered a deadlock delaying the adjournment of Congress.

The leaders, Democratic and Republican, predicted the compromise would slide through Congress next week, clearing the way for adjournment. President Eisenhower was reported ready to accept it.

The heart of the compromise is a sort of hybrid between the conflicting concepts of jury trials and trial by judges in criminal contempt of court cases arising from alleged violations of voting rights.

It would work this way:

In a voting rights case, if a person were accused of criminal contempt for violating a federal court order, the judge would decide whether to try the case with or without a jury.

In either case, the maximum punishment could not exceed six months imprisonment and $1,000 fine.

But if the trial were conducted without a jury and the judge imposed a penalty greater than 45 days imprisonment or $300 fine the defendant could demand a completely new trial before a jury.

The compromise thus steered a middle ground between the bill as passed by the Senate—providing jury trials in all voting rights cases and a variety of other injunction procedures as well—and the Republican proposal that jury trials should be guaranteed only in voting rights cases and then only if the possible penalty exceeded $300 or 90 days imprisonment.

With the compromise wrapped up by the leaders, the main provisions of the bill as it will come before Senate and House for final ratification are these:

1. The attorney general would be empowered to apply to federal courts for injunctions to halt violations or threatened violations of voting rights. Violators of the injunctions would risk contempt of court action. If it were civil contempt action—designed to induce obedience—there would be no jury trial. If it were criminal contempt action, the compromise proceedings announced today would apply.

2. A new civil rights division would be set up in the Justice Department, with an assistant attorney general in charge.

3. A section designed to guarantee qualified Negroes and other minorities the right to serve on federal juries whether or not they are qualified under state law.

4. A federal civil rights commission, with subpoena powers, to investigate civil rights problems.

The leaders agreed today that the House Rules Committee will fashion an amendment to this fourth section to make plain that a provision for jail penalties for persons making unauthorized disclosures of commission proceedings shall not apply to newsmen. There had been protests that reporters doing their job of gathering the news could be jailed under the provision.

Party leaders unveiled the agreement at an unusual joint news conference in the office of House Speaker Rayburn (D-Tex). Johnson and the two Republican leaders, Sen. Knowland of California and Rep. Martin of Massachusetts, were there.

Text Of Compromise Rights Amendment

WASHINGTON, Aug. 23 (AP) — Following is the text of the compromise amendment which congressional leaders here agreed would be included in the civil

rights bill:

"In all cases of criminal contempt arising under the provisions of this act, the accused, upon conviction shall be punished by fine or imprisonment or both: provided, however, that in case the accused is a natural person the fine to be paid shall not exceed the sum of $1,000, nor shall imprisonment exceed the term of six months: provided, further, that in any such proceeding for criminal contempt, at the discretion of the judge, the accused may be tried with or without a jury; provided further, however, that in the event such proceeding for criminal contempt be tried before a judge without a jury and the sentence of the court upon conviction is a fine in excess of the sum of $300 or imprisonment in excess of 45 days, the accused in said proceeding, upon demand therefor, shall be entitled to a trial de novo (anew, afresh) before a jury, which shall conform as near as may be to the practice in other criminal cases."

In law, a natural person is an individual human being, as distinguished from an organization.

White House Mum On Civil Rights Posts

WASHINGTON, Oct. 29 (AP) — A report that President Eisenhower may name Adlai Stevenson to the new civil rights commission drew a noncommittal reaction from the White House today.

Stevenson himself declined to comment on the matter and James C. Hagerty, White House press secretary, would neither confirm nor deny the report.

However, an administration official who would be expected to know about such things discounted the idea that Stevenson will be appointed to the six-member commission.

The commission was provided for in the civil rights bill approved by Congress in August. The group would make a two-year study of civil rights problems, then file a report and recommendations before going out of existence.

In a Washington dispatch, the New York Herald Tribune said Stevenson had been approached by the administration about serving on the bipartisan commission. It said the Illinois Democrat, defeated by Eisenhower in the 1952 and 1956 presidential races, was reported inclined to turn down the offer.

Hagerty, asked about the newspaper story, said he would hold to a long standing policy of refusing to comment on speculation regarding prospective federal appointments.

He went on to suggest that newsmen ask Stevenson about the report.

In Chicago, Stevenson declined to comment on the Herald Tribune account.

Hagerty also suggested newsmen question others mentioned by the Herald Tribune as being considered for places on the commission. The newspaper named former Gov. Allan Shivers of Texas an Eisenhower Democrat; General of the Army Douglas MacArthur, former Sen. Frank Graham (D-NC), and Palmer Hoyt, publisher of the Denver Post. It said not all of these men were aware they were under consideration.

2 Governors Ask Northern Rights Session

ALBANY, N.Y., Nov. 6 (AP)—Two Democratic governors today called for a 12-state conference on what they termed the North's "own special problems" in civil rights.

Govs. Averell Harriman of New York and G. Mennen Williams of Michigan invited governors of 10 other Northern states to meet Dec. 12 in New York City to draft an accelerated program against racial and religious discrimination.

GET INVITATIONS

Invitations went to Govs. Stephen McNichols of Colordao, Abraham A. Ribicoff of Connecticut, Foster Furcolo of Massachusetts, Orville L. Freeman of Minnesota, Robert Meyner of New Jersey, Robert D. Holmes of Oregon, George M. Leader of Pennsylvania, Dennis J. Roberts of Rhode Island, Albert D. Rosellini of Washington and Vernon W. Thomson of Wisconsin.

Thomson is a Republican. All the others are Democrats.

The Harriman-Williams invitation said a purpose of the conference will be an exploration of "the best methods for the removal of obstacles to equal opportunity and for the improvement of the status, education, employment and housing opportunities of minorities."

JOINT STATEMENT

A joint statement by the two sponsoring governors said invitations had gone only to states with fair employment laws and "administrative machinery for their enforcement."

Harriman and Williams said in the invitation:

"Although the principal emphasis on the civil rights issue in recent months has been focused in the South, states in the North have their own special problems pressing for solution.

"We believe all the states with effective laws for the protection of . . . minorities should at this time assess the situation in light of what they have accomplished to date and outline a program that will accelerate the fulfillment of their objectives."

Grant Believes 'Uncivil' Rights Bill Will Be Changed By Public Opinion

By MILDRED SMITH

Blasting the civil rights bill in a speech at Ramer Friday night, Rep. George Grant called civil rights legislation "as uncivil as anything that ever happened" and expressed firm belief that "public opinion would force Congress to change this law."

Addressing the Montgomery County High School Alumni Assn., Grant said that "we do not know the full significance of the civil rights bill."

Accusing both Republicans and "my own part the Democrats," for voting for civil rights purely as a political expedient, Grant said it was "sad to see members of Congress promise one thing when in the cloakroom and then go out and vote differently.

GRANT

The Congressman attacked particularly the new method of selecting federal jurors as provided in the civil rights bill, and said:

"If the federal judge wants to, he can try you without a jury, and if there is a jury you can be sure it is stacked."

He referred to the fact that federal jurors were formerly selected according to the laws of the state in which a case was tried.

TROOPS IN ARKANSAS

Referring to President Eisenhower's statement that he did not want the right to send troops to enforce integration, Grant said sending troops into Little Rock set the Negro back further than any other one thing had done.

Turning to the recent launching by the Russians of two satellites, the speaker said he had "utmost confidence in the ability, know-how and what-it-takes of American scientists."

During the past two years, the pressure for scientific advancement has been swapped for pressure of integration, he pointed out.

PRESERVE NATION

Calling this the period of automation, the "second phase of the industrial revolution," the speaker concluded:

"We must be of one mind to preserve our nation. There is only one thing other nations respect and that is power. We must keep this nation strong."

At a business meeting, the alumni elevated Thomas Reynolds of Prattville from vice president to president. He succeeds Paul H. Story of Montgomery.

Other officers elected were Knox McLaney, Sprague, vice president; Mrs. Betty Menefee, Ramer, secretary.

Reelected were Miss Lillie Mae Findley, Sellers, treasurer; Mrs. Ora Lee Raley Park, Troy, historian; Jimmy Ford, Inverness, chaplain.

Honor guests were P. H. Harris, former principal of Montgomery County High School, and Mrs. Harris, a former member of the Ramer elementary school faculty, both of whom are now at Maxwell AFB school; J. E. Morris, former agriculture teacher, who is now Elmore County agent, and Mrs. Morris, also a former faculty member and now a teacher in Wetumpka.

The classes of 1927, 1937, 1947 and 1957 were recognized. The welcome was given by Bobby Cook, president of the 1957-58 class, and Principal Truman Cummings. Special music was by the school band and glee club.

10 1957

Hannah Is Named Head Of Civil-Rights Group

Michigan State University Chief, Commission, Ike To Meet Jan. 3; Floridian Also Chosen

From Wire Dispatches

Washington, Dec. 23.—John A. Hannah, president of Michigan State University, was named chairman of the Civil Rights Commission by President Eisenhower Monday.

Hannah, already a member of the six-man commission will succeed former Supreme Court Justice Stanley F. Reed of Maysville, Ky., as chairman.

Reed resigned earlier this month, having decided that service on the commission would be incompatible with his obligations as a judge. While retired from the Supreme Court, Reed is still available for duty in other federal courts.

2-Year Probe Planned

Doyle Elam Carlton, 70, former Democratic Governor of Florida, was nominated by Eisenhower, to bring the commission up to full strength. Carlton, a Tampa lawyer, governed Florida from 1929 to 1933.

The commission was created by Congress last summer to make a two-year investigation of federal laws and policies bearing on civil rights.

Senate Unit Must Act

Nominations for the commissions will have to go through the Senate Judiciary Committee whose chairman, Senator Eastland (D., Miss.), is a noted opponent of all civil-rights measures.

The appointment of Carlton and promotion of Hannah leaves the political balance of the commission as before — three Democrats, two Republicans, and one independent.

The other Democrats are former Governor John S. Battle of Virginia and Robert G. Storey, dean of Southern Methodist University Law School. The other Republican is J. Ernest Wilkins, assistant secretary of labor, a Negro. The independent is the Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, president of University of Notre Dame.

Hannah, reached at East Lansing, Mich., said he would meet with the President and members of the commission January 3. He said:

"In my opinion, the problem with which we have to deal is as important as any confronting the American people today. Wise men have struggled with it for decades, and I have no illusions that this commission will be able to produce the final solution in a few months.

"However, I approach this task with the attitude that men of good will should be able to make some useful contribution in the national interest. More than that I cannot say, pending the first meeting with the President and my colleagues on January 3."

Hannah has at least one significant episode in his record in the area of Negro rights.

Served In Defense Post

He was assistant secretary of defense for manpower and personnel in 1953 and 1954. During that time he directed the program to complete racial integration of the armed forces and of civilian personnel of the services.

There are reliable reports that Hannah was confronted in that period with resistance to integration from one or more of the services. He is said to have taken a strong view that Administration policy and orders had to be obeyed.

Hannah, 55, has been president of Michigan State, with time off for public service, since 1941.

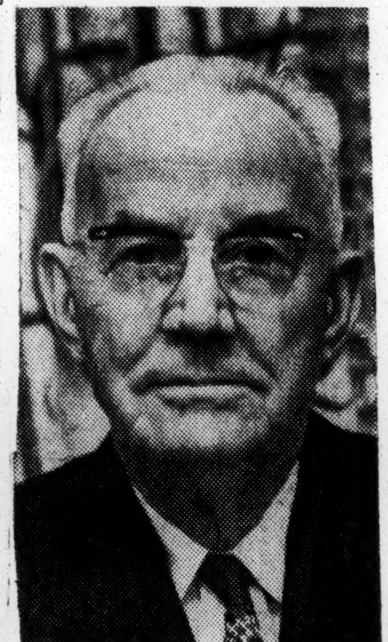
Chairman of Defense Board

He is chairman of the United States section of the joint board for the defense of Canada and the United States and was a member of the Point IV international - development advisory board.

He was born in Grand Rapids, Mich. He and his wife have four children.

In Tampa, Carlton said:

"I'm of course honored by the appointment. It is a position no one would seek because of its responsibility and the difficult problems involved. I am accepting the appointment solely in the spirit of public service.



Associated Press Wirephoto

DOYLE E. CARLTON
Named to civil-rights board

"I feel in times like these no one can justifiably withhold any possible service he may render. If I can be of any aid toward a sane, just, and constructive handling of the matters involved I shall feel repaid for my service."

Carlton was among Southerners at the 1952 Democratic national convention seeking to tone down the party's platform on civil rights. Carlton was pledged to Senator Richard Russell of Georgia at that convention.

He headed the 1956 delegation to the convention, pledged to Adlai Stevenson.

Javits Plans To Defy Ike's Rights Stand

New Yorker To Ask Stronger Bill Despite 'Cooling-Off' Period

By JOHN CHADWICK

WASHINGTON, Dec. 29 (AP) — Sen. Javits (R-NY) said today he will push for stronger civil rights legislation in the coming session of Congress despite the cooling-off period recommended by administration spokesmen.

Javits said he respects the administration's reported position. However, he said Congress members have a "responsibility to press forward whenever the opportunity presents itself to fill the gaps in civil rights legislation."

The New York Republican said in a statement he will introduce a bill to authorize the attorney general to bring injunctive proceedings to enforce civil rights in general, as proposed by the administration at the last session of Congress.

AFTER BITTER STRUGLE

This part of the administration bill was eliminated after a bitter struggle. The civil rights measure finally enacted—the first since the 1870s—limted the use of injunctive proceedngs to the enforcement of voting rights.

It also provided for the establishment of a Civil Rights Division in the Justice Department and the appointment of a six - member commission to study civil rights laws and practices and to submit recommendations to the President.

Meanwhile, Sen. Mike Mansfield (D-Mont) said on NBC-TV's "Meet the Press" program there is no need for further civil rights legislation in the forthcoming session of Congress.

Mansfield, assistant Democratic leader of the Senate, said: "I think it would be better if the hotheads on both sides would sort of give this problem a chance to work itself out and trust to the good will of the great majority of the American people of both races."

Mansfield predicted Congress would bypass further civil rights legislation because "Congress has done its part."

A Supreme Court decision must be enforced by the executive branch of the government "and that means the President of the United States," he said.

While Javits said he hoped his bill to broaden the new civil rights law would rally "substantial support," legislation moving in the opposite direction is being drafted for possible introduction by Southern senators.

Among these are proposals to circumvent the Supreme Court's school integration decision and its ban on racial covenents in the sale of real estate or other private property.

The odds are against passage of any civil rights legislation at the session which begins Jan. 7. However, there may be a lot of oratory over President Eisenhower's use of troops to enforce court-ordered integration at Little Rock's Central High School.

Rock's Central High School.

Atty. Gen. Rogers, whose recent Senate action, said earlier this month he did not plan to recommend to Eisenhower that any additional civil rights legislation be submitted to Congess.

He told a news conference the issues had been fully debated at the last session and said he thought it would be best to "let a little time elapse and see how the new law works."

Similarly, Vice President Nixon said in an interview in Miami yesterday that new civil rights legislation now probably would do more harm than good because it might set up a reaction.

But Little Rock was not mentioned in the resolution.

Compromise On Title III Fails; Civil Rights Section Expected To Face Vote Without Change

Commercial Appeal
Memphis, Tenn. P.1

COALITION IS DIVIDED

Sat. 7-20-57

Agreement Is Still Sought—Ervin Says South Is Ready For Action

By MORRIS CUNNINGHAM
From The Commercial Appeal Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, July 19.—The bipartisan Senate coalition behind the Administration's House-passed Civil Rights Bill split Friday.

Senate Republican Leader William F. Knowland (Calif.) abruptly abandoned efforts to reach an agreement among the bill's backers on modifications to the measure's integration-enforcing Title III.

Earlier, Senator George D. Aiken (R., Vt.), co-sponsor of an amendment to eliminate Title III entirely, heatedly walked out of a closed door meeting of Republican senators.

Charges Politics

He charged his Republican colleagues were trying to play politics with the bill.

Senator Knowland's move came after a day-long attempt to persuade the bill's Democratic and Republican supporters to agree to changes in Title III. He said a compromise "couldn't be worked out to meet the situation and the desires of the various people with whom we had been discussing it."

As a result, he said the bill's supporters will back Title III in its present form.

However, Senators Hubert Humphrey (D., Minn.), Paul H. Douglas (D., Ill.) and Jacob Javits (R., N. Y.) told newsmen new attempts to reach an agreement will be made over the week end.

Time For More Talks

The Senate quit shortly after 5 p.m. until Monday at noon. Senator Humphrey conceded this was to allow time for more compromise talks.

The split in the pro-civil rights coalition gave fresh comfort to Dixie foes of the measure.

Senator Sam J. Ervin Jr. (D., N. C.) said Southerners are ready to vote on Title III. He said they were ready to vote Friday, and will be ready Monday.

Proponents of the bill held the floor Friday. Senator Joseph Clark (D., Penn.) and Senator Charles E. Potter (R., Mich.) shared the time with lengthy speeches, interrupted only by questions.

This, coupled with Senator Ervin's statement, gave credence to reports that the bill's backers are stalling for time to win new converts for Title III in its present form.

Leaders Disagree

There appeared to be little agreement among the bill's supporters. Even the coalition's two speakers Friday disagreed on some details. Senator Clark advocated a jury trial amendment of limited scope. But Senator Potter flatly rejected any jury trial amendment.

And during the day Senator Arthur V. Watkins (R., Utah) bolted the coalition to offer an amendment to Title III.

Like other proposed modifications—actual or prospective—it would trim the attorney general's injunctive powers in respect to enforcing racial integration.

The attorney general would be prohibited from intervening in desegregation disputes affecting schools or other public facilities unless he was so requested by local authorities.

Senator Knowland's proposal, which he did not offer when it was spurned by the bill's all-out backers, was along somewhat the same lines. However, he said he would not support the Watkins amendment.

Can Get Injunctions

As now written Title III would authorize the attorney general on his own motion to obtain Federal court injunctions restraining persons who had—or who were "about to"—violate the civil rights of others.

Such injunctions would apply to integration in schools, buses, parks, and all other public places covered by laws or Supreme Court decisions.

Persons who were charged with violating the injunctions would be denied jury trials. And the injunctions would be backed with Federal troops, if necessary.

Sat. 7-20-57

Senator Knowland already has offered an amendment to prohibit the use of troops. As matters now stand, the first Senate vote apparently will come on this amendment.

Ultimately, unless some compromise is reached, the Senate apparently will vote on the straight-out question of retaining or eliminating Title III.

South Is Adamant

Senator Knowland said the bill's all-out backers had decided upon such a vote. However, the Watkins amendment, unless it is withdrawn, will have priority under Senate rules.

Southerners have served notice they will demand complete elimination of Title III. This would leave the bill silent on integration in schools and other public places.

Senator Humphrey said his group will make an all-out fight to defeat this move. But if they lose, he said, "we hope to have something ready" to put back in the bill as a substitute.

Senator Clifford Case (R., N. J.) insisted there is a "resurgence" of support within the Senate for the bill in its present form.

Monday Votes Seen

Senator Douglas quickly agreed. "We shall march on to victory," he said.

Interviewed later, however, Senator Ervin said the Southerners "haven't lost any votes today."

Senator Humphrey said the closed-door huddles of the bill's backers Friday involved "a rather overwhelming majority of the Senate."

He added that he expects the Senate to start voting on amendments Monday. Senator Knowland previously had fixed the same target date.

During the day, Senator Knowland introduced three minor amendments, all of them applicable to the first section of the bill creating a Federal Civil Rights Commission to air racial and religious grievances.

Two of the changes met demands of the Southern opposition. One would make the commission's staff director a presidential appointee subject to Senate confirmation. Another would prohibit the commission from using unpaid, volunteer workers. His third amendment would require the commission to report to congress as well as to the President.

Senator Clark, in his lengthy Senate speech, conceded that the bill goes much further than protecting the right to vote—"and it should," he said.

Labor Issue Subjected

Except for suggesting a modified trial-by-jury amendment, he defended the bill on all counts. He said it is designed to enforce basic rights. To that end, he said, "it merely gives the attorney general a new tool."

Questioning Senator Clark, Senator Barry M. Goldwater (R., Ariz.) injected the labor issue into the debate. He asked if the bill would enable the attorney general to bring an injunction against a labor union that refused to admit a Negro to membership and thus deprive him of a job under a closed or union shop contract.

Senator Clark said, "I'm inclined to doubt it." But Senator Goldwater noted that the Wisconsin Supreme Court recently had upheld a labor union's right to deny membership to Negroes.

Senator Potter told the Senate the bill was intended to apply only to the right to vote and that it should be modified to limit its scope to that objective. He recommended that the bill contain a "specific disclaimer" clearly stating that it has no application to desegregation of schools and other public places.

Southerners Scent Rights Bill Victory

Daily News P.1
Jackson, Miss. Sat. 7-20-57

WASHINGTON (AP) — Southern foes of the civil rights bill scented victory today in their efforts to erase what they called the "most vicious part" of the measure.

With supporters of the bill split over compromise moves, Sen. Russell, (D.-Ga.,) leader of the Dixie forces, told newsmen he was "very hopeful" the Senate would adopt an amendment to strike out part 3 of the House-passed measure.

That part would authorize the attorney general to obtain federal court injunctions to project civil rights generally. Southern senators have protested it could be used to force racial integration in schools and other public places.

Russell said he hoped for a vote no later than Tuesday, Monday if possible, on an amendment of Sens. Anderson (D-NM), and Aiken (R-Vt), to rip out this section of the bill.

Republican and Democratic efforts for a compromise that would remove some of the opposition to part 3 collapsed suddenly late yesterday afternoon.

Senate Republican leader Knowland of California said he had concluded no substitute could be worked out "to meet the situation and the desires of the various people with whom we have been discussing it."

He said he was prepared to let the vote come on the Anderson-Aiken amendment rather than attempt to get a vote first on an amendment or substitute softening the terms of part 3.

Like Russell, he spoke of a vote being taken either Monday or Tuesday.

With this word from Knowland, Sen. Humphrey (D-Minn.), a leader of Northern Democrats backing the bill, promptly told newsmen that an amendment he had prepared to modify part 3 would not now be offered. Humphrey had said he intended to offer it with bipartisan support.

After these developments, Russell said: "I am glad the Senate is going to have an opportunity to vote up or down this part 3, the most vicious part of the bill."

POLL OF SENATE REVEALS TREND TO COMPROMISE

News + Observer
Sun. 7-21-57
Raleigh, N.C.

Forty of 64 Solons Would Confine Bill to Enforcement of Voting Rights

P.1

WASHINGTON, July 20 (AP)—Forty of 64 senators willing to state their position said today they favor reducing the scope of the administration's civil rights bill to the point of providing only for enforcement of voting rights.

An Associated Press canvass of 92 of the 95 present members disclosed 24 want to retain the measure provision for enforcing a variety of civil rights.

If all senators participated—which rarely occurs—48 affirmative votes would be required for adoption of any amendment.

As it passed the House, the bill would authorize the attorney general to act on his own initiative in seeking injunctions to enforce school integration, desegregation in transportation and public places and other rights. These powers are contained in Section 3 of the bill.

News & Observer *P.4-I*

Anderson Proposal.

Sens. Anderson (D-NM) and Aiken (R-Vt) have proposed striking this section from the bill. That would confine the measure largely to voting rights. The attorney general could ask injunctions to prevent violations or threatened violations of such rights, and anybody disregarding the injunctions could be punished by a federal judge without jury trial.

Efforts of Republican and Northern Democratic supporters thus far has produced no agreement on a substitute for Section 3 which would retain even a portion of the enforcement powers in that part of the bill.

Thus the Anderson - Aiken amendment may go to a Senate vote early next week without any leadership effort to change its over-all terms. If the amendment were adopted, leaders then could try to put back in the bill some of the powers thus wiped out.

In advance of this major test, nearly one third of the Senate's members said they are yet undecided on the issue of cutting the House measure down to a voting-protection bill.

Southern Democratic opponents of the measure have made it clear they will vote for all amendments that will soften its terms and then vote against the bill.

Privately, some of them have been saying that they could live with a "voting rights" bill and they have made strenuous efforts to pare the measure down in that direction.

Varying Reasons.

For varying reasons 10 Republicans and 30 Democrats—including nine Democrats from states outside the South—indicated they are willing at this time to reduce the scope of the House measure.

Sen. Beall (R-Md) said he is sticking by the House bill "unless the debate brings out some good reason why it should be amended."

Sen. Lausche (D-Ohio) said that in his opinion "there are other civil rights, besides voting privileges, that need protection."

Two Democratic senators and one Republican who said they favor the Anderson-Aiken amendment, asked that their names be withheld. One Republican senator who was against it made the same request.

Sens. Bridges (R-NH), Jenner (R-Ind) and Langer (R-SD) were not reached in the canvass.

The question asked in the poll was: "Do you believe enforcement provisions of the bill should be limited to the field of voting rights?"

Democratic List.

Those favoring limiting the scope of the bill to the enforcement of voting rights were:

Democrats—30.

Anderson of N.M., Bible of Nev., Byrd of Va., Church of Idaho, Eastland of Miss.

Ellender of La., Ervin of N.C., Fulbright of Ark., Hill of Ala., Holland of Fla.

Johnson of Texas, Johnston of S.C., Kefauver of Tenn., Kerr of Okla., Long of La.

Mansfield of Mont., McClellan of Ark., Monroney of Okla., O'Mahoney of Wyo., Robertson of Va.

Russell of Ga., Scott of N.C., Smathers of Fla., Sparkman of Ala., Stennis of Miss.

Talmadge of Ga., Thurmond of S.C., Yarborough of Tex., plus two Democrats who asked not to be named publicly.

Republicans—10.

Aiken of Vt., Case of S.D., Cotton of N.H., Flanders of Vt., Goldwater of Ariz.

Malone of Nev., Mundt of S.D., Smith of N.J., Young of N.D., plus one Republican who asked not to be named publicly.

Those opposed:

Democrats—8.

Clark of Pa., Douglas of Ill., Hennings of Mo., Humphrey of Minn., Lausche of Ohio.

McNamara of Mich., Neely of W.Va., Neuberger of Ore.

Republicans—16.

Beall of Md., Case of N.J., Dirksen of Ill., Dworshak of Idaho, Khruska of Neb.

Ives of N.Y., Javits of N.Y., Knowland of Calif., Kuchel of Calif., Martin of Pa.

Payne of Maine, Potter of Mich., Purtell of Conn., Watkins of Utah, Wiley of Wis., plus one Republican who asked that his name not be used.

Sen. Flanders (R-Vt) said he is for confining the bill to the enforcement of voting rights because he felt there was danger in going too far too fast in the general field of civil rights.

"Prohibition went too far and the prohibition amendment became a dead letter," he said. "If this bill goes too far and becomes a dead letter it will be a terrible setback for the Negro."

On the other hand, Sen. Kuchel (R-Calif) said he was going to "follow the platform of the Republican party and the recommendations of President Eisenhower." For that reason he said he was against narrowing the measure to a strictly voting rights bill.

Sen. Malone (R-Nev) said he thinks any bill Congress passes "should be restricted so as not to interfere with states rights." He indicated he believes such interference would be involved in federal attempts to enforce civil rights generally.

Sen. Church (D-Idaho) said he is supporting the Anderson-Aiken amendment. He said how he votes on other proposals will depend on the result of that vote.

Sen. Dworshak (R-Idaho) said he wants the bill to go as far as possible toward the enforcement of civil rights for all citizens.

"I believe in the principle of civil rights under the Constitution," he said.

Sen. Goldwater (R-Ariz) said he would vote for the bill in its present form if major amendments failed. He said he is supporting the Anderson-Aiken proposal.

Sen. H. Alexander Smith (R-NJ) said he thinks the main objective now should be to make certain that Negroes can vote in the South. From that point, he said he thinks further gains can be made later in obtaining all civil rights for them.

Smith said he would go along with elimination of other civil rights from the bill if there could be some assurances that Southerners would not try to filibuster final passage of the measure and "put us in danger of losing everything."

Sen. Edward Martin (R-Pa) said "voting rights alone would be a good start" but he will oppose reducing the bill's scope. He said, however, the measure's supporters "may have to make some concessions" to get it passed.

Sen. Carroll (D-Colo), who wouldn't commit himself, said he regards protection of the right to vote as the "basic" objective of the bill. He said he wants to study the enforcement provisions.

More Concessions On C-R Bill Shaping

Daily News Jackson, Miss P.1

Fri. 7-19-57

WASHINGTON (AP) — Additional concessions to Southern foes of the administration's civil rights bill were in the making today.

Senate Republican leader Knowland of California said he was consulting with spokesman for Northern Democrats in an effort to reach agreement on an amendment to the part of the bill that has drawn the heaviest Southern attacks.

GOP MEETING

He told newsmen he hoped a specific proposal could be persented at a closed-door conference of all Republican senators, the second such meeting called in as many days to discuss the House-passed measure.

He declined to discuss how far supporters of the bill might be willing to go in meeting Southern protests against Section 3. Under that section, the attorney general could obtain Federal Court injunctions for the enforcement of civil rights in general.

But Knowland said that if "an area of agreement" were found among Republicans and Northern Democrats, he might offer an amendment in the Senate later in the day.

One amendment to Section 3 already has been put forward by Knowland and Sen. Humphrey (D-Minn). It would repeal a reconstruction era law which permits the President to employ troops to enforce court orders in civil rights cases.

GRATEFUL

Sen. Russell (D-Ga), leader of the Dixie forces, said yesterday he was "grateful" for this amendment, but he told the Senate it failed to "remove the objection that this is a force bill—a force bill of the rawest kind."

He said it still would permit the attorney general to use "all the might" of the federal government except troops to force school ingration and other "commingling" of the races on the South.

Senators Anderson (D-NM) and Aiken (R-Vt) have offered an amendment to strike Section 3 from the bill altogether, but Knowland's and Humphrey's amendment to repeal the old troop law will be voted on first.

Another revision under discussion would require a request from local authorities before the attorney general could seek injunctions to back up the Supreme Court's schoo lintegration decision.

Some senators reportedly felt, however, that the attorney general should be allowed leeway to act in cases where local school officials were taking steps to comply with the Supreme Court ruling but might be reluctant to ask for his help because of community pressures.

Modifications of Section 3 are designed to dampen sentiment for eliminating it. It's removal would limit the bill largely to a measure for the protection of voting rights.

Authority for the attorney general to obtain injunctions against violations of voting rights is provided in a separate section of the bill.

Under both sections, persons accused of disobeying injunctions obtained by the government could be jailed for contempt of court without a jury trial.

10 1957

CIVIL RIGHTS FIGHT LIKELY TO HOLD UP OTHER TOP ACTIONS

Commercial Appeal

Sun. 7-7-57

Knowland Expects Dispute To Continue 'Until About Sept. 1'

Memphis Tenn.

BATTLE LINES DRAWN

P.1

GOP Leader Plans To Call Up Bill Tomorrow—Mundt Predicts A Compromise On Vote Guarantee

By The Associated Press

WASHINGTON, July 6.—Republican Senate Leader William Knowland of California said Saturday President Eisenhower realizes an upcoming battle over a Civil Rights Bill may tie up Senate action on all Administration requests for eight weeks or longer.

"He is familiar with all eventualities," Senator Knowland said in an interview that indicated this had been discussed at the White House.

Served Notice

Senator Knowland has served notice that on Monday he will ask the Senate to take up the Administration Civil Right's Bill, recently passed by the House.

Senator Richard Russell (D., Ga.), floor leader of determined Southerners fighting the bill, has promised exhaustive debate [illegible] any actual filibuster [illegible] delayed until after a Senate vote on the move to take up the controversial measure.

Senator Russell already has [illegible] the Senate that the House-[illegible] measure could cause [illegible]able confusion, bitter[illegible] bloodshed."

[illegible] promised a long floor [illegible]ed at amending and [illegible] the measure, with an [illegible]oal of killing it.

[illegible] Knowland said ahead [illegible]at he is unwilling to [illegible]ntroversy aside to act [illegible]er noncontroversial [illegible] which the President [illegible]

[illegible] Have Priority

[illegible] legislative measures do have priority, such as compromises of bills that the Senate and House had previously passed in different form, or annual money bills.

Once these are called up, Senator Knowland noted that they [illegible]ome under the Senate rules for virtually endless debate and can be used as an indirect filibuster against resuming debate on civil rights.

The Republican leader said he now expects the civil rights dispute to continue "until about Sept. 1."

"There should be quite a bit of legislation to consider even after civil rights is decided," Senator Knowland said. "We probably may have to stay in session until mid-September.

Senator Knowland mentioned the Eisenhower-backed bills for Federal school aid and immigration revision as just two examples, adding that there are many more.

Others To Be Considered

These are the foreign aid authorization and its separate money bill, several annual appropriations, a proposed natural gas bill, postal rate increases and numerous others requested by the President earlier this year.

"There is no real reason to adjourn this session early," Senator Knowland said. "We have no general election this time."

On the other hand, Senator Karl Mundt (R., S.D.) predicted a compromise would be reached, permitting adjournment by the middle of August.

Commercial Appeal

Senator Mundt said he expects a compromise guaranteeing the right of Negroes and other minority group members to vote without harassment. He said this would be a compromise "for which the South can't vote, but one with which the South can live."

P.2

The House bill—which Senator Mundt said would not "be rammed down the throats of Southerners by relentless or roughshod methods"—would do these things:

Empower the Federal attorney general to get injunctions to protect citizens whose civil rights—including voting rights — have been violated or threatened; set up a Federal commission to investigate complaints of civil rights violations; create a special civil rights division in the Justice Department.

Moderation Is Urged

In speaking hopefully of a compromise, Senator Mundt said "in bringing about social reforms, the exercise of moderation is always more effective than the big stick."

Senator Knowland said it would be easier to break a filibuster "by round-the-clock sessions" than attempt to force a Senate vote by cutting off debate under the cloture rule.

This cloture method requires affirmative votes of 64 senators —two thirds of the membership of 96—before it is effective.

The Reublican leader recalled that President Eisenhower meets regularly with Senate and House leaders and leaves strategy "in the hands of the Senate and House leaders."

"A heavy preponderance of senators of both parties favors a reasonable Civil Rights Bill," Senator Knowland said. "We expect to get a vote on the merits this time after fair and reasonable debate."

'Wishful Thinking'

Senator Clifford Case (R., N. J.) contended in a statement that civil rights opponents are talking about "compromising it before debate begins in the Senate."

"This is wishful thinking," he said. "Most of us in the Senate feel the bill is moderate and modest . . . basically, the legislation assures all Americans the right-to-vote, a right which should have been theirs long, long ago."

At the same time, Senator John Sparkman (D., Ala.) said it "seems a shame that we will be forced to waste so much time because integrationists led by President Eisenhower and Vice President Richard Nixon are determined to get a Civil Rights Bill through the Senate this session."

Senator Sparkman said in a statement that the Republican Party has "a political rather than humanitarian interest . . . trying to stampede the Negro into its fold on a wave of mass hysteria over the question."

Senator Knowland's motion to take up the bill will signal a lengthy debate likely to center primarily on the issue of whether the measure shall be confined to provisions insuring Negroes the right to vote or shall enlarge Federal enforcement of racial de-segregation.

Mr. Eisenhower's Motive

Mr. Eisenhower told his news conference last Wednesday his objective in sponsoring the legislation "was to prevent anybody illegally from interfering with any individual's right to vote, if that individual were qualified under the proper laws of his state. . . ."

In the light of the contention of Senator Russell that the measure provides for "bayonet" enforcement of school integration with Federal troops, Mr. Eisenhower was asked if he would be willing to see the bill rewritten to deal specifically with this question "rather than implementing the Supreme Court decision on the integration of the schools."

Mr. Eisenhower replied that there were "certain phrases I don't completely understand" in the bill. He said he will have to consult with Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell "and see exactly what they do mean."

Mr. Brownell, generally credited with drafting the bill, is in no position to deny Senator Russell's contention that the President could use military forces to enforce desegregation in schools and public places in the South.

Says Power Inherent

Senator Arthur Watkins (R., Utah), who supports the bill, said in an interview that power is inherent in the measure. He said there was "no question" the bill could be used to enforce rights other than those to vote.

However, Mr. Eisenhower and other backers of the bill have denied any idea that the use of troops was being contemplated.

Mr. Brownell's position is that there is no basic enlargement of presidential enforcement powers which have existed since Reconstruction Days. He has said it is "irresponsible" for anyone to suggest the President would use troops for enforcement.

Because of this, the argument in the Senate comes down to two principal points:

1. Shall the attorney general be given authority to by-pass state courts and bring civil suits in Federal court to enforce a wide range of civil rights backed by the power of presidential enforcement?

2. Shall citizens who defy court orders in such suits be subject to punishment for contempt, without the right of trial by Southern juries — trials which sponsors of the bill contend would almost inevitably free the defendant?

Mr. Eisenhower recognized at his news conference that Southerners have "lived with a very, very definite social problem for a number of years."

He said, in effect, that "violent reactions" were to be expected from them to any proposal going beyond the right-to-vote provisions he had in mind.

Rights Bill Withstands Six Assaults

Herald Tribune

Fri. 6-14-57

New York

House Planning To Vote Today

P.1

By Don Irwin

WASHINGTON, June 13.—Southern Democrats, with some conservative Republican support, failed in six determined efforts today to amend the Administration's civil rights bill.

Drawn-out debate on the relatively minor amendments dragged out consideration of the bill one day beyond schedule. In an effort to jog the House into action, leaders on both sides were working tonight on an agreement to cut off introduction of amendments tomorrow afternoon, with the prospect of a vote tomorrow night.

Continuation of the relaxed pace that has prevailed since the measure reached the floor June 5 forestalled a showdown on the principal Southern effort—an amendment requiring jury trials of persons accused of violating injunctions against actions infringing civil rights.

Herald Tribune

Insistence by some of the bill's foes on a largely futile line-by-line effort to soften the bill or revise its purpose was reported to have hurt chances for the jury-trial amendment. The action gave its foes time to marshal forces against it. One of the chamber's most influential members, who predicted the amendment's passage last week, declined today to forecast its chances.

P.13

In more than five hours of active consideration today, the House covered only twenty lines of the twelve-page bill, all dealing with the duties of the proposed commission.

All today's votes were relatively close, but fewer than half the members of the House took part in any of the standing and teller votes by which the chamber acted.

"Right to Work" Plan Out

One potentially significant amendment never came to a vote. It was a proposal by Rep. Bruce Alger, R., Tex., to authorize the commission which the bill would set up to investigate civil-rights violations to look into infringements of the "right to work." The proposed amendment was ruled out of order.

Among the amendments rejected were changes which would have:

Eliminated a requirement that the commission look specifically into sworn charges that citizens were losing their rights to vote because of "color, race, religion or national origin."

Eliminated deprivation of the right to vote on grounds of religion as a field for commission study.

Required the commission to consider denials of equal protection for all citizens under "rights reserved to the states."

The one amendment tentatively approved by a 93-53 vote required the commission not only to investigate infringements of the right to vote, but also of the right to "have that vote counted."

Dixie Lawmen Told To Combat Rights With Passive Resistance

Advertiser Tues. 7-2-57
Montgomery, Ala.

CLAYTON, Ala., July 1 (AP)—Circuit Judge George Wallace offered a passive resistance formula today for combatting civil rights laws in the South.

If President Eisenhower's program now pending in the Senate is enacted, Wallace said Southern law enforcement officers should refuse to cooperate with federal authorities in any investigation.

In a charge to the Barbour County grand jury, the judge said the Federal Bureau of Investigation and other federal agencies have been successful in the past only because of "the cooperation of local law enforcement agencies and local people."

Without that cooperation, he said, "the federal authorities would not know where to turn."

Wallace, who once threatened to jail any federal agent caught investigating "our courts," predicted that "999 out of 1,000" investigations resulting from passage of civil rights legislation would be "spurious and inspired either for political reasons or spite."

"The local law enforcement officials should use their offices to defent the local citizen instead of harassing him," the judge continued. "No local law enforcement officer should even discuss civil rights investigations with federal authorities except in defense of the local citizen and state sovereignty."

Wallace told the grand jury "there is no law which says we must cooperate with federal authorities in the harassment of local citizens," and said, "I hope that no local law enforcement official will aid in any investigation under these pending bills."

But he said southerners should continue to cooperate with federal authorities "in the field of legitimate law enforcement problems."

Solon Wants Civil Rights Put To Vote

Advertiser P.1
Wed. 7-3-57
Montgomery, Ala.

Nationwide Test Asked By Russell In Attack On Bill

WASHINGTON, July 2 (AP)—The Senate jumped the gun today on its forthcoming civil rights debate.

Sen. Russell (D-Ga) blasted the House-passed right-to-vote bill, sponsored by the Eisenhower administration, as a device for "bayonet" enforcement of school integration. He urged that the whole measure be submitted to a nationwide popular vote.

Some Northerners scoffed at Russell's impassioned speech. Said Sen. Dirksen (R-Ill): "Seldom have I seen so many ghosts under a single bed."

The flurry of orations came as Republican Senate Leader Knowland (Calif) told at the White House of plans to bring the civil rights bill up for debate early next week. Southerners, led by Russell, are ready to try talking it to death.

PLAIN IMPLICATION

Russell took issue, by plain implication, with President Eisenhower's past statements that the bill is a "moderate" and "decent" attempt to assure the voting rights of Southern Negroes and others.

The Georgia senator told his colleagues that actually the bill was "deliberately drawn to enable the use of our military forces to destroy the system of separation of the races in the Southern states, if it be necessary to take this step."

With a fervor seldom seen on the Senate floor these days, Russell told his Republican and Northern Democratic antagonists: "If you propose to move into the South in this fashion you may as well prepare your concentation camps now, for there will not be enough jails to hold the people of the South who will today oppose the use of raw federal power to forcibly comingle white and Negro children in the same schools and places of public entertainment."

Dirksen said Russell was greatly exaggerating the possible effects of the bill. If it is enacted, Dirksen said, "the heavens wil

gro children in the same schools and places of public entertainment."

Dirksen said Russell was greatly exaggerating the possible effects of the bill. If it is enacted, Dirksen said, "the heavens will
not be rent asunder, the earth will not rock and roll." P.2-A

Voicing agreement, Sen. Douglas (D-Ill) said the measure does not envision all the "horrible consequences" predicted by Russell.

"Its primary purpose is to throw added protection around the right to vote," said Douglas.

Russell told newsmen the referendum he proposed would be similar to those frequently conducted among farmers on the question of production and marketing controls.

As he explained it, the bill itself would be amended to provide for a national referendum on the civil rights legislation, with the issue to be decided by simple majority vote.

APPROVED BY PEOPLE

The amendment would provide that other sections of the bill would not become effective until approved by the people.

Russell suggested such a vote might be held in conjunction with the 1958 congressional elections.

He said that if supporters of the civil rights bill are correct in their contention that there is "a big popular demand" for it, he saw no reason why they should oppose a referendum.

Civil Rights Compromise In The Wind

Courier Journal
Thurs. 7-11-57
Louisville, Ky.

South's Liberals Would Sacrifice Vote Protection

By WILLIAM S. WHITE
© New York Times News Service

Washington, July 10.—Liberal Southerners are prepared to propose a compromise civil-rights bill giving full protection to voting but shorn of federal power to force school integration.

This latest of a series of strong pressures working toward basic alteration of the Administration's bill—but also toward the adoption of some substantial legislation in the field—was disclosed today as the Senate went on debating the Administration version.

Otherwise, on this third day of what was still an essentially orderly and calm debate this was the march of events:

1. Senate Democratic Leader Johnson of Texas took direct and public steps both to try to keep the discussion from inflicting further wounds on his divided party and to put the Administration's bill under further critical analysis.

Congratulates All Factions

Johnson publicly congratulated all factions for creating "a climate of reason within which the Senate can reach a meaningful conclusion" and appealed to all factions to maintain that climate.

At the same time, he announced that he had put his staff to work to draw up "basic information" as to the implications of a bitterly resisted secure that would depend for its strength in part on statutes passed in the Reconstruction era after the Civil War.

Russell Sees President

2. The leader of the Southern forces, Senator Russell of Georgia, had a 50-minute talk with President Eisenhower to express the opposition position.

A sketch of Senator Russell is on Page 8. A story about filibusters is on Page 7.

Russell reported the President's mind was "not closed" to possible amendments to "clarify" the bill.

What was meant by such amendments was not clear. Specifically unclear was how far from the substance of the Administration bill—if to any distance at all—the President might be willing to retreat.

Nixon Expects Passage

Vice-President Nixon was quoted as having told Republican members of the House that he expected the Senate to pass the bill without important compromise.

Nixon was quoted as speaking of the possibility of only "clarifying" amendments, if there were to be any amendments at all. Here, again, however, there was no definition as to how far such amendments might go.

The Vice-President spoke before a closed meeting of the 85th Club (an organization of first-term House Republicans).

The proposed compromise being made ready in the Senate is primarily in the hands of Senator Gore (Democrat, Tennessee). It would fall about halfway between the position of the Administration for the current bill and the fundamental hope of the traditional and conservative Southerners for no bill at all.

Excludes School Cases

This version would permit the Government to obtain injunctions to halt deprivation of voting rights, as the Administration itself is demanding.

It would specifically withhold authority, however, to use such injunctive proceedings against schools refusing to obey anti-segregation decrees. Such power would be involved in the Administration's bill.

Gore's plan, moreover, would establish within the Department of Justice a federal civil-rights commission, as the Administration's measure would also do.

It will be formally offered only if the traditional Southerners, who far outnumber the liberal Southerners, take up a position so adamant as to refuse any sort of reform in the civil-rights field.

Warning From House

Gore could probably count in this eventuality upon the assistance of a critical handful of other liberal—or more or less dissident — Southerners. Even the loss of a handful of Southern backers at any point would amount to a disaster to the conservative Southern forces.

While the situation in the Senate continued to indicate strongly that compromise would be the final answer there, if there was to be legislative action of any kind, a warning signal came from the House of Representatives.

Representative Celler (D., N. Y.), who led and won a fight for House approval of the Administration version intact, declared that the House would never accept any Senate compromise if he had his way.

Part 3's defeat 'handcuffs' attorney general — Wilkins

Afro-American Sat. 8-3-57 P.3

Baltimore, Md.

NEW YORK.

The Senate, by voting to eliminate the effective provisions of Part 3 of the pending civil rights bill, has, in effect, "voted to handcuff the national law enforcement agency in enforcing equal protection of the laws," Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, charged here last week.

Mr. Wilkins' statement followed a 52 to 38 vote in the Senate on July 24 to strip the civil rights bill of provisions which would have empowered the attorney general to initiate actions to secure school desegregation and protect other civil rights guaranteed by the Constitution.

"By this action," Mr. Wilkins asserted, "the Senate has acted to prohibit the use of preventive legal methods by the attorney general in securing the equal protection of the laws.

* * *

"THE ADOPTION of this motion says plainly to colored Americans that, so far as the Senate is concerned, they can expect little, if any, assistance from the Federal Government in attempts to win enjoyment of their constitutional rights."

Further, he charged, the action by the Senate "gives aid and comfort to those who would nullify the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment. It remains in the Constitution and may be invoked occasionally by a private citizen.

"It may be upheld in judicial decisions, but the Senate, unless it reconsiders, has voted to handcuff the national law enforcement agency in enforcing equal protection of the laws.

* * *

"IT REMAINS to be seen what will be done with Part 4 of the bill dealing with voting. It would be bitter irony, indeed, if the first civil rights legislation enacted in 80 years should repudiate both the 14th and 15th amendments," Wilkins asserted.

Following the southern victory in eliminating Part 3, attention in Washington was again focused on Part 4 and efforts of Southern Democrats to weaken it by providing for jury trials in contempt cases growing out of violations of Federal court orders.

* * *

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER has expressed a desire to see this section of the bill enacted without any crippling amendments such as the proposed jury trail clause.

However, the President has not made any remarks in support of the bill since he issued his statement on July 16 after the Senate had voted to take up the measure.

The defeat of Part 3 followed failure of the President to support it forthrightly when questioned about it in his press conference of July 17.

South Can Take No Joy In Brownell Replacement

WASHINGTON (AP)—The choice of William P. Rogers to replace Herbert Brownell Jr. as attorney general apparently will bring no change in the Eisenhower administration's civil rights policies.

Brownell resigned yesterday after more than 4½ years as the government's top legal officer. President Eisenhower accepted the resignation with "very deep regret," and praised Brownell for "a highly significant contribution that you have made in the nation's service."

Saying he plans to return to private law practice, Brownell disclaimed any ambitions for political office and asserted his intention to "stay in private life."

The White House announced that Rogers, deputy attorney general throughout Brownell's tenure, will be named to head the Justice Department. He is expected to take over in about two weeks, but his nomination is subject to Senate confirmation next year.

Rogers, a close friend and adviser of Vice President Nixon, has been as strong an advocate of civil rights legislation as has Brownell.

When a newsman asked whether "the Brownell policy will be the Rogers policy," Rogers replied: "We have worked together for 4½ years, and have gotten along exceptionally well. Any differences we may have had have been very minor. In all major matters, we have seen eye to eye."

Brownell has drawn the fire of many Southerners, who blame him for having played a major role in Eisenhower's decision to use federal troops to enforce racial integration at Central High School in Little Rock, Ark.

However, Brownell said Southern criticism "did not enter into my calculations at all." His letter of resignation, made public earlier, recalled that in late August—before the Little Rock crisis developed—he had discussed with Eisenhower "my desire to return to private law practice at the earliest practicable date."

"Before you were able to complete plans for the transition of the duties of the office to my successor," Brownell told Eisenhower, "the Little Rock matter intervened, requiring urgent legal action in the federal courts.

"Since the federal government's legal position in this case has now been clearly defned, it seems an appropriate time for me to fulfill my desire to resume private law practice . . ."

Rogers has served as a contact man for the Justice Department on Capitol Hill, where he worked after World War II as counsel for the old Senate War Investigations subcommittee. He is generally liked by legislators.

Although his confirmation seems certain, the 44-year-old Rogers is expected to face some rugged questioning by Southern members of the Senate Judiciary Committee, which wlil consider his nomination.

Southerners who commented on the changeover generally applauded Brownell's imminent departure. Some voiced the opinion Rogers would be an improvement.

President Is Hit on Rights 'Delay'

WASHINGTON, Oct. 21 (UP). — The Democratic Advisory Council criticized President Eisenhower today for failing to strengthen civil rights enforcement as provided in the new Civil Rights Act.

In a policy statement approved yesterday and made public today, the council noted that six weeks had elapsed since Mr. Eisenhower signed the legislation.

But as yet, it said, he has not named an Assistant Attorney General to handle civil rights cases or appointed the civil rights investigating commission authorized by the bill.

"The President has made many other important interim appointments," the council said. "There is no good reason why he should await the next session of Congress before proceeding to organize the commission."

It urged the President to act 'without further delay."

The White House said last week the appointments would be made soon—before Congress reconvenes.

The council, top policy group within the Democratic National Committee, also renewed its charge that Mr. Eisenhower's failure to take "an early and firm position" on school integration helped bring on the Little Rock, Ark., crisis.

POINTS UP SPLIT

Asked about the statement, James C. Hagerty, Presidential press secretary, said, "I havn't any comment on political statements by an advisory committee."

The new policy declaration again pointed up the split in the Deocratic Party over civil rights. Mrs. Benjamin B. Everett, of North Carolina, dissented but two other Southern members, Sens. Estes Kefauver of Tennessee and Camille F. Graver, Jr., of Louisiana, approved.

ANALYSIS SHOWS

Southern Whites Lose C-R Battle

Daily News
Jackson, Miss.
Tues 8-27-57

By JAMES MARLOW
Associated Press News Analyst

WASHINGTON (AP) — Negroes and the supporters of civil rights have won a clear-cut victory. Southern whites have suffered a definite defeat.

This is clear after an analysis of the compromise civil rights bill which is expected to be passed by Congress this week.

It's been called a bill to protect Negroes' voting rights. It goes far beyond that. It would have gone further, by letting the attorney general step into all kinds of civil rights cases.

But Southern senators were able to get that part of the bill knocked out. As it stands, the bill would let the attorney general step into voting rights cases only.

That's plenty. So is the rest of the bill. And for the first time in this century, the Southerners were unable to block civil rights legislation.

CHANCE FOR MORE

That may mean more chance for more civil rights legislation in the future.

The bill calls for a commission to investigate all kinds of civil rights violations. The commission would have no powers to act against such violations, as the attorney general could have done under the knocked-out part of the bill. But it could expose.

For example: The commission could investigate the Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens Councils set up in the South to resist public school integration and integration in general.

The more the commission may reveal—particularly about harassment of Negroes—the more could be the pressure for more legislation. And the commission would have power to hold hearings anywhere in the South.

Because it could issue subpoenas, it could force witnesses to appear and testify.

Under the bill, the attorney general could ask a federal judge for a court order to stop a voting rights violation. Again, there would be exposure. For once a judge issues such an order, he would hold a public hearing to bring out the facts in the case.

And the bill leaves untouched the judge's traditional power to try and jail—without a jury—anyone in civil contempt of courts for disobeying his order.

BROAD FIELD

Action against a person for civil contempt is intended to make him comply while there is still time for him to do so. Criminal contempt action is taken when it is too late to comply and is aimed at punishment for flouting an order.

But a court order can cover a broad field. For example: If a judge ordered a registrar of voters not to interfere with would-be Negro voters, the judge would probably make the order binding on all others too.

Thus, a whole community could be ordered not to interfere. If the registrar complies, but others don't, they could be tried by the judge without a jury for civil contempt.

If it was too late for compliance and the judge wanted to try them for criminal contempt, he could do so, provided he did not impose a sentence of more than 45 days in jail and a fine of $300.

If he wanted them to face a penalty greater than that, he would have to let them have a jury trial. If convicted by a jury, the maximum penalty for criminal contempt under the bill would be a $1,000 fine and six months in jail.

10 1957

Wilson White Is Given New Civil Rights Post

WASHINGTON, Nov. 25. (UP)—President Eisenhower has selected Assistant Attorney General W. Wilson White to head the Justice Department's newly-created civil rights division, the White House announced today.

Acting Press Secretary Anne Wheaton said Mr. White, who now heads the department's office of legal counsel, would be given a recess appointment. The nomination will be submitted to the Senate for confirmation in January.

Mr. White will handle prosecution of all civil rights cases, including the Negro right-to-vote guaranties included by Congress in the civil rights bill passed at the last session. The law also set up the new division.

The administration originally considered by-passing Senate confirmation by merely shifting Mr. White from his present post to the new division. Since he already had been confirmed as an assistant attorney general, this would have eliminated possibility of a Southern challenge to his nomination.

But because of the importance of the new post, Justice Department sources said, the Administration decided to go through the formality of having Mr. White resign and then submit his new appointment to the Senate.

The nomination was expected to get sharp scrutiny from the Senate Judiciary Committee. That group is headed by Sen. James O. Eastland D., Miss., a leading opponent of the new civil rights law.

Help Draft Troop Order

Mr. White, fifty-one, a native of Philadelphia, is a former law partner of Rep. Hugh Scott, R., Pa., a leader of the bi-partisan civil rights bloc in the House. As an assistant Attorney General, he helped draft the orders, proclamations and memoranda issued by the President ordering Federal troops into Little Rock, Ark.

Mr. White was graduated from Harvard University and the University of Pennsylvania Law School. In 1953 he was named United States Attorney for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania and became an assistant Attorney General early this year. He is married and has three sons.

AP Wirephoto

Wilson White, of Philadelphia, in Justice Department after being named assistant attorney general in charge of new Civil Rights Division.

President Picks Wilson White For Rights Post

WASHINGTON, Nov. 25 (AP).—President Eisenhower today officially announced selection of W. Wilson White, of Philadelphia, to head the new civil rights division in the Justice Department — subject to approval by the Senate.

White, now an assistant attorney general in charge of legal counseling, had been reported last week to be in line for the civil rights post.

There had been hints that Mr. Eisenhower might seek to by-pass the Senate on any vote of confirmation and merely shift White from one assistant attorney generalship to another. Those reports, which had stirred up Southern criticism, were disposed of by the White House announcement that the Senate would be asked to pass on the nomination.

IMPORTANT POST

Mrs. Anne Wheaton, associate presidential press secretary, said both Mr. Eisenhower and White felt the selection should be passed on by the Senate because of the importance of the job, which was created in the civil rights bill passed last session by Congress.

White reportedly did much of the work backgrounding Mr. Eisenhower's moves in the integration troubles at Little Rock, Ark., culminating in the sending of Federal troops there.

LAW FIRM PARTNER

White is a partner in his father's law firm, with Rep. Hugh Scott (R., Pa.). He lives in the Chestnut Hill section of Philadelphia, a fashionable neighborhood in which Sen. Joseph S. Clark (D., Pa.) also resides.

Now 51, white is a graduate of Harvard University and the University of Pennsylvania Law School and a veteran of Navy service in World War II. He practiced law in his father's firm until he was named U. S. attorney for eastern Pennsylvania in August of 1953. He became an assistant attorney general last march.

STAYS IN OLD JOB

White told reporters he would continue in his present post until his successor is chosen.

He turned aside questions about his "basic philosophy" on civil rights, asserting:

"I do not think it would be proper to go into this at this time. I think the Senate Judiciary Committee has the right to ask the questions and get the answers first."

CIVIL RIGHTS AGENCY WILL MEET ON DEC. 9

Commission's First Session Called By President

AUGUSTA, Ga., Nov. 20 — (UP)—President Eisenhower will convene the first meeting of the newly appointed Civil Rights Commission Dec. 9, the temporary White House announced Wednesday.

James C. Hagerty, presidential press secretary, also revealed that Mr. Eisenhower will soon appoint a new assistant secretary of the Justice Department to head up the Civil Rights Commission.

The commission, headed by former Supreme Court Justice Stanley F. Reed, was authorized by the last Congress in the controversial civil rights legislation.

The President also conferred Wednesday with Secretary of State John Foster Dulles by long distance telephone on plans for the December NATO Council meeting in Paris.

10 1957

Philadelphia 'Moderate' Heads Rogers' New Civil Rights Division

Constitution Atlanta, Ga. P. 1

Fri 11-22-57

WASHINGTON, Nov. 21 — W. Wilson White of Philadelphia has been selected as the first head of the Justice department's new civil rights division.

White is now assistant attorney general in charge of the department's office of legal counsel. Atty. Gen. Rogers is expected to announce within a few days that he will be shifted to the new division.

Apparently White will not have to be confirmed by the Senate again for the civil rights job. He will remain an assistant attorney general, simply changing his duties.

Associates described White as a "moderater."

Choice of almost any man from outside the department as civil rights head might have precipitated an embarrassing and generally difficult confirmation battle in the Senate judiciary committee. The committee chairman is one of Congress' leading opponents of all civil rights moves, Sen. Eastland of Mississippi.

The anticipated confirmation struggle, with all its likely personal attacks, would doubtless have discouraged any judges or leading lawyers in private practice from accepting the civil rights position. Whether it was offered to anyone but White is not known.

The new civil rights division which White will direct is expected to be made up in part of lawyers now in the criminal division's civil rights section. This section has administered the few—and relatively ineffectual—criminal civil rights statutes remaining on the books from the reconstruction period.

In addition the new division will have new powers to bring civil suits for the protection of voting rights. These powers were the principal feature of the civil rights act passed in the last session of Congress.

The statute gives the Justice Department the right to seek an injunction against anyone who tries to prevent a citizen from voting on grounds of race or color. Until now only private persons have had the right to bring such suits.

Finally, the civil rights division will probably have broad responsibilities for the handling of emergency situations such as the school integration crisis in Little Rock this fall.

White and his office of legal counsel actually played a major role in the federal action on Little Rock. The particular job of the office is to draft statutes and legal memoranda, and it is believed to have drafted the various proclamations and orders issued by President Eisenhower in the Little Rock affair.

Aside from that situation, White has had no special experience in the area of Negro rights or race relations generally.

He is a law partner of a leading congressional civil rights advocate, Rep. Hugh Scott, Pennsylvania Republican.

White, 51, is a native of Philadelphia. He is a graduate of Harvard College and of the University of Pennsylvania Law School.

In 1933 he became a partner in the Philadelphia law firm of White, Williams & Scott. He engaged in corporate and general practice, not doing much trial work, according to friends.

PLANS NO NEW U.S. LAWS ON CIVIL RIGHTS

New Attorney General Sees Reporters.

[Chicago Tribune Press Service]

Daily Tribune — Chicago, Ill. — Tue 12-10-57

Washington, Dec. 9 — Atty. Gen. Rogers thinks there is enough civil rights legislation on the law books for the time being.

"I do not intend to recommend to the President that he submit any new civil rights proposals in the next session of Congress," Rogers said at his first press conference as attorney general today. He took office a month ago, succeeding Herbert P. Brownell Jr.

Last August, Congress enacted the first civil rights legislation since the reconstruction era following the Civil War. It came after months of bickering in both houses.

See How It Works

Rogers said the civil rights issue had been fully debated by Congress this year and that he did not believe the public interest would be served by reopening the subject in the session which begins Jan. 7.

"Let's let a little time elapse and see how the new law works," Rogers said.

The attorney general said the commission the law created should be given time to study civil rights problems and make recommendations for any news laws it believes necessary.

Other provision of the new law empower the attorney general to seek federal court injunctions and other civil remedies to guarantee the right to vote.

New Division Chief

It also provides for an assistant attorney general to head a new civil rights division in the justice department. Rogers today swore in W. Wilson White, 51, Philadelphia lawyer, as chief of the new division.

Other statements made by Rogers included:

1. He intends to let the Little Rock, Ark., school integration problem rest "right where it is" in the belief the people of the Arkansas capital are handling the matter "very well" and that any further statements by Washington officials would only "aggravate the situation."

2. The justice department will continue to support the proposals of Brownell on Presidential disability. Brownell proposed a constitutional amendment under which a President would decide for

Rogers Urges No New Rights Legislation

Attorney General Says He'll Advise Administration So

BY GENE WORTSMAN
Post-Herald Correspondent

Post Herald P. 11 — Birmingham, Ala. — Wed 12-11-57

WASHINGTON, Dec. 10—William P. Rogers, new U. S. attorney general, said yesterday the Administration shouldn't seek new civil rights legislation next year.

He promised that civil rights laws would be enforced no differently from other laws.

In his first press conference since his appointment, Rogers answered questions on civil rights and other subjects with apparent forthrightness.

Unlike his former boss, Herbert Brownell, Rogers said he will hold frequent press conferences and will make himself available to reporters.

This policy could prevent his becoming the civil rights whipping boy, a position Brownell held largely because Brownell seldom answered questions and seldom explained his motives.

Rogers said, however, he has no plans now to visit the South in an effort to prove he doesn't wear horns.

The attorney general was asked what his policy would be next year toward civil rights legislation.

"I do not intend to recommend to the President that he submit any new civil rights legislation during the next session of Congress," he replied.

NO NEW CIVIL RIGHTS—Atty. Gen. William P. Rogers.

He pointed out that Congress fully debated the subject this year.

It passed a bill setting up a commission on civil rights and creating a new division in the Justice Dept. for civil rights matters.

One of the commission's functions, said Rogers, is to consider legislation that it considers necessary or desirable.

Therefore, he explained, it would be undesirable for the Administration to propose new laws since that is a specific job of the commission.

A portion of the civil rights bill proposed this year by the administration did not pass.

Rogers said he would not push for passage.

"If we are asked our attitude," he added, "we'll support it."

He said he believes that in the interest of the country, time should be given to see how the new law works. Angry debate, such as accompanied this year's measure at times, isn't good for the country.

"The spirit of the law is that the commission should now study the whole picture and I think it's a good thing to let them study it," Rogers said.

The attorney general said he felt the same way about Little Rock.

We ought to give the Little Rock matter a chance to rest a while," he said. "I don't think it's desirable from the standpoint of public interest to make statements about it. I'm going to try to avoid making statements that might aggravate that situation."

Concerning enforcement of civil rights laws, Rogers said cases should not be handled from the viewpoint of whether they are popular.

In the case of a person deprived of his constitutional rights and the department has a case, "We'll bring it," Rogers said.

"We're going to enforce the law in that area with no less or greater belligerence than in other cases," he added. "We'll try not to be belligerent about it."

CIVIL RIGHTS COOLING-OFF PERIOD SET

Attorney General Decides Country Is Fed Up On It

WASHINGTON (AP)—The Justice Department does not plan to recommend additional civil rights legislation at the next session of Congress.

Atty. Gen. William P. Rogers made that statement late Monday at a news conference, his first since he became a Cabinet member last month.

Daily News

Rogers expressed the view that Congress and the country might well "let some little time elapse" to observe the workings of the Civil Rights Act adopted after considerable debate at the last session.

Jackson Miss.

That law represented a somewhat watered-down version of the administration's proposal, with the result that some congressmen have announced intentions of seeking additional legislation next year.

Tues. 12-10-57

The 44-year-old attorney general who was moved up from the deputy's job to succeed Herbert Brownell, voiced the belief that the civil rights question was fully debated last summer and that it would be "just as well not to have another debate of that kind at this session."

TO MARK TIME

Rogers noted that the Civil Rights Commission created by the 1957 law is charged with examining the possibility of further legislation. He made it clear he intends to mark time on the commission's findings. The newly named commission has not yet started work.

Noting that the new law is mainly designed to protect voting rights Rogers said: "It is our duty to enforce the law as it is written—in voting cases, where it appears that citizens are being deprived of constitutional rights, we will bring the indicated action."

Concerning school integration difficulties at Little Rock, Ark., Rogers said, "We ought to give the Little Rock matter a chance to rest a while.

"The Little Rock people appear to be handling the matter pretty well recently. My contribution should be not to say anything which would aggravate matters."

GOES WITH HERBERT

Rogers said he is going along with Brownell's position in relation to clarifying the question of delegating powers when a president becomes unable to perform his duties.

Rogers, like Brownell, said confusion in this field stems from "a constitutional weakness" which only a constitutional amendment, adopted by Congress and ratified by the states, could completely eliminate.

The constitutional amendment advocated by Brownell would permit an incapacitated president to declare his inability to act and to make the vice president acting president during the disability period.

Civil Rights Cooling Off Aim

Rogers Prefers to See How New Law Works

By JACK ADAMS

WASHINGTON, Dec. 9 (AP)—William P. Rogers, the new attorney general, Monday proposed a sort of "cooling off period" in the field of civil rights legislation.

Times Picayune

The 44-year-old justice department chief, holding his first news conference as attorney general, said he has no plan for recommending that the President submit any new civil rights proposals at the next session of Congress.

New Orleans La.

Rogers said civil rights were "fully debated" at the last session, with resultant adoption of the first new laws in this field since Reconstruction days. He expressed the view the public interest would not be served by "another debate of that kind this session."

Tues. 12-11-57

'Let a Little Time Elaspe'

Reporters noted that the new civil rights law, principally designed to protect voting rights, is a somewhat watered-down version of the administration's original proposals. In this connection, the attorney general said that if Congress asked the department about deleted sections, he would say the department still endorse dthem—"but I will not re-submit them."

"Let's let a little time elapse and see how the new law works," he said.

"The spirit of that law is that the civil rights commission which it created should now study what is in the best interest of the country, including the matter of possible additional legislation. They are empowered to make periodic reports, and could make recommendations in this field within the next three months."

Ehphasizes Separation

Rogers placed great emphasis on the hope that the general public will not confuse the new civil rights commission, composed of private citizens, with the new civil rights division in the justice department created by the same law.

He described the two agencies as "completely independent," and asserted the department has refrained from making any recommendations for appointments to the commission.

The attorney general announced that he signed orders Monday setting up the department's new division, with W. Wilson White, 51, of Philadelphia, sworn in as the assistant attorney general to head it, subject to Senate confirmation.

White will direct the handling of all civil and criminal complaints filed with the department related to civil rights.

Rogers would not be drawn into questions about the Little Rock, Ark., school situation and its possible solution.

Law 'Fully Debated,' Says Rogers

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Advertiser

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Tues. 12-10-57

Montgomery, Ala.

LAW WATERED DOWN

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Civil Rights Cooling Off Period Asked

News & Courier

Charleston S.C.

Tues 12-10-57

Attorney General Has No Plans For New Proposals

WASHINGTON, Dec. 9 (AP)—William P. Rogers, the new attorney general, today proposed a sort of "cooling off period" in the field of civil rights legislation.

The 44-year-old Justice Department chief, holding his first news conference as attorney general, said he has no plan for recommending that the President submit any new civil rights proposals at the next session of Congress.

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10 1957

Demo Council Okays Strong Civil Rights

Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.
Mon. 10-21-57

WASHINGTON, Oct. 20 (AP)—The Democratic Advisory Council today adopted what was described as a no-compromise stand on civil rights. It also directed its staff to study the need for recommending new legislation, possibly to cover other than just voting rights.

The 24-member council, which includes former President Truman and Adlai Stevenson, voted unanimously not to make public its civil rights statement until tomorrow. However, several of the 17 members who met here today indicated its tenor.

P. 2-A

Gov. Averell Harriman of New York, a strong supporter of civil rights legislation, said he was satisfied with the statement. He said it means the Democratic party will never back down on civil rights.

All Democratic National Chairman Paul M. Butler would tell newsmen about the civil rights statement was that one of two Southern members present voted against it. One member said the lone dissenter was Mrs. Benjamin B. Everett, North Carolina national committeewoman. The other Southerner reported present was Camille F. Gravel Jr., Louisiana national committeeman.

The economic statement approved by the Council criticized the Eisenhower administration for what it called a "negative" policy to combat the "worst peacetime inflation" in history.

One member of the Council said the civil rights statement, adopted just before the Council ended two days of private sessions, reaffirmed a Council declaration of Sept. 15, which criticized President Eisenhower's alleged lack of leadership in the Little Rock, Ark., school integration crisis. The September statement also said Gov. Orval Faubus' action in keeping Negroes out of the Central High School there with National Guard troops was not the position of the Democratic party. That was nine days before the President ordered federal troops into the city.

The statement approved today also was reported to have criticized Eisenhower for not appointing by now the Civil Rights Commission and a new assistant attorney general provided for in the civil rights bill passed earlier this year by Congress.

Retired Justice Irked By Fights Over Civil Rights

Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.
Sat. 10-5-57

MONTEREY, Calif., Oct. 4 (AP)—A retired associate justice of the U.S. Supreme Court took note last night of the controversy stirred up by the court's civil rights decisions, then commented, "Fortunately wrong decisions are not irremediable."

P. 2-A

Stanley Reed told the state bar of California that only chaos could result from misuse of power in opposing judgments "contrary to our own views."

But he emphasized that people who dislike Supreme Court decisions can seek amendment of the Constitution or a court reversal.

"The civil rights decisions of the Supreme Court have called forth harshly worded criticisms," he said, without being specific as to the currently controversial school integration issue.

President Also Names Wilkins As Member Of Group

World
B'ham, Ala.
Nov. 11-58

By SAM HOGG

WASHINGTON — (INC)—President Eisenhower named a special six-man commission Thursday to conduct a broad study of Civil Rights with retired Supreme Court Justice Stanley Reed as chairman.

The commission was created under the controversial civil rights bill enacted by Congress last August.

In addition to Reed, Mr. Eisenhower named the following members to the bipartisan group:

VICE CHAIRMAN

Dr. John A. Hannah, President of Michigan State University, who will serve as vice chairman; former Virginia Gov. John S. Battle; assistant secretary of Labor Ernest Wilkins; Notre Dame President, Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh; and Southern Methodist University law school dean, Dr. Robert G. Storey.

Reed, Battle and Storey are Democrats. Hannah and Wilkins, the latter a Chicago Negro, are Republicans. Rev. Hesburg is described as a political independent.

The appointments were made by Mr. Eisenhower on a recess basis and must be confirmed when Congress returns in January.

The commission can investigate alleged violations of voting rights and conduct such inquiries with testimony being taken under oath.

The group is also directed under the civil rights bill to study and collect information of any cases constituting a denial of equal protection of the laws under the constitution.

to all, P. 6

COMPREHENSIVE REPORT

A third scope of the commission is to submit to the President and Congress "a final and comprehensive report" on civil rights recommendations not later than August, 1959.

Wed. 11-13-57

The bipartisan commission must go out of business 60 days after submitting the report unless Congress otherwise orders that it continue.

Mr. Eisenhower has delayed since August selecting members of the commission.

He told a news conference recently that he was seeking the "best men possible" who would represent a broad range of American viewpoint on the delicate study.

The Chief Executive still has not named an assistant Attorney General to head up a special and stronger civil rights section in the Justice Department. Such a nomination is expected soon.

Reed retired from the Supreme Court approximately a year ago.

Civil Rights Chief Named

Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 25 (AP) — President Eisenhower today picked Wilson White of Philadelphia to head the new civil rights division in the Justice Department —subject to approval by the Senate.

Tues. 11-26-57

White is already an assistant attorney general, in charge of legal counseling, and had been reported previously to be in line for the civil rights post.

However, there had been hints that Eisenhower might seek to bypass the Senate on any vote of confirmation and merely shift White from one assistant attorney generalship to another.

Those reports, which had stirred up Southern criticism, were disposed of by the White House announcement that the Senate would be asked to pass on the nomination.

Mrs. Anne Wheaton, associate presidential press secretary, said that both Eisenhower and White felt the selection should be passed on by the Senate because of the importance of the job.

As assistant attorney general heading the civil rights division, White would handle lawsuits alleging interference with Negroes' voting and other rights. The job was created in the civil rights bill passed last session by Congress.

Southern critics of that law, including Sens. Thurmond (D-SC) and Stennis (D-Miss) have said they would want a full hearing on any nomination for the position. The committee in charge of such a hearing would be the Senate Judiciary Committee, headed by Sen. Eastland (D-Miss), another opponent of the new civil rights legislation.

Advertiser P. 3-A

White is reported to have done much of the work backgrounding Eisenhower's actions in the integration troubles at Little Rock, Ark. These culminated in the sending of federal troops there to enforce a court order requiring integration of Negroes and whites at the city's Central High School.

White is a partner, in his father's law firm, with Rep. Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania. He lives in the Chestnut Hill section of Philadelphia, a fashionable neighborhood in which Sen. Clark (D-Pa) also lives.

Tues. 11-26-57

Now 51, White is a graduate of Harvard University and the University of Pennsylvania law school and a veteran of Navy service in World War II.

He practiced law in his father's law firm until he was named U.S. attorney for eastern Pennsylvania in August 1953. He became an assistant attorney general last March.

Today's White House action was an announcement, rather than an actual appointment. The appointment itself is expected shortly.

White told reporters he would continue in his present post until his successor is chosen. It was indicated this selection has been made because White said in answer to a question he might be sworn in on the new recess appointment next week.

He turned aside questions about his "basic philosophy" on civil rights.

"I do not think it would be proper to go into this at this time," he said. "I think the Senate Judiciary Committee has the right to ask the questions and get the answers first."

White recalled that as U.S. attorney in Pennsylvania, he had handled some civil rights complaints, principally into allegations of police mistreatment. However, he said nearly all these cases had been settled around the conference table and noted that "I have never tried a civil rights case in court."

He remarked laughingly that his present position is generally known as "an ivory tower job," concerned with research into constitutional law. In contrast, he saw in his new assignment "an operating job."

"I will take an active part in the work that has to be done," he said.

Budget Bureau plans for the new division, White said, call for an initial force of about 60 persons, of whom half would be practicing lawyers. The new division will have to live on funds borrowed from other Justice Department divisions until Congress provides it with a regular appropriation.

White said the attorney general had given him a free hand in selecting his staff, and that the nucleus would be drawn from attorneys now in the civil rights section of the criminal division, and other department divisions.

He said his present first assistant, Joseph M. F. Ryan, 35, will continue in that capacity in the civil rights division. Ryan is a native of Philadelphia also, but has spent his adult life in Washington.

The new civil rights law also was aimed primarily at Southern practices alleged to deprive Negroes of their voting rights.

It also provided for a bipartisan commission to investigate allegations of denial of voting rights because of race, religion or national origin. Eisenhower named that commission Nov. 7. As chairman, he chose Stanley Reed, a retired Supreme Court justice.

Ike Will Attend Group's Meeting

AUGUSTA, Ga., Nov. 20 (AP) — President Eisenhower will attend the first meeting of the new Civil Rights Commission Dec. 9 in Washington.

Plans for the session of the six-member commission, set up to make a two-year study of civil rights problems, were announced by White House press secretary James C. Hagerty at the President's vacation headquarters.

The announcement came as Eisenhower made ready to end a week's vacation mixed with work at the Augusta National Golf Club and return to Washington by plane tomorrow.

The Civil Rights Commission, authorized in legislation passed at the last session of Congress, was appointed by the President earlier this month.

Former Supreme Court Justice Stanley F. Reed is chairman of the unit. The other members are former Gov. John S. Battle of Virginia; J. Ernest Wilkins, Negro assistant secretary of labor; Robert G. Storey, dean of the Law School at Southern Methodist University; the Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, president of Notre Dame University; and John A. Hannah, president of Michigan State University and a former assistant secretary of defense in the Eisenhower administration.

Hagerty said the commission undoubtedly will discuss with Eisenhower selection of an executive director.

The new law also provided for an assistant attorney general in charge of civil rights matters. Hagerty said in reply to a question that Eisenhower will make that appointment soon.

The President conferred by telephone again today with Secretary of State Dulles, who was in Washington. After today's conference and a round of work in his office above the pro shop the President got in his daily round of golf.

Thur. 11-21-57

Six On Civil Rights

(From The New York Times)

President Eisenhower has rather remarkably well accomplished what he set out to do in finding men to serve on the new Civil Rights Commission. He said last week that he wanted representatives of "all types of thinking" and also that he wanted people * * * whose reputation is that of being of a judicial turn of mind."

The membership of the commission fulfills both specifications, which are not so contradictory as they might at first seem to be. President Eisenhower's six appointees are all respected citizens, and while their views on the problem of Negro rights certainly vary, none is known as an unreasonable man. The commission is distinctly "moderationist" in tone; and even its segregationist member, former Gov. John S. Battle of Virginia, is no wild extremist. Neither is its one Negro member, Assistant Secretary of Labor J. Ernest Wilkins. The chairman, retired Justice Stanley F. Reed of the Supreme Court, is cautious and conservative, but he did join his colleagues in the unanimous decision in the school segregation case of 1954, and he was the author of earlier opinions that helped pave the way for that historic document.

Nobody really knows yet what the Civil Rights Commission, set up under the law passed at the last session of Congress, is actually going to do. It has the clear responsibility of looking into denial of the franchise on racial grounds. But if it chooses, it can enter much broader areas, covering the whole question of "denial of equal protection of the laws" and the statutes and policies of the Federal Government designed to meet this situation. As an advisory body to the President, the commission can if it so desires become a tremendous force toward the creation of a clear and coherent Federal policy on this toughest—and most delicate—of all our primarily domestic problems.

We hope that the commission will not follow the timid road, but will instead take a liberal view of its duties and dare to assume a badly needed position of constructive non-partisan leadership.

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.
Wed. 11-27-57

1C 1957

Night sessions hit filibuster

Afro-American P. 1
Sat. 7-13-57
Baltimore Md.

WASHINGTON — A physical endurance contest between Dixiecrats and a coalition of Republicans and northern Democrats over the administration sponsored "right to vote" bill appeared virtually certain Monday.

Displaying his usual bulldog tenacity, Sen. William F. Knowland of California, Republican Senate leader, has divided his force of 46 Republican Senators in two teams, ready for around the clock sessions necessary to break the back of a Southern filibuster.

But Knowland at the same time let it be known that he is willing to listen to "reasonable" offers of amendment to soften the admittedly already moderate provisions of the Eisenhower measure.

* * *

THIS OFFER to accept crippling amendments to the bill the House passed in its original form drew a sharp rejoinder from Sen. Paul Douglas of Illinois, the leader of the pro-civil rights forces on the Democratic side.

"The civil rights bill is a good one as it stands," he said, "the important thing is for the Senate to get the right to discuss it. Until that is done any discussion of amendments is premature."

Emerging as leaders of the Southern bloc were Sen. Richard Russell, Dixiecrat of Georgia and Sen. John Sparkman, (D., Ala.)

* * *

SAID SENATOR SPARKMAN, who in 1952 was Adlai Stevenson's running mate on the Democratic ticket:

"It seems a shame that we will be forced to waste so much time because integrationists led by President Eisenhower and Vice President Nixon are determined to get a civil rights bill through the Senate this session."

The issue was joined Monday when Senator Knowland, whose adriot moves kept the measure from the death clutches of Senator Eastland's committee after it was passed by the House, moved to bring the bill before the Senate.

His motion to take up the bill was expected to result in several weeks or months of discussion. The filibuster by the Dixiecrats is to prevent a vote on the motion to consider the bill.

"What effect will civil rights have on adjournment?" a reporter asked Mr. Knowland.

"It will prolong adjournment," Knowland replied. "We are not setting any adjournment date because, if you do, you make an ideal spot to filibuster against."

Knowland added that the House may want to recess so its members can go home for a time after the Senate gets into a filibuster.

Once the Senate gets into a filibuster, he said, he imagined the talkathon would continue for several weeks or months.

"It is true that some sort of compromise deal is being worked out by leaders on both sides?" a reporter asked.

"I know of no proposal that has been presented by anybody that would be the subject of an agreement," Knowland replied.

* * *

THE DEBATE, he said could develop some formula that would be acceptable.

"Generally speaking," he added, "I have been in support of the legislation that has been offered."

Knowland mentioned the amendment that Sen. Thomas C. Hennings, of Missouri, chairman of the Constitutional Rights subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, had sought recognition to offer in the Judiciary Committee.

The Hennings amendment would require jury trials in contempt of court cases arising under the provisions of the civil rights bill, but not in cases where the contempt occurred in the presence of the judge or so near to the court as to interfere directly with the administration of justice.

* * *

THE BILL ITSELF would authorize the Attorney General to bring suits for injunctions to prevent the denial of the right to vote to any person or the violation of any civil right that is protected by the Federal Constitution or existing civil rights statutes.

If an injunction were violated, the person violating it could be cited for contempt of court, given a hearing by a Federal judge, and, if found guilty, be sent to jail.

The Dixiecrats contend that this procedure, which is the general practice in both Federal and state courts, would deprive persons of their right to jury trials.

Senator Knowland said the Hennings amendment has not been finally worked out. All that Senator Hennings did was to ask Senator James O. Eastland, of Mississippi, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, when could he get recognition to offer the amendment providing for jury trial in criminal contempt cases arising under the civil rights bill.

EASTLAND PROMISED to recognize him whenever he was the first member of the committee to request recognition, but Hennings was never recognized in the committee for any purpose, and the Hennings-Dirksen bill apparently was laid aside after the Senate voted to bypass the Judiciary Committee and put the House-approved bill on the Senate calendar.

The Senate bill contains a jury-trial amendment offered by Sen. Sam J. Ervin (D., N.C.) It would apply to both civil and criminal contempt cases arising under the civil rights bill, although, in the opinion of Senator Eastland, all contempt cases that would arise under the bill would be criminal

The House-approved bill contains no jury-trial provision. Knowland will move to take it up since the Senate bill is still bottled up in Eastand's committee.

Knowand said he does not think any senator "would want to forelcose himself to consideration of any satisfactory amendment that might be presented, but I have not yet seen one."

* * *

ATTORNEY GENERAL Herbert Brownell, who is credited with drafting the bill which has aroused the Dixiecrats to a high pitch, says a jury-trial amendment would wreck the legislation.

Asked how much "must" legislation would a filibuster block, Knowland repied that "there is no 'must' legislation in the sense that the executive branch has any such list.

"Before either House can go home sine die it will be necessary to pass all appropriation bills."

* * *

IN A statement issued here Monday, Sen. Jacob K. Javits (R., N.Y.), related the fight for civil rights legislation on the Senate floor to a bill to bar racial discrimination in private housing now pending before the New York City Council

"We have made the most outstanding progress in New York State and city of any place in the country" in dealing with racial and religious discrimination, Mr. Javits said.

But housing bias is found even in New York State where not specifically prohibited by law as it is in public housing and housing with public assisted financing.

* * *

MR. JAVITS asserted that New York has made its best progress against discrimination "through the processes of mediation, conciliating and technical assistance.

The objectives of the measure currently before the New York Council, the Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs bill against discrimination in private housing, he said, "are elements in the national effort and necesary to the soul and conscience of New York City."

The bill to which he referred is sponsored by New York City Council leader Joseph T. Sharkey, Brooklyn Democrat; Councilman Earl Brown, Manhattan Democrat, and Councilman Stanley M. Isaacs, Manhattan Republican, who have been feuding over lack of progress the bill is making.

* * *

"BEYOND ITS local implications is the impact that failure to act against housing bias in New York City could have on efforts for civil rights legislation in Congress," said Mr. Javits, adding:

"An all out fight, in which I am proud to be participating, is shaping up on the floor of the United States Senate on behalf of President Eisenhower's moderate civil rights program.

"Liberal Senators, both Democratic and Republican, leading the fight for civil rights are strengthened if the city administration of New York—this melting pot city that cradled liberalism and has prided itself on equality for all—will do all it can lawfully do to curb discimination within its own boundaries.

"I BELIEVE, HOWEVER, that the effort to end housing bias can best succeed — not by reliance on criminal penalties—but, in accordance with our experience under the state anti - discrimination laws by the action of a city commission against discrimination, utilizing mediation, conciliation and technical assistance with court injunctions as the primary enforcement medium to back it up.

"The Sharkey-Brown - Isaac bill should be amended in this way and then passed."

New York Times, Herald Tribune Hit Filibuster

World P. 1
B'hom Ala.
Wed. 7-10-57

NEW YORK — (NNPA) — The New York Times Friday called the proposal of Senator Richard B. Russell, Democrat, of Georgia, for a national referendum on the Eisenhower Administration's civil rights bill "just a nationwide filibuster."

In a curtain raiser to the Senate floor fight over civil rights, Senator Russell last week said he will offer an amendment to the bill providing for a national referendum. There is not constitutional provision for referendums.

Under the heading, "Mr. Russell's Referendum," The Times commented on the proposal as follows:

"President Eisenhower didn't take long to dispose of the suggestion made by Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia that the pending civil rights program be 'submitted to the people of the North and west in a clear-cut and fairly presented plebiscite.'

"As he explained in reply to a question at his press conference, the President was unable to find any provision in the Constitution that would provide for such a referendum.

"DEAD" AT BIRTH

"The truth is, of course, that the Russell referendum proposal was dead as soon as it was born. The Georgia Senator seems to regard the pending legislation as a preliminary to another march of an invading army from Atlanta to the sea.

"The point that might be made does not touch on civil rights so much as on Senator Russell's charge that at least a portion of the American press and at least a portion of the other agencies of public communication have been guilty of a 'campaign of deception as to what this (civil rights) bill proposes to accomplish.'

"It is ridiculous to assume that a national referendum would produce a freer and fairer discussion than will be produced by an attempt to push civil rights legislation through Congress in the usual way.

"If the Northern and Western sections of the press are capable of choking off discussion on a subject that is before Congress they could be just as effective if the subjects were tossed out to be decided by an appeal to the mass of the voters.

"The referendum proposal does not make sense. Nearly sixty years of experience with the referendum in the states has left a difference of opinion as to how democratic it—and its twins, the initiative and the recall—really are."

Russell Encouraged by Talk With President and Predicts Senate Will Alter Rights Bill

But Nixon Expects No Concessions

Constitution Thurs. 7-11-57 Atlanta Ga.

By ALBERT RILEY
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, July 10—Three or four thin straws in the wind seemed to point today toward a North-South compromise on a civil rights bill less stringent than the Eisenhower Administration has requested.

However, Vice President Nixon told a group of House Republicans he expects the Senate to pass the civil rights bill without making any major concessions to its Southern foes.

The Senate today concluded its third day of debate on a motion to tawe up the bill, which is under heavy counterattack by the Southern forces:

1. Although he would not say so, Sen. Russell appeared somewhat encouraged over the South's position after a nearly hour-long conference with President Eisenhower at the White House.

LIBERAL COMPLAINT

And while Southerners were reported to have higher hopes following the Russell-Eisenhower conference, Rep. Celler (D-NY), a leading liberal, complained that "there seems to be no fight in the administration." Celler charged that "The President bends with every wind. . . . Apparently the administration began with a bang and now goes out with a whimper."

After the huddle with the President, Russell said, "The President certainly has not closed his mind to modifications of the bill and there is absolutely no intention on his part to launch a punitive expedition against the South."

"In my opinion, this bill will be modified to some extent or it will not pass the Senate," Russell told reporters. If it is not modified, he said, "We may be here until the snow flies."

NO AMENDMENTS

"I didn't take a pocketful of amendments with me" to the White House, Russell added, but he said he pointed out to Eisenhower what could happen to the South under the bill.

Elsewhere on the civil rights battlefront:

1. It was understood that a compromise being made ready in the Senate is primarily in the hands of Sen. Albert Gore (D-Tenn. It would fall about halfway between the position of the administration for the current bill and the fundamental hope of the traditional and conservative Southerners for no bill at all.

2. Sen. Dirksen (R-Ill), a leading civil rights advocate, attempted to soft-pedal part three of the bill as he discussed the proposed legislation section-by-section in the Senate and urged its passage. Part three is the section which Sen. Russell has declared would permit federal enforcement of racial integration in the South at bayonet point.

RESTRAINT

3. In debating against the Republican motion to take up the bill, the Southerners are showing restraint. They are deliberately holding back such extremists as Sen. Eastland (D-Miss.), and pushing forward such moderates as Sens. Fulbright (D-Ark) and Sparkman (D-Ala) so as not to upset behind-the-scenes negotiations.

4. Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson of Texas issued a statement declaring that the debate thus far has produced "a climate of reason within which the Senate can reach a meaningful conclusion."

Johnson also said the debate has produced "the need for some technical studies which can be used as a framework of reference," in the absence of a committee report on the bill. The Judiciary Committee was bypassed when the bill came over from the House and was placed directly on the calendar.

The Texan said he is having his staff make intensive studies on part three of the bill—the section Russell denounced so vigorously when he stripped the moderate "right-to-vote" label from the proposal in a speech a week ago.

On the Republican side of the aisle, Dirksen, too, started treading gingerly as he began his speech and said he would discuss parts one, two and four of the bill—but would not touch on part three until later.

However, the Illinois senator eventually slipped into a discussion of part three, anyhow. Even then his answers were temperate in reply to Russell's assertion that this section of the bill would permit federal troops to be sent into the South to enforce desegregation.

Dirksen argued that the President already has the right under several existing statutes to call out the Army, Navy or Militia to enforce judicial decrees.

He denied that the bill is "cunningly designed" to permit such use of armed force as Russell has claimed. Dirksen also said that Atty. Gen. Brownell, who drafted the bill, has no intention of using it to enforce school integration at bayonet point.

Sen. Ervin (D-NC) challenged Dirksen's contention that the President already has the power to use armed forces merely to enforce a court order. Ervin said existing laws only permit the President to use troops to put down a general insurrection.

Dirksen and Sens. Watkins (R-Utah) and Kuchel (R-Calif.), emphasized the right-to-vote features of the bill as proponents of the measure got in their licks today.

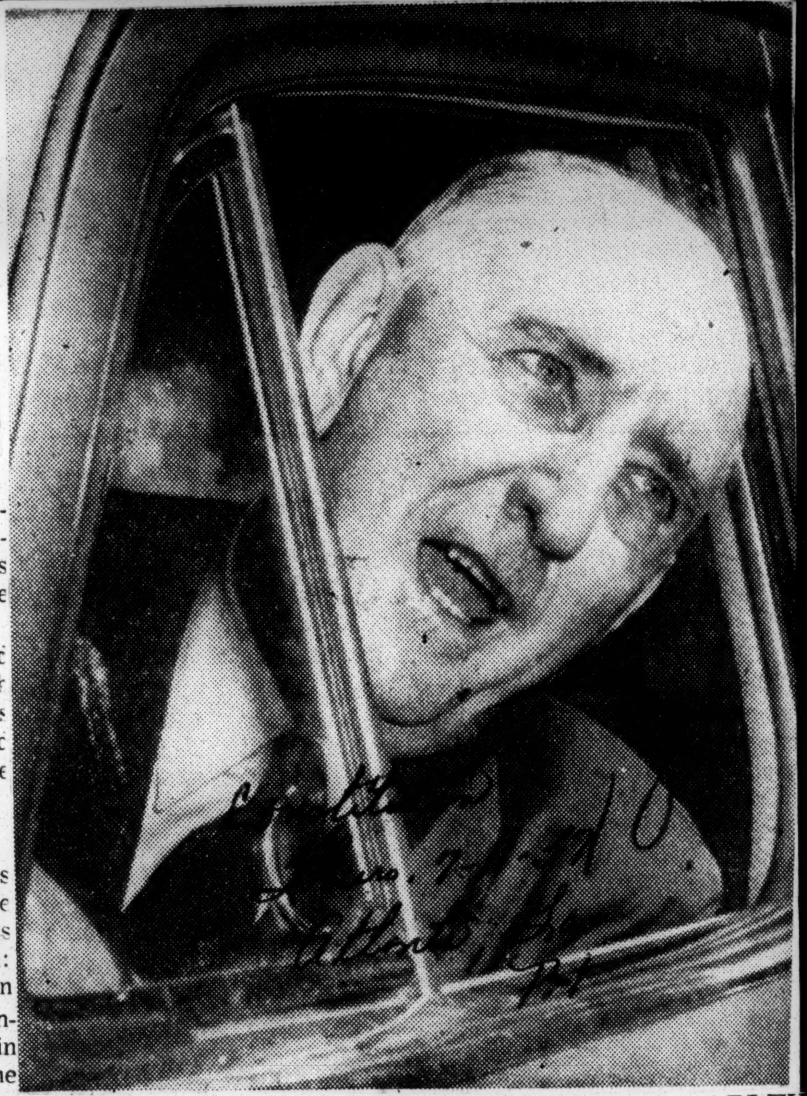
But Sen. Sparkman denounced the bill as "extreme in form, harsh in purpose and destructive in its implications" as he said it would seek to make federal judges the tool of administration policy.

SPARKMAN

Attacking the bill's provisions that would deny defendants the right of jury trial in civil rights injunction cases, Sparkman said: "Now, for the first time, an American president is asking Congress to do away with juries, in order to make trials end in the convictions desired by the Administration. Congress is being asked to abandon whole chapters of American history and to demolish clause after clause of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution that guarantee trial by jury."

As the Senate held its third day of debate on the issue, Nixon discussed the bill's prospects privately with members of the 85 Club, which is composed of first-term Republican House Members. Participants relayed his remarks to reporters.

Rep. Edwin H. May Jr. (R-Conn) the club's secretary-treasurer, said Nixon was optimistic about the fate of the legislation in the Senate. He said Nixon told the group he was determined to get the bill passed, "no matter how long it may take."



RUSSELL LEAVES WHITE HOUSE RIGHTS PARLEY

Eisenhower "Open Minded," Russell Tells Reporters

Say Northern Demos Sell Out On Civil Rights

Call Fri 6-28-57 Kansas City, Mo.

WASHINGTON. — (INS) — A controversy developed Monday over charges that Northern Democrats sold out civil rights in the Senate last week to win Southern Democratic support for the Hell's Canyon dam bill.

The accusation was made by GOP National Chairman Meade Alcorn who said the northern liberals voted with their southern colleagues in the futile attempt to "bottle up" the House-approved civil rights measure in the Judiciary committee.

But Senate Democratic Whip Mike Mansfield of Montana promptly denied the charge and said there was "no deal of any kind, sort or nature and there were no trades on the part of any Democart with any Democrat with any other Democrat for votes."

Those accused by the GOP chairman of having made "a deal to swap off civil rights for Hell's Canyon" were Sens. Wayne Morse (D) Ore., John F. Kennedy (D) Mass., Warren G. Magnuson (D) Wash., James E. Murray (D) Mont., and Mansfield.

Alcorn said: "This is an object lesson in political double-standard morality. The people who were sold out will not forget it."

Sen. Irving Ives (R) N. Y., meanwhile predicted that even with the initial vote to put the House bill on the Senate calendar, the civil rights legislation still will have rough sledding.

Ives said: "I don't think the prospects for the enactment of civil rights legislation — that is, meaningful civil rights legislation — are very good."

In a television interview Sunday, he added: "I don't believe we are going to be able to get it passed."

10 1957

Rights Fight Puts Nixon in Key Role

By the Associated Press

WASHINGTON, June 13.—Amid indications he may play a leading role in Senate maneuvering over civil rights, Vice President Richard M. Nixon discusses racial problems today with a Montgomery, Ala., Negro pastor.

Mr. Nixon, as the Senate's presiding officer, would be in a strategic position to help or hinder a reported effort to bypass the Senate Judiciary Committee with a civil rights bill the House may pass tomorrow. The Senate's own bill now is tied up in that committee.

The Rev. Martin Luther King, a leader in Montgomery Negroes' long boycott of buses, reports to Mr. Nixon on conditions in the South as he sees them.

The House meantime resumes debate on its bill after a one-day layoff, with a states rights fight in prospect. House leaders were working toward a final vote by tomorrow, but were said to be prepared for a Saturday session if necessary to finish action.

Southern Senators planned a caucus on what they can do in case a Nixon ruling is called for on routing the House civil rights bill. They accepted Mr. Nixon's meeting with Mr. King as further evidence that the Vice President would side against them if the parliamentary situation arises.

Sen. William F. Knowland (Calif.), the GOP leader, said that when the House bill reaches the Senate, supporters of President Eisenhower's civil rights program are considering raising a technical point that it should go directly on the calendar.

This would have the effect of by-passing the Judiciary Committee.

If a point of order is raised, Mr. Nixon either could rule on it or submit the question to the Senate. If he ruled the House bill should go before the Senate without committee consideration, this undoubtedly would be appealed to the Senate itself.

House Votes Civil Rights Probe Unit

But Limits Its Subpoena Power

WASHINGTON, June 11 (UP).—The House handed President Eisenhower a first-round victory today by voting tentatively to create a new bipartisan commission to investigate alleged civil-rights violations.

But Southern Democrats fighting the measure also won a victory when they pushed through an amendment to the President's civil-rights bill to restrict the subpoena powers of the proposed commission.

The chamber also rejected an effort to kill the bill outright. Another plan to set up a commission to help relocate Southern Negroes in non-segregated states was ruled out of order.

The House members gave tentative approval to the civil-rights commission in rejecting, 127 to 88, a proposal by Rep. H. R. Gross, R., Iowa, to strike authority for it from the bill.

Bar Subpoena Plan

But they then adopted by a standing vote of 116 to 89 an amendment by Rep. J. Carlton Loser, D., Tenn., to bar the commission from subpoenaing a witness to testify outside his home state.

The chamber then quit work on the bill until Thursday when it will consider whether to restrict further the commission's proposed rules, duties and powers.

The members finally voted 121 to 89 to choke off the talking on a motion by Rep. Emanual Celler, D., N. Y., chairman of the House Judiciary Committee which recommended the measure and a leading civil rights backer.

The earlier move to kill the bill outright was led by Rep. Clare Hoffman, R., Mich., who proposed striking its enacting clause. He called the measure a "fraud," saying it would give the Attorney General "dictatorial powers" and "doesn't protect any civil rights."

Politics Charged

Rep. Hoffman's motion, was knocked down by voice vote, paving the way for the test on Rep. Gross' proposal. Rep. Alfred E. Santangelo, D., N. Y., urged the House to defeat the amendment on the ground that "this bill is to protect voting rights."

"This bill is to make votes for the Republican party," shouted back Rep. Burr Harrison, D., Va.

Rep. Hale Boggs, D., La., accused Attorney General Herbert Brownell jr. of adopting the philosophy that "the end justifies the means" in submitting the bill to Congress.

He called for adoption of a key trial-by-jury amendment to be advanced by the Southerners later — probably Thursday. It would guarantee a jury trial to any one accused of violating court orders protecting civil rights.

Sees a Waste of Time

Rep. Boggs said Congress must not bow to political pressures when traditional liberties are at stake or our grandchildren may live under Socialism as forecast recently by Soviet Communist party boss Nikita S. Khrushchev.

Rep. Robert L. Sikes, D., Fla., protested that the House was "wasting two weeks discussing something we have no expectation we shall see written into law."

"The bill is going to die in the Senate," Rep. Sikes said. "All of us anticipate that."

Rep. George W. Andrews, D., Ala., offered the proposal to substitute a "human resettlement commission" for the civil rights investigating commission. It would have helped Negroes move from segregated to non-segregated states.

House Spurns Move to Kill Civil Rights

By BETTY PRYOR,

United Press Staff Writer.

WASHINGTON, June 11.—The House today shouted down an initial attempt to kill the controversial Civil Rights Bill. The move was made by a northern Republican.

The motion, by Rep. Clare E. Hoffman (R., Mich.), was defeated on voice vote. It was the first test on the measure since debate began last Thursday.

Mr. Hoffman moved to strike the bill's enacting clause, which would have the effect of killing it. The charge that the bill was a "fraud."

Mr. Hoffman argued that the bill 'doesn't protect any civil rights," except the right to vote for seven federal offices, and would give the attorney general "dictatorial powers."

Rep. Emanuel Celler (N.Y.), Democratic floor leader for the bill, reported that Mr. Hoffman was trying to "throw a lot of dust" in the air. He said the only new authority the bill gives the attorney general is to apply for a court order when he receives a complaint of civil rights violations.

Senate Puts Off Opening Battle On Civil Rights

Special to The Inquirer

WASHINGTON, June 21. — The Senate reached agreement today to put off its civil rights battle until July 8.

Sen. Lyndon B. Johnson (D., Tex.), the Majority Leader, announced the decision to the Senate. It was reached in informal talks among Senators on both sides of the issue throughout the day.

The two-week delay will give the Senate a chance to clear up other important legislation, including a handful of appropriations bills remaining. The fiscal year ends June 30.

PLACED ON CALENDAR

Johnson did not say that a motion to take up the Administration's civil rights bill would definitely be made on July 8, but the prospect was that it would be. The House-passed measure was placed on the Senate's calendar last night after a long and bitter fight over Senate rules.

The motion to take the bill off the calendar and bring it before the Senate will set off the first of two probable filibusters by Southern Democrats. The first of these would come on the motion to take up the bill. That debate could be ended by the affirmative votes of 64 Senators or by exhaustion of the Southerners.

2D CHANCE FOR TALK

A second filibuster would then be in prospect on the measure itself. It, too, could be ended only by cloture — 64 votes — or by consent of the Southerners.

President Eisenhower's press secretary, James C. Hagerty, asked for White House reaction to the Senate action last night, replied:

"Well, that's our bill. We sincerely hope there will be action on the bill in this session of Congress."

U. S. BRANDS BAN ON CIVIL TRIAL WRONG

Claims Power to Surrender GI

BY PHILIP WARDEN

[Chicago Tribune Press Service]

Washington, June 20—The government made a direct appeal to the Supreme court today to set aside a lower federal court order barring a Japanese trial for army Specialist 3/C William S. Girard, 21.

Atty. Gen. Brownell and Solicitor General J. Lee Rankin said in a petition to the court that the ruling of Judge Joseph C. McGarraghy upsetting administration plans to turn Girard over to Japan was "clearly wrong."

Call Case Without Merit

"We firmly believe that, despite the District court's ruling, [Girard's] case is totally without merit and that the court can so decide promptly," the petition said.

McGarraghy ruled Tuesday that for the United States to give Japan jurisdiction over the trial of the young Ottawa, Ill., soldier on charges of manslaughter, would deprive Girard of his Constitutional rights.

"The threatened act by the defendants [government] is illegal and in violation to the Constitution and laws of the United States," McGarraghy said.

Say Japan Expects It

Brownell and Rankin said in their petition they had filed an appeal in the United States Court of Appeals but "public interest in an early disposition of this case" warranted an immediate Suprece court decision.

"Otherwise," the petition said, "the overwhelming likelihood is that the United States will be unable to fulfill its commitment to Japan for several trying months, even tho the Japanese government is very desirous of holding respondent's [Girard's] trial without delay and expects him

to be turned over promptly."

Brownell and Rankin suggested that the Supreme court direct that Girard's attorney be required to reply to the government's petition within two days.

In urging the Supreme court to accept the case for review and final decision, Brownell and Rankin proposed it be set for oral argument, "if deemed necessary, at an early date convenient to the court."

Daily Tribune

The petition argued that the government's decision to transfer jurisdiction over Girard to Japan under a state department-justice agreement should not have been subject to court review. P.2

Girard shot and killed a Japanese woman junk gatherer who was picking up empty brass cartridges on an American rifle range. Girard was an official guard duty. After five months of talks, the administration decided not to court martial Girard but to turn him over to Japan for trial.

Fri. 6-21-57

Claims Discretionary Power

"Under the international agreements with Japan," the Brownell petition said, "the right to exersie primary jurisdiction in particular cases is a right of the United States, not of the individual soldier. The decision whether or not to exercise that right is one for the United States to make in its discretion and in the light of the best interests of the country as viewed by the government.

"The arrangements certainly do not confer on each accused an option to be tried by court martial or local court as he might choose.

"Moreover, the established doctrine is that the exercise of executive discretion in this political field is not subject to any review by the courts."

Greece Hesitating

Meanwhile the state department reportedly is in a dither, fearing that Greece may turn back an American soldier to the United States for trial on a charge of traffic manslaughter because it has not ratified a status of forces agreement proposed by the United States.

This involves the case of Airman Marion Musilli of Benwood, W. Va., whose automobile killed a Greek hero, Gen. Stephanos Saraphis. If Greece refuses to try Musilli, it could prove extremely embarrassing to the United States in view of its stand in the Girard case.

All-Out Filibuster Unlikely At Opening Of Rights Debate

Advertiser Fri. 7-5-57
Montgomery, Ala.
P.1

WASHINGTON, July 4 (AP)—The civil rights battle in the Senate, due to open Monday, may begin with considerably less force than a filibuster

This became apparent today in the wake of statements by Sen. Russell (D-Ga) that Southern opponents do not plan, at the outset, to make speeches of unusual length.

Russell, leading the oposition, also said that the critical Dixie senators nevertheless would speak on different phases of the administration's civil rights bill "in order that it may be clearly understood."

In this connection, they are expected to seize on a statement of President Eisenhower at his news conference Wednesday. Eisenhower, who has been plugging the bill as fair and moderate, said then that he had been reading parts and "there were certain phrases I didn't completely understand."

The President made the statement in a discussion in which he also said he found it "rather incomprehensible" that highly respected men have described the bill as extreme and leading to disorder.

Russell has so dscribed it. He contends the legislation is a device contrived to force racial mixing on the South; Eisenhower and other supporters describe it as primarily intended to make sure that no citizen is deprived of his right to vote.

After the bill is called up Monday, the first speaker against it is expected to be Sen. Ervin (D-NC).

Ervin, through committee hearings and otherwise, has hit hard at the fact the bill does not guarantee a jury trial for any one charged with disobeying a judge's injunction issued under the proposed law.

Ervin says this is a denial of a vital right of a man to have his case heard by a jury, rather than by a judge alone. The Justice Department response to this has been that there is no constitutional right to a jury trial in such cases; others backing the legislation wouldn't convict in such a proceding.

Advertiser

Two possible filibusters confront the bill—one as soon as Knowland offers his motion to call it up, and the other on the bill itself. P.1

However, there were indications the Southerners might pass up the chance to filibuster the motion today, call it up, if an agreement can be reached to modify the bill. Here is the way Russell put it:

"I hope that as the debate progresses in the Senate chamber, we may arrive at some meeting of the minds, at least as to the portions of the bill which I regard as being most objectionable and most vicious, and that the time may come when, after full and fair debate, the Senate may proceed to vote on amendments to the bill."

Russell emphasized that, while he wants to modify the bill, his goal is still to kill it.

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Civil Rights Debate Viewed as 'Tragic'

Post + Times Herald
Mon. 7-8-57
Washington D.C.

By Kenneth Dole
Staff Reporter

The civil rights debate opening in the Senate today may be "the greatest or most tragic" in the history of the Upper Chamber, a Washington minister said yesterday. P.A.4

Discussion of the bill recently passed by the House will involve religious principle, the Rev. Dr. Lawrence D. Folkemer declared in a sermon at Reformation Lutheran Church.

"God Himself has a real stake in the debate," he said. "He will be in the center of the Senate Chamber—in every cloakroom, and every private conversation. He is no disinterested party."

The issue has a magnitude beyond regional considerations, he emphasized. "It rises far above the punishment of a section of the country for its views," he said. "If there is any punishment it is the punishment of us all. It goes to the very center of human dignity, worth and freedom."

The real issue, he asserted, is "human sacredness," something, he said, which "we can neither destroy nor impinge upon."

He called on God to "make us equal and sensitive to this hour."

In his sermon, "Christian Pacifists," Dr. Folkemer praised "peacemakers" and others who respect the sacredness of life.

"Let us rid ourselves," he urged, "of the fatuous philosophy that preparation for war is the best preparation for peace."

The best preparation, he said, is cultivating brotherhood and "reconciliation."

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Advertiser

Two possible filibusters confront the bill—one as soon as Knowland offers his motion to call it up, and the other on the bill itself.

However, there were indications the Southerners might pass up the chance to filibuster the motion to call it up, if an agreement can be reached to modify the bill. Here is the way Russell put it:

"I hope that as the debate progresses in the Senate chamber, we may arrive at some meeting of the minds, at least as to the portions of the bill which I regard as being most objectionable and most vicious, and that the time may come when, after full and fair debate, the Senate may proceed to vote on amendments to the bill."

Russell emphasized that, while he wants to modify the bill, his goal is still to kill it.

10 1957

Rights Advocates Quarrel as Dixie Wins Concessions

Constitution p.1
Atlanta, Ga.

Southerners Gleeful Over Curb Outlook

Sat 7-20-57

By ALBERT RILEY
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, July 19—A wide-open split in the ranks of civil rights advocates in the Senate today encouraged Southern hopes of restricting the administration bill to a protection of voting rights.

This unexpected development occurred even as two Republican senators went even further than they have yet in offering concessions to the South to modify the bill.

The breach between the advocates of a tough civil rights bill and new recruits for a more moderate measure began yesterday, but there were signs then it might be healed today.

GRANTED BREATHER

Instead, the rift widened and was so serious that the Northern liberals won an early recess until Monday to try to restore unity and shore up their strength.

Not only was a bipartisan coalition of civil righters falling apart, but there were intraparty squabbles on both the Democratic and Republican sides of the aisle.

The Southerners quietly sat back and gleefully watched the feuding develop.

Liberal Democrats were criticizing President Eisenhower for not taking a firm stand on the bill. And Republican leader Knowland seemed to be desperately trying to restore unity in his party to save part three of the bill.

NO MODIFYING

Sen. Knowland announced he was prepared to allow the Senate to accept the section as it stands or reject it altogether. Knowland said he had decided not to offer a modifying amendment he has been working on.

Earlier in the day he had told newsmen it would be introduced with or without bipartisan sponsorship. He said tonight he had come to the conclusion that a substitute could not be worked out "to meet the situation and the desires of the various people with whom we have been discussing it."

It was understood the Knowland amendment would have changed Section Three so that the attorney general could intervene in civil rights cases, other than those involving voting rights, only at the request of local authorities.

Constitution

A further compromise may be offered Monday if the breach cannot be closed.

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Sen. Russell said "We expect to start voting Monday or Tuesday unless the self-styled liberals, Senators Javits, Douglas, Humphrey, et al, continue their filibuster.

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"Their purpose in a weekend recess is to give the pressure groups like the NAACP, ADA and PAC, time to bring political pressure to bear to intimidate some senators who now intend to vote to strike out part three, the most vicious part of the bill.

"I have too much faith in the Senate to believe it can succeed."

Pushing himself nearly to exhaustion in fighting the bill, Russell will go on three more national television and radio programs Sunday and Monday in his campaign to educate people of the nation on the civil rights measure.

Meanwhile, commenting on the disputes between the civil rights forces, Sen. Ervin (D-NC) smilingly noted that "their bullets are beginning to ricochet on each other now."

He said he now thinks the Dixie forces have a good chance to withstand a counterattack on the Anderson-Aiken amendment.

This is the amendment the Southerners want. It would strike from the bill all of part three, which would empower the attorney general to go into federal courts on his own initiative to seek enforcement of all kinds of civil rights, not just voting rights.

The Southerners have been ready to vote on this amendment by Sens. Anderson (D-N.M.), and Aiken (R-Vt.), for three days, and it has been the Liberals who have done the stalling.

It now seems that the issue definitely will come to a vote Monday. The Liberals may offer a substitute to modify part three but still retain its injunctive powers in the bill, with limitations. Or, if they can regroup their forces, they may go for a vote on the Anderson-Aiken amendment. If they fail, they may then seek to restore part three with modifications.

The bi-partisan coalition was unable to agree today on the language of such a substitute. And Sen. Humphrey (D-minn) said an effort will be made over the weekend to agree on its wording.

Acting independently earlier in the day, Knowland and Sen. Watkins (R-Utah) offered two concessions to the South.

Watkins proposed an amendment that would retain part of section three but would prevent the attorney general from seeking to enforce racial integration in public schools, parks and other places.

It did not, however, have the sanction of GOP leader Knowland, and seemed also to irk the Northern Democrats.

The Watkins amendment would not allow the attorney general to seek civil rights injunctions on his own initiative, but only at the specific request of local governing authorities.

And the Utah senator's plan went even further to allay Southern objections. It would, except in voting rights cases, strike from the original bill a method by which civil rights complainants could bypass local or state administrative remedies and go directly into federal courts.

One significant aspect of Watkins' compromise is that he has been one of the leading Republican advocates of civil rights legislation in the Senate judiciary committee.

Meanwhile, Knowland put forward an amendment that already has been advocated by Georgia's Sen. Russell.

It would prohibit the proposed civil rights commission from accepting or using the services of voluntary or uncompensated personnel.

CIVIL RIGHTS BILL IS BEFORE SENATE

Times-Picayune New Orleans, La.

Vote to Take Up President's Bill 71-18

Wed 7-17-57

By WILMOT HERCHER

WASHINGTON, July 16 (AP) — The Senate voted 71-18 today to take up President Eisenhower's civil rights bill.

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It was the signal for a bitter North-South fight that may last all summer.

Soon after the Senate decision, Eisenhower issued a statement expressing the hope that, in considering amendments, the Senate, "will keep the measure an effective piece of legislation."

Specifically, Eisenhower opposed the idea of guaranteeing jury trials in contempt of court cases which might grow out of the legislation.

But Sen. Russell (D-Ga), leader of Southern foes of the bill, said:

"We are prepared to expend the greatest effort ever made in history to prevent passage of this bill in its present form."

All Louisiana and Mississippi senators voted against the Senate motion to take up the civil rights bill.

MORSE MOTION LOSES

As soon as the House-approved measure reached the floor, Sen. Morse (D-Ore.) moved that it be sent to the judiciary committee for a week's study. This motion was defeated 54-35.

Then Sen. Anderson (D-NM) promptly called up his amendment to strike out the controversial section 3 of the bill, which would give the attorney general new powers to seek federal court injunctions for the enforcement of all manner of civil rights. Violators of these injunctions could be jailed or fined by federal judges for contempt without a jury trial.

While Anderson's amendment thus became the pending matter in the battle over the bill, he said he did not care to start debate on it tonight. The Senate recessed at 6:21 p. m. until noon tomorrow.

Not since 1946 have supporters of civil rights legislation been able to get a bill before the Senate.

LONG FILIBUSTER DUE

Their victory today came after eight days of debate in which the measure was hailed as moderate and progressive legislation and denounced as a plot to push the South back to conditions prevailing in the reconstruction era which followed the War Between the States.

Sixty-six speeches, by a press gallery count, were made in this first phase of the historic debate.

Now a determined band of Southern Democrats led by Russell is expected to filibuster for weeks against the bill unless its terms are softened greatly by amendments. With senatorial tempers growing shorter in the summer heat, the chances of a compromise are still uncertain.

Almost all other legislative business in the Senate will be supended until the civil rights issue is settled. Sen. Knowland of California, the Republican leader, said this may take two months.

18 'NO' VOTES CAST

A coalition of 42 Republicans and 29 Democrats joined forces to bring the bill to the floor.

The 18 "no" votes came from 9 of the 11 Southern states. The senators from Tennessee and Texas, including Majority Leader Johnson of Texas, voted for consideration of the bill.

Times-Picayune

This indicated that in any attempt to talk the bill to death the opposition could depend on only 18 speakers—the senators from Virginia, Mississippi, Louisiana, North and South Carolina, Alabama, Georgia, Florida and Arkansas. Sen. Kefauver (D-Tenn) has served notice he will not support a filibuster, although he wants the bill modified.

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Eisenhower's statement was put out while he was playing golf in nearby Maryland. James C. Hagerty, the White House press secretary, said it had been prepared in

advance and fully discussed with the President. P. 3

PRESIDENT 'GRATIFIED'

The chief executive said he was gratified at the Senate decision to take up the bill. While details of the language are a legislative matter, he said, he hoped the bill's effectiveness would be preserved, to carry out its four objectives. Each of these goals, he said, "is consistent with simple justice and equality afforded to every citizen under the Constitution of the United States."

He described the objectives this way:

"1. To protect the constitutional right of all citizens to vote regardless of race or color. In this connection we seek to uphold the traditional authority of the federal courts to enforce their orders. This means that a jury trial should not be interposed in contempt of court cases growing out of violations of such orders.

"2. To provide a reasonable program of assistance in efforts to protect other constitutional rights of our citizens.

"3. To establish a bipartisan presidential commission to study and recommend any further appropriate steps to protect these constitutional rights.

OPPOSITION DIFFERS

"4. To authorize an additional assistant attorney general to administer the legal responsibilities of the federal government involving civil rights."

The Southern opposition takes a different view of it. They contend the attorney general would become a "czar" under the bill and that U.S. troops conceivably could be used to force on the South such social changes as racial integration of the public schools.

Morse favors the bill but doesn't want to bypass the Senate's committee system.

In moving to refer the bill to the Judiciary Committee, Morse also argued it is "complex and complicated legislation that is bound to find its way into the courts of America," and that the courts should have the benefit of an official committee report.

Thirty-eight Republicans and 16 Democrats joined to defeat the Morse motion on the second roll call of the afternoon. It was supported by four Republicans and 31 Democrats.

Knowland, Byrd Clash

As the Senate approached the end of eight days of debate on the motion to take up the legislation, Knowland clashed with Sen. Byrd (D-Va) over Byrd's description of Chief Justice Warren as "the modern Thaddeus Stevens."

Byrd had denounced the legislation as "an iniquitous bill. . . a refutation of our entire American jurisprudence."

The Virginian then compared Warren with Stevens, a Republican House leader of War Between the States and reconstruction days who was a vehement advocate of a get-tough policy toward the South.

Suggesting that President Eisenhower does not know what is in the civil rights bill, Byrd continued:

"I strongly suspect that the modern Thaddeus Stevens, now cloaked in the robes of chief justice of the United States Supreme Court, has a complete and thorough knowledge of what could and would be done under the bill."

Knowland protested there was "a clear implication" in Byrd's speech that Warren "had in effect entered into a conspiracy" with the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People and Americans for Democratic Action.

Warren Hit by Virginian

The GOP leader said he hoped Byrd did not mean to imply that the chief justice had conspired with any group relative to the civil rights bill.

Byrd replied he didn't charge Warren had entered into any conspiracy.

Pounding his hands together for emphasis, the Virginian went on to say he does think Warren has done and is doing more than any chief justice in the nation's history to destroy the American form of government.

If Warren continues to render opinions such as he did in the school integration case and others, Byrd said, Warren will destroy fundamental national principles.

Knowland told Byrd he did not wish to remain silent in the face of Byrd's remarks because, he said, the chief justice and his associates in the court, unlike senators and the President, have no forum on which to defend themselves against political attacks. Warren is a former governor of California, Knowland's home state.

Knowland reported after a White House conference earlier that President Eisenhower is still in favor of all the "basic provisions" of the civil rights bill as it was passed by the House June 18.

Hints Clarifications

He added the President "recognizes that the Senate may feel there are certain clarifications that will be necessary." But he said "compromise" could not be regarded as a key word in the situation at this time.

Knowland commands for the civil rights struggle a coalition of Republicans and northern and western Democrats. The coalition is considered strong enough to pass a civil rights bill but probably not strong enough to muster the 64 votes needed to shut off the debate on the measure as it now stands.

The most controversial part of the legislation is Section 3, which would empower the attorney general to seek federal court injunctions against violations of all manner of civil rights. The southern opposition contends troops could be used to enforce this section, and that it provides a means of compelling the South to accept racial integration in its public schools.

Knowland said he has no doubt Section 3 goes beyond voting rights in the general field of civil rights. But he said he thought Eisenhower feels that it "does not go as far as some of the views in the Senate" represent it to go.

Sen. Javits (R-NY) aserted in the final hours of debat that Section 3 provides for the enforcement of rights that are "just as fundamental as the right to vote."

He urged supporters of the bill not to be "scared or panicked or weaned away."

AMENDMENT SOUGHT

Knowland expressed hope the Senate can begin voting on amendments late this week or early next week. Russell, captain of the Southern opposition, has said there will be no filibustering during the amending process.

Asked when final action on the bill might come, Knowland said he would hope in three or four weeks. He added, however, that "if there are prolonged delaying tactics it could go on until mid-September."

As for the final outcome, he said:

"I still believe a civil rights bill will be passed, and that it will be an effective civil rights bill."

Measure Nears Senate Floor

Herald Tues. 7-16-57

Southerners Admit Defeat, Can't Bury 'Rights' Bill

Miami, Fla. P. 1-a

WASHINGTON — (UP) — Southern foes of President Eisenhower's civil rights bill conceded Monday they face defeat in their fight to keep the legislation from officially reaching the Senate floor.

As the Senate began its second week of debate on the issue, Southerners abandoned hope they could defeat the motion of Senate Republican Leader William F. Knowland of California that the bill be made the pending business in the Senate.

The Senate has agreed to vote on the motion immediately after a quorum call at 5 p.m., Tuesday. Knowland and other civil rights advocates already have predicted its approval by an overwhelming margin.

Asked if he believed the Knowland motion will be approved, Sen. John C. Stennis (D., Miss.), a leading opponent of the bill, replied: "I am afraid it will."

Sen. Richard B. Russell (D., Ga.), leader of the Southern bloc, also indicated he expects a preliminary defeat. He told newsmen he "recognized the realities" of the vote Tuesday.

But he said the vote will not be an accurate reflection on overall Senate sentiment on the bill. He said some senators will vote for Knowland's motion although they oppose key provisions of the measure.

HOLLAND

SMATHERS

Sen. Spessard Holland (D., Fla.) told the Senate that "to the glory of the South, it can be said we have done away with the crime known as lynching without any coercion from Washington."

He said this was "without too good an example" from big cities in the North.

Holland said that Florida outlawed the poll tax in 1937, and by 1944, 20,000 Negroes had registered to vote. By 1956, he said, 148,636 Negroes had registered in Florida.

Sen. George Smathers (D., Fla.) said there is "no need for the type of bill we are considering now." He said Negro teachers did not want segregation abolished in the schools "because they would lose their jobs."

If approved, Knowland's motion would formally bring the House-approved bill to the floor for what may turn into an all-out Southern filibuster to prevent its passage.

As passed by the House, the legislation would establish a presidential civil rights commission; create a civil rights division in the Justice Department; authorize government suits to protect civil rights and provide greater protection for voting rights.

Most of the Southern criticism has been centered on the "point three" provision authorizing the government to obtain court injunctions against civil rights violations. The Southerners contend this would allow the use of federal troops to enforce court decrees on the issue.

Sen. Karl E. Mundt (R., S.D.) has proposed a compromise which would eliminate the disputed provision and provide for jury trials for persons accused of violating injunctions on voting rights. He predicted Sunday that Eisenhower would take no stand on his proposal.

Russell told the Senate the provision would be "bound to work irrevocable harm on both races in the South." He said it would "threaten the good relations between the two races that have been painstakingly evolved over 90 years."

10 1957

Complicated Parts Of Civil Rights Bill Are Explained

Daily News Jackson, Miss. P. 10

Wed. 7-17-57

The first two parts of the civil rights bill are simple. One would set up a commission on civil rights to investigate violations of those rights. The second would create an assistant attorney general who would be in charge of a new civil rights division in the Department of Justice.

Parts Three and Four are the complicated parts and the center of most of the argument. They are intertwined with existing laws and would give the federal government new powers. An explanation of these parts follows.

PART THREE

This would be added to existing civil suit sections of the so-called Ku Klux Act which was imposed on the South during the Reconstruction period following the Civil War.

One present section establishes the right of a person to sue for damages resulting from conspiracies of two or more persons to deprive him of certain rights, including "equal privileges and immunities under the law."

The other two existing sections establish the same right to sue for damages in cases of conspiracies against federal officers and jurinally carried criminal penalties also, but the Supreme Court has declared them unconstitutional.

Two new provisions would be added. The first would authorize the government to seek injunctions or other civil court action to halt such conspiracies "whenever any persons have engaged or there are reasonable grounds to believe any persons are about to engage" in thm. Persons disregarding such injunctions could be held in contempt of court and fined and sentenced to prison by a U.S. district judge without a jury trial. Opponents have developed attacks on this provision into one of their most effective arguments against the bill.

The second new section would give U.S. district courts jurisdiction in such cases regardless of whether the aggrieved party had exhausted remedies of state courts and administrative procedures.

Foes of the civil rights bill contend that such use of the Reconstruction period law would empower the government to force integration in schools and other public places in the South. They also contend that troops could be used because another existing law authorizes their use by the President to enforce the Ku Klux Act.

Supporters of the bill say the only addition of significance would be the authority for the government to bring civil suits. President Eisenhower has emphasized that this was all he intended.

Some Republican senators commind when they talk of "clarifying" amendments.

PART FOUR

This part deals exclusively with voting rights. It would add three sections to an existing law which states that qualified voters shall be entitled to vote in elections "without distinction of race, color or previous condiion of servitude."

One of the new provisions would prohibit interference with voting in an election or primary involving federal offices.

A second would authorize the government to seek injunctions or other civil court action to halt such interference or threatened interference.

The third would give U.S. district courts original jurisdiction.

There is no argument over the meaning or purposes of Part Four.

Southerners oppose it on traditional grounds and the lack of jury trials. Eisenhower and the bill's supporters have indicated they will stand firm.

Poll Shows Senators Favor Cut In Scope Of Civil Rights Bill

Commercial Appeal Memphis Tenn.

40 OF 64 ARE FOR IT

Sun. 7-21-57

Many Are Undecided Until Anderson-Aiken Vote Comes Next Week

P. 4

By JACK BELL
Associated Press Staff Writer

WASHINGTON, July 20. — Forty of 64 senators willing to state their position said Saturday they favor reducing the scope of the Administration's Civil Rights Bill to the point of providing only for enforcement of voting rights.

An Associated Press canvass of 92 of the 95 present members disclosed 24 want to retain in the measure a provision for enforcing a variety of civil rights.

If all senators participated—which rarely occurs—48 affirmative votes would be required for adoption of any amendment.

Elimination Proposed

As it passed the House, the bill would authorize the attorney general to act on his own initiative in seeking injunctions to enforce school integration, desegregation in transportation and public places and other rights. These powers are contained in Section 3 of the bill.

Senators Clinton P. Anderson (D., N.M.) and George D. Aiken (R., Vt.) have proposed striking this section from the bill. That would confine the measure largely to voting rights. The attorney general could ask injunctions to prevent violations or threatened violations of such rights, and anybody disregarding the injunctions could be punished by a Federal judge without jury trial.

Efforts of Republican and Northern Democratic supporters of President Eisenhower thus far has produced no agreement on a substitute for Section 3 which would retain even a portion of the enforcement powers in that part of the bill.

Thus the Anderson-Aiken amendment maygo to a Senate vote early next week without any leadership effort to changes its over-all terms. If the amendment were adopted, leaders then could try to put back in the bill some of the powers thus wiped out.

One-Third Undecided

In advance of this major test, nearly one-third of the Senate's members said they are yet undecided on the issue of cutting the House measure down to a voting-protection bill.

Southern Democratic opponents of the measure have made it clear they will vote for all amendments that will soften its terms and then vote against the bill.

Privately, some of them have been saying that they could live with a "voting rights" bill and they have made strenuous efforts to pare the measure down in that direction.

For varying reasons 10 Republicans and 30 Democrats—including nine Democrats from states outside the South—indicated they are willing at this time to reduce the scope of the house measure.

Too Far And Too Fast

Senator Ralph E. Flanders (R., Vt.) said he is for confining the bill to the enforcement of voting rights because he felt there was danger in going too far too fast in the general field of civil rights.

"Prohibition went too far and the prohibition amendment became a dead letter," he said. "If this bill goes too far and becomes a dead letter it will be a terrible setback for the Negro."

On the other hand, Senator Thomas H. Kuchel (R., Calif.) said he was going to "follow the platform of the Republican Party and the recommendations of President Eisenhower." For that reason he said he was against narrowing the measure to a strictly voting rights bill.

Senator George W. Malone (R., Nev.) said he thinks any bill bill Congress passes "should be restricted, so as not to interfere with states rights." He indicated he believed such interefrence would be involved in Federal attempts to enforce civil rights generally.

Commercial Appeal P. 3

Senator Frank Church (D., Idaho) said he is supporting the Anderson-Aiken amendment. He said how he votes on other proposals will depend on the result of that vote.

Opinions Are Varied

Senator Henry C. Dworshak (R., Idaho) said he wants the bill to go as far as possible toward enforcement of civil rights for all citizens.

Sun. 7-21-57

"I believe in the principle of civil rights under the Constitution," he said.

Senator Barry Goldwater (R., Ariz.) said he would vote for the bill in its present form if major amendments failed. He said he is supporting the Anderson-Aiken proposal.

Senator H. Alexander Smith (R., N.J.) said he thinks the main objective now should be to make certain that Negroes can vote in the South. From that point, he said he thinks further gains can be made later in obtaining all civil rights for them.

Senator Smith said he would go along with elimination of other civil rights from the bill if there could be some assurances that Southerners would not ry to filibuster final passage of the measure and "put us in danger of losing everything."

Senator Edward Martin (R., Penn.) said "voting rights alone would be a good start" but he will oppose reducing the bill's scope. He said, however, the measure's supporters "may have to make some concessions" to get it passed.

Senator John A. Carroll (R., Colo.), who wouldn't commit himself, said he regards protection of the right to vote as the "basic" objective of the bill. He said he wants to study the enforcement provisions.

Other Rights Needed

Senator J. Glenn Beall (R., Md.) said he is sticking by the House Bill "unless the debate brings out some good reason why it should be amended."

Senator Frank J. Lausche (D., Ohio) said that in his opinion "there are other civil rights, besides voting privileges, that need protection."

Two Democratic senators and one Republican who said they favor the Anderson-Aiken amendment, asked that their names be withheld. One Republican senator who was against it made the same request.

Senators Styles Bridges (R., N.H.), William E. Jenner (R., Ind.) and William Langer (R., N.D.), were not reached in the canvass.

The question asked in the poll was: "Do you believe enforcement provisions of the bill should be limited to the field of voting rights?"

Those favoring limiting the scope of the bill to the enforcement of voting rights were:

Democrats—30.

Anderson of N.M., Alan Bible of Nev., Harry Byrd of Va., Frank Church of Idaho, James O. Eastland of Miss.

Allen J. Ellender of La., Samuel Ervin of N. C., J. W. Fulbright of Ark., Lister Hill of Ala., Spessard Holland of Fla.

Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, Olin D. Johnston of S. C., Estes Kefauver of Tenn., Robert Kerr of Okla., Russell B. Long of La.

Mike Mansfield of Mont., John L. McClellan of Ark., A. S. Monroney of Okla., Joseph C. O'Mahoney of Wyo., A. Willis Robertson of Va., Richard Russell of Ga., W. Keer Scott of N. C., George Smathers of Fla., John J. Sparkman of Ala., John Stennis of Miss.

Herman E. Talmadge of Ga., Strom Thurmond of S. C., Ralph Yarborouth of Texas, plus two Democrats who asked not to be named publicity.

Republicans—10.

Aiken of Vt., Francis Case of S. D., Norris Cotton of N. H., Ralph Flanders of Vt., Coldwater of Arizona.

Malone of Nev., Karl Mundt of S. D., Smith of N. J., Milton Young of N. D., plus one Republican who asked not to be named publicly.

Those opposed:

Democrats—8.

Joseph Clark of Penn., Paul H.

Douglas of Ill., Thomas C. Hennings of Mo., Hubert H. Humphrey of oMinn., Frank Lausche of Ohio.

Pat McNamara of Mich., Matthew Neely of W. Va. Richard L. Neuberger of Ore.

Republicans—16.

Beall of Md., Case of N. J., Everett Dirksen of Ill., Dworshak of Idaho, Roman L. Hruska of Neb.

Irving Ives of N. Y., Javits of N. Y., William F. Knowland of Calif., Kuchel of Calif., Martin of Penn.

Frederick Payne of Maine, Charles Potter of Mich., William A. Purtell of Conn., Arthur Watkins of Utah, Alexander Wiley of Wis., plus one Republican who asked that his name not be used.

Nip-And-Tuck Fight Seen By Knowland

WASHINGTON, July 20.—(AP)—Senator William F. Knowland (R., Calif.) expressed confidence Saturday that supporters of the Administration's Civil Rights Bill can defeat efforts to provide for jury trials in the protection of voting rights.

But he conceded that backers of the bill have a nip-and-tuck fight on their hands in trying to retain another section providing new powers for the attorney general to enforce other civil rights.

This latter section, Part 3 of the House-approved bill, has drawn the heaviest fire of Southern opponents. It covers civil rights in general, including racial desegregation of schools and other public places under decisions of the Supreme Court.

Senator Knowland, the Senate GOP leader, said the vote on an amendment of Senators Clinton Anderson (D., N. M.) and Aiken George (R., Vt.) to strike out this part of the bill will be "very close."

He said senators who favor erasing Part 3 are about evenly balanced with those who don't. He added that a considerable number of senators would favor a substitute modifying this section of the bill, if one could be agreed on.

But Senator Knowland said many of these senators may vote to wipe out Part 3 if no substitute for it can be worked out.

ALABAMA ATTORNEYS CONDEMN RIGHTS BILL

Vote To Continue Resistance To Desegregation Ruling

TUSCALOOSA, Ala., July 20.—(UP)—The Alabama Bar Association Saturday condemned the "assault upon our system of trial by jury" in the Congressional Civil Rights Bill as the lawyers closed out their 80th annual convention.

The association adopted a resolution stating that there was "no fairer, safer or more just way" to try cases than by jury and said it "deplored and condemned this assault" on the right of jury trial.

It also adopted a resolution "reaffirming our position to resist by all proper, legal and honorable means" the enforcement of the U.S. Supreme Court desegregation rulings. Similar resolutions were approved by the two previous ABA meetings.

Another resolution put the lawyers' organization behind a legislative bill to raise the salaries of Appellate and Circuit Court judges.

The some 400 lawyers attending, including members of the recessed Legislature, elected Burnie E. Jones of Evergreen president in line with the tradition of moving up the ABA's vice president. Walter Gewin of Tuscaloosa was named vice president.

No mention was made of the controversial bill to streamline Alabama's judicial procedure although the junior section of the association had voted approval of the measure. The lawyers apparently bypassed consideration of the bill in the interests of harmony.

Montgomery was chosen as the site of the 1958 meeting.

Unjust Blows Dealt Negroes Behind "Rights" Skirmishes

BY EDDIE WILLIAMS

Preliminary skirmishes between friends and enemies of the Eisenhower Administration's House-passed Civil Rights Bill have emphasized the unjust blows dealt Negroes in the South in the fight to vote.

In these before-the-main-event rounds opponents of the bill, led by Georgia's bachelor Democrat Sen. Richard B. Russell, are using every political maneuver to limit it to the right of Negroes to vote—an ill which was obviously intended to be cured by the 15th Amendment to the United States Constitution in 1870.

The old sore still exists, but Eisenhower forces led by Republican Minority leader Sen. William F. Knowland, are attempting to innoculate the nation, especially the South, with civil rights medicine.

Contention over the bill apparently results from 2 different interpretations of its contents. Knowland considers the bill a mild measure which will insure Negroes the right to vote. Russell, however, fears the judicial measures set up to curb violations of civil rights. He also charges that the bill could be considered by the courts to mean the right of attendance at integrated schools.

PARTY HAS MUCH TO GAIN

Justification of the GOP's staunch stand lies in the fact that the party has much to gain from the Negro vote. When Negroes switched to the Republican Party in last November's election, Eisenhower forces realized that continuation and extension of this support Negroes would certainly glorify the Republican Party and could help pave the way for a two party system in the South.

TIME RIPE FOR SHAKEUP

Political scientists say the time is ripe for a shakeup in both major parties. They say such a shakeup could usher the two party system into the South or maybe lead the way for a third party.

Although the bill, if passed, would give a big push to the trend of more Negroes voting, the die is cast, and the pattern of increased Negro voting would continue despite the outcome of the present bill.

Excluding the 11 solid South states, over half of the eligible Negro voters in other states vote, according to spot surveys based on the 1950 census. The poor vote shows in Southern states are indicated in the statistics below com

it would allow the Administration to use "force" to protect civil rights, apparently ignore Section Two of the 14th Amendment which says that if a state denies any eligible voter his Constitutional rights to exercise the ballot, "except for participation in rebellion, or other crimes," its representation in Congress will be decreased. This big stick has never been enforced and students of the Constitution say it perhaps will never be used.

Southern states have walked unmolested under this big stick with such revived devices, aimed at curbing voting, as white primaries, could hoist their hopes for becoming a majority party.

The present Civil Rights Bill is aimed at allying Negro supporters. It can do this in two ways:

(1) Northern Negroes, whose voting rights are not challenged would look favorably on the party protecting their Southern brothers' rights and might help turn the tide in here-to-for Democratic-dominated Northern strongholds.

(2) Enfranchisment of Southern literacy tests and Grandfather Clauses.

The existence of certain obstacles in the path of Negro voting does not, however, excuse the widespread voluntary non-voting among Negroes in the South. It is true that in instances where such obstacles are absent, there is still a lack in Negro voting.

Despite their cries against the Civil Rights Bill and against the Supreme Court's ban on segregation in schools, Southern politicians cannot ignore the increased voting power of the Southern Negro and the vast potential voting power of Negroes in the nation.

piled by the Southern Regional Council and based on the 1950 census. :

State	Eligible	Voters
Alabama	516,000	53,000
Arkansas	233,000	68,000
Florida	367,000	149,000
Georgia	634,000	163,000
Louisiana	510 000	161,000
Mississippi	497,000	18,000
No. Carolina	550,000	102,000
So. Carolina	390,000	99,000
Tennessee	371,000	149,000
Texas	551,000	209,000
Virginia	423,000	85,000

WOULD IGNORE LAW

Opponents of the bill who shout

COMPROMISE

Will Prevent GOP, Demo Coalition From Splitting

BY ROSE McKEE

WASHINGTON —(INS) — Leading Civil Rights advocates in the Senate Friday suddenly dropped plans to press for a compromise on the most disputed part of the Administration's bill.

Their action means that the showdown in the big controversy will come on a proposal to kill outright the disputed section which permits the Attorney General to obtain an injunction against violations of "general" rights including violations of school integration orders.

TO PREVENT SPLIT

The decision to drop plans for a compromise was taken to prevent the coalition of Republicans and Northern Democrats supporting the bill from falling apart.

Senate GOP leader William F. Knowland announced that he would offer no amendment to the controversial section because, he said, he had found no language agreeable to both political wings of the coalition or within his own GOP ranks.

WILL VOTE ON MOTION

Knowland told an informal news conference: "There will be no substitute (to the disputed part three). We will let the vote come on the motion to meet the situation with language agreeable to civil rights supporters on either side of the aisle and from within."

Similarly Sen. Hubert M. Humphrey (D) Minn., announced he would not offer a compromise he had devised on behalf of Northern Democrats.

There had been signs throughout the day that the coalition was in danger of spliting over the compromise problem.

Sen. Arthur V. Watkins (R) Utah, introduced as "my own idea" an amendment which specifically would deny the Attorney General any new authority to intervene in segregation cases except where there is a conspiracy to prevent integration and local authorities ask his aid.

Watkins said the Amendment was "substantially" the same as the one he discussed with Knowland and Sen. Hubert H. Humphery (D) Minn., Thursday night Watkins' proposal was reported to have been turned down by Humphery and Knowland at that time.

Asked directly if he had Knowland's support for his alternative approach to the troublesome provision of the bill, Watkins said he was acting entirely on his own.

Knowland himself told a reporter that the Watkins approach did not represent his views nor, presumably, those of the administration.

Senate Republicans discussed the controversial section at a party conference. An informat said the discussion showed that a "few want to go all out for a strong bill, four or five don't care if there is any legislation and, in between, we had all shades of opinion."

However, he said that it is generally realized Republicans must get together if a bill is to be passed.

10 1957

Southern Senators Agree To Set Vote Next Tuesday Freeing Civil Rights Bill

THEN FIGHT TO START

Dixie Foes Say They Have Enough Votes To Beat Unwanted Parts

By MORRIS CUNNINGHAM

From The Commercial Appeal Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, July 12.—Dixie senators joined Friday in a unanimous - consent agreement for the Senate to vote next Tuesday on the question of removing the Administration's House-passed Civil Rights Bill from the calendar and placing it before the Senate.

The vote, which is certain to carry, was scheduled for about 4 p.m. (Memphis time). The bill then will be before the Senate and subject to amendments, further discussion—and a filibuster, if subsequent Dixie strategy should dictate.

Stennis' Speech Praised

The agreement was reached as the Senate passed its fifth day of debate on the issue and as Senator John Stennis (D., Miss.) took the floor for a two-hour, carefully reasoned denunciation of the bill that won commendation from Republicans as well as from Southerners.

Southern senators agreed to the procedural vote at a caucus at which private tallies indicated they have ample pledges of support to knock out provisions in the bill they regard as the most obnoxious.

"We have the votes," reported a Dixie senator, "to either eliminate Title III or to render it virtually meaningless, and also to write in a jury trial amendment in Title IV."

All of the bill's powers to enforce racial integration are in Title III. It would authorize Federal court injunctions, backed by Federal troops if necessary, for that purpose.

Two Sections Opposed

Title IV applies only to the right to vote. It would authorize the attorney general to obtain Federal court injunctions restraining any interference with Negro voting.

Persons, who violated the injunctions, would be charged with contempt of court. However, the proposed jury trial amendment would assure that they would be tried before juries in their local Federal judicial circuit. As now written, the bill would deny jury trials in such cases.

The Southern senators have centered their attention on Title III, by far the most far-reaching in the bill, and on the jury trial provision for Title IV.

If they win these battles then they will turn their attention to the less important Title I and Title II.

Title I would establish a six-member Federal civil rights commission armed with subpena powers to investigate and air racial grievances.

Funds Yet To Be Voted

Title II would create a special civil rights division in the Justice Department, the original aim of which was to enforce Title III and Title IV. The division's duties apparently would be substantially reduced if the Southerners' plans for Titles III and IV succeeded.

In addition, the pending bill would merely authorize creation of the commission and the division. Still to be considered by Congress in some later measure is the question of funds to finance their operations.

Senate Republican Leader William F. Knowland (R., Calif.), the bill's chief sponsor, indicated after a White House breakfast with President Eisenhower that he will be willing to negotiate on changes in the bill after it actually comes before the Senate.

At present, the Senate technically is debating the question of whether to consider the bill.

Senator Knowland had no statement on his talk with the President except to insist again that the President has never taken the position that there should be no "clarifying" amendments. He said the President takes the position the bill is now a matter for Congress to decide.

If the Southerners expectations go awry and their amendments are defeated, they still will be in a position to wage a last-ditch filibuster even after Tuesday's vote.

To Filibuster, If Need

Their decision was to determine whether to try to prevent the bill from even coming before the Senate, or to let it come, try for amendments, and then—if they deem it necessary—to filibuster.

Senator Richard B. Russell (D., Ga.), leader of the Southerners, said after the Dixie caucus that "we have tried to conduct ourselves as responsible men."

He added that he wants all senators to consider the bill on its merits, to investigate and study the amendments offered, "and to deal with this issue as they would be dealt with."

"That's all we ask," he said, "to be dealt with justly and fairly."

Senator Stennis charged the bill was written "by a crafty and designing lawyer."

"Instead of writing a modern statute on the subject of voting rights," he declared, "the draftsman of this bill set out to revive all of the old reconstruction statutes.

"Further, he sought to put new life in them and clothe them with injunctive power of the Federal court."

The Mississippian, a veteran trial judge and student of the law, devoted a major portion of his speech to the unprecedented way in which the bill would provide for the enforcement of criminal laws through equity procedures and without jury trials.

Hits At Title III

"This devious method of political law enforcement," he said, "completely short-circuits the protection inherent in the requirement of unanimity in a jury verdict.

"The requirement that 12 men must reach the same conclusion on the facts determining guilt or innocence is a vital safeguard to the liberty of the innocent which will be wholly lost under the provisions of this bill—taken in conjunction with existing statutes pertaining to the power to punish for contempt."

Demanding the complete elimination of Title III, the section that would authorize court injunctions backed b ytroops to enforce racial integration at all levels, Senator Stennis declared:

"School houses are not built and schools are not operated in the communities by attorney generals, court orders, United States marshals or troops armed with bayonets.

"Neither the courts nor the prosecuting authorities nor the John Kaspers can build and operate schools.

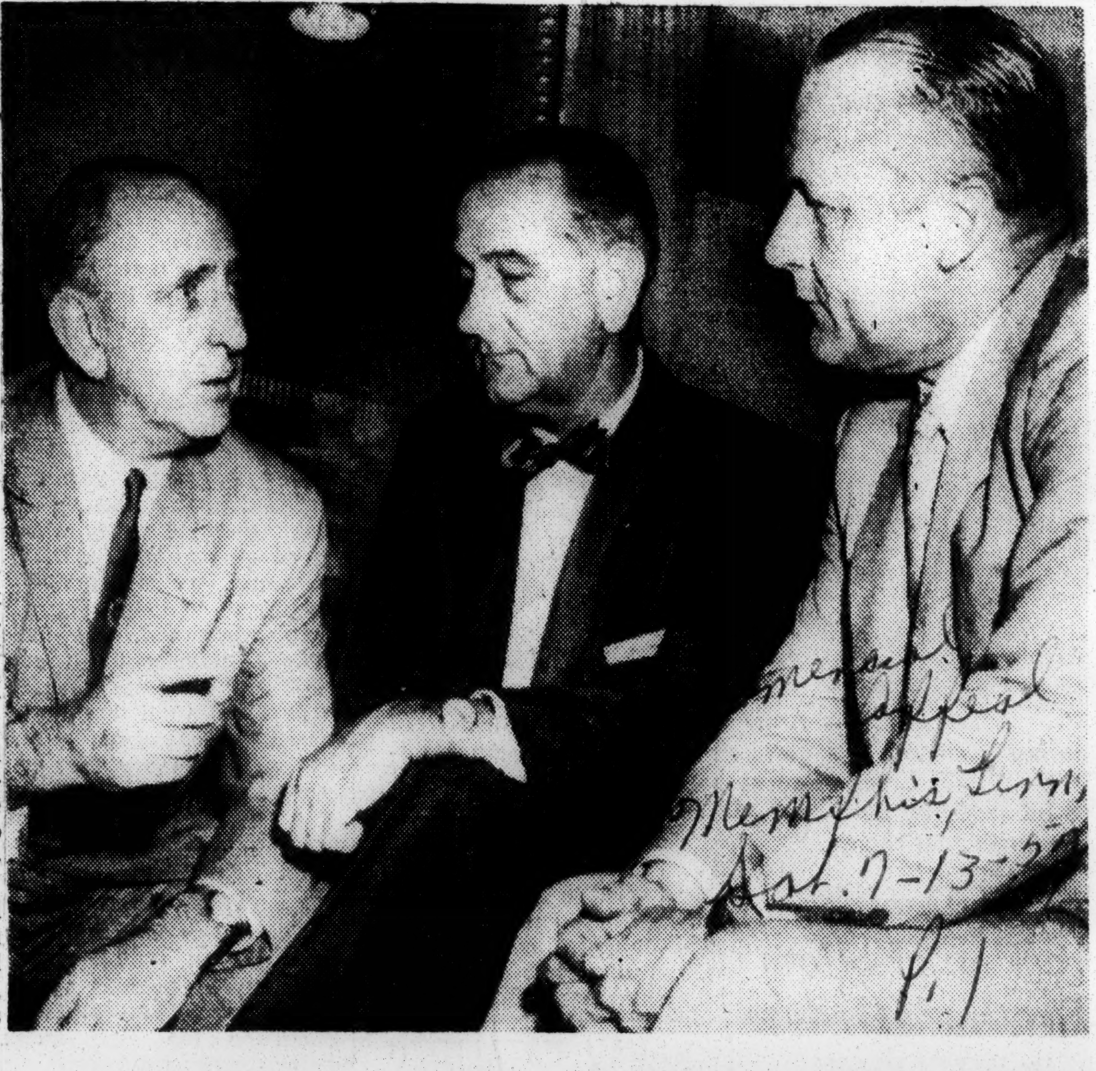
"The school programs and the operation of the schools must first be born in the hearts and minds of the fathers and mothers of the children. This desire must be perfected in a workable plan that will please and therefore get the support of a substantial number of the people of the community.

Micrscopic Benefits

"Taxes must be imposed, money must be raised, buildings must be erected, teachers must be employed, and parents, school administrations and faculty must co-operate."

He declared that if the people of a community were to be made unwilling to perform these functions that obviously the Federal Government could not readily assume them.

He argued that to approve the powers in Title III would be merely to set the stage for the



POINT OF AGREEMENT — Speaking for the South in the Senate civil rights battle, Georgia Democrat Richard Russell (left) yesterday agreed with Democratic Leader Lyndon Johnson (center) of Texas and GOP Leader William Knowland of California on a showdown vote Tuesday. Their Capitol decision concerned action on bringing the controversial bill to the Senate floor. —UP Telephoto

Senate Brawl On Civil Rights Looms

Post-Herald P. 1 B'ham Ala Wed. 6-19-57

Measure Passes House; Move On To Avert Eastland Committee

WASHINGTON, June 18 (U.P.)—The House approved President Eisenhower's four-point civil rights bill today and rushed it to the Senate where an angry new North-South fight looms.

The roll call vote, which climaxed eight days of sometimes-stormy wrangling, was 286 to 126. On the showdown, 118 Democrats and 168 Republicans voted for the measure. Opposed were 107 Democrats and 19 Republicans.

Senate GOP Leader William F. Knowland (Cal.), promptly threw his support behind a drive to put the bill directly on the Senate calendar for debate. This would bypass the Senate Rules Committee headed by Segregationist James O. Eastland (D., Miss.).

Knowland pledged a "prolonged fight, if necessary" to give the Senate a chance to express itself on the issue. He said the chamber should stay in session as long as necessary to debate the House bill.

Southern civil rights foes in the Senate already have threatened to wage a lengthy filibuster against the measure which could keep Congress in session deep into the Summer.

The National Association for Advancement of Colored People said Knowland's "challenge" of the Senate committee represented "a major opportunity to get action in this session of Congress."

The House passed the measure after defeating, 251 to 158. An eleventh-hour Southern attempt to write into the bill a guarantee of trial by jury for persons accused of violating court orders in civil rights cases.

Southerners sought to send the bill back to the House Judiciary Committee with instructions to attach the jury trial amendment. The House previously had rejected four different versions of it.

On the final record test, 112 Northern Democrats joined 139 Republicans to defeat the Southern maneuver. Voting to recommit the bill were 113 Democrats (including all nine Alabamians) and 45 Republicans.

The House acted with unusual speed in formally transmitting the bill to the Senate. Moments after it was passed, Reading Clerk George Maurer had crossed Capitol Hill to lay it before the upper chamber.

This formality had to be delayed, however, until the members completed action on the President's atoms-for-peace treaty to speed development of peaceful nuclear power throughout the world.

The next step in the civil rights fight will come when Senate backers of the measure try to bypass the Eastland committee which has been marking time on similar legislation since March 19.

But even if the maneuver succeeds—as now seems likely—the Senate will not be able to take up the measure for two or three weeks because it first must clear up a backlog of other legislation.

Federal courts in the South to be "brought into disrepute." He recalled that this was one of the nationwide byproducts of the ill-fated prohibition era.

Senator Stennis said that what few benefits came from the bill, if any, would be "micrscopic compared with the evil of warping the due process of law."

At the conclusion of his speech Senator Stennis was commended by several Republicans including Senators Francis Case (R., S. D.) and others.

Morse Plans Motion

Senator Dennis Chavez (D., N. M.) called it "the finest speech I've heard in my 24 years in Congress." Senators Sam Ervin Jr. (D., N. C.), Lister Hill (D., Ala.) and other Southerners also praised it.

Senator Wayne Morse (D., Ore.) meanwhile renewed his intention to offer a motion, after the bill comes before the Senate, to send it to the Judiciary Committee for two weeks of study and a report back to the Senate.

He declared the maneuver that bypassed the committee had deprived members of the Senate of the benefit of the views and recommendations of the committee members, whom he praised as able and dedicated lawyers.

He raised a doubt as to whether he will vote for the bill in its present form. He said he was disturbed by Dixie allegations of its far-reaching powers and, in the absence of a committee report, will have to study the bill to determine whether the charges are valid.

Civil Rights And NAACP Injected In State Body

World Wed. 6-19-57 P. 1 B'ham, Ala.

MONTGOMERY, Ala. (INS)—Civil rights and the NAACP have been injected into the debate over the controversial judicial reform bill which is currently being bottled up in the State Legislature by a fillibuster.

State Senator Sam Engelhardt of Macon County and Representative Charles W. McKay of Talladega County have stated their opposition to the judicial reforms bill on grounds that it would pattern after Federal Court procedure which would make it easier to breach segregation. The lawmakers said on June 14, "If these rules are adopted we consider this to be just another step along the road to complete and total integration. Our able Alabama attorneys have demonstrated that they are well founded in the present procedures."

"The adoption of these proposed rules might possibly shift the advantage to attorneys for the NAACP who have made a life study of the federal rules."

Sen. Engelhardt who is executive secretary of the Alabama Association of White Citizens Councils, has piloted through the senate a bill that would redistrict the City of Tuskegee in such a way that nearly all Negro citizens would be outside of the city boundary. He is also advocating a plan to abolish Macon County and distribute it over five different counties so that Negro strength would be so weakened that it would be ineffective.

Rep. McKay is National Democratic Committeeman from Alabama, and also author of an interposition resolution. He is also the former head of the White Citizens Council.

Expert On Rights Named To Jewish Congress

World Sat. 7-26-57 P. 4 B'ham, Ala.

NEW YORK — Will Maslow, noted legal expert in the field of civil rights and civil liberties, has been appointed director of the newly-established Department of Public Affairs of the American Jewish Congress, it was announced by Isaac Houbin, AJ Congress executive director. Mr. Maslow, who headed the AJCongress' Commission on Law and Social Action from its founding in 1945 through 1956, will also retain his post as general counsel of the organization.

A graduate of Cornell University and the Columbia University School of Law, Mr. Maslow was formerly the director of field operations for the wartime President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice. He has also served as a trial attorney and trial examiner for the National Labor Relations Board, as associate counsel for the New York City Department of Investigation, and as a reporter for The New York Times. He was at one time associated in law practice with the late Arthur Garfield Hays.

For the past several years, Mr. Maslow has taught courses on race relations and civil liberties at the New School for Social Research. — Many articles written by him on civil rights and legislation have appeared in leading professional journals. He is a member of the United States Supreme Court and New York Bars.

As the director of the newly-formed Department of Public Affairs of the American Jewish Congress, Mr. Maslow will coordinate the activities of three major commissions of the national agency: the Commission on Law and Social Action, the Commission on Community Interrelations and the Commission on International Affairs and Israel. Through these commissions, the American Jewish Congress — an association of American Jews founded in 1918 by Dr. Stephen Wise, Supreme Court Justice Louis Brandeis and others — formulates action programs aimed at preserving and extending democratic freedoms, assuring creative Jewish survival, assisting the development of Israel, and helping to protect the civil, religious and economic rights of Jews abroad.

During the 11 years of Mr. Maslow's supervision, the Commission on Law and Social Action pioneered in developing new approaches to problems of racial and religious discrimination in fields like housing, employment education and communications. Briefs prepared by the Commission's legal staff have been cited in significant opinions handed down by the U. S. Supreme Court and by numerous State Supreme Courts, most notably the historic school desegregation case, the McCollum Case, the "Miracle" film case and the Gideon Bible case. Bills drafted by the department have been used as models for legislation subsequently adopted on the local, state and national levels.

CITY COUNCIL GETS BILL ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Daily Tribune Chicago, Ill. Sat. 7-20-57 P. 8

Proposal Referred to Judiciary Unit

A proposed civil rights ordinance was submitted to the city council yesterday by Ald. Holman [4th] and referred to the council's judiciary committee.

It would ban discrimination because of race or creed in a wide variety of places, including hotels, restaurants, public conveyances, cemeteries, hospitals, stores, theaters, and daily fee golf courses. Fines of $100 to $200 for each violation would be provided.

Holman said he discovered recently Chicago had no such ordinance. His proposed ordinance follows the state law, he said.

Spend 93 Millions

The council enacted an ordinance authorizing issuance of 93 million dollars out of 113 million dollars of bond issues approved by voters June 3. The actual sale of the bonds will be subject to council approval later.

Ald. Despres [5th] told the council it appeared to him the scheduled granting of a five day work week to policemen, now working five and a half days, would mean a decline of 9.1 per cent in neighborhood police protection.

He submitted a resolution, referred to the police committee, which called upon Mayor Daley and Police Commissioner O'Connor to provide statistics on present and near future police force man power.

The resolution calls for information on the number of policemen doing clerical, administrative, and "personal attendance" work such as guarding and driving for police annd other city officials.

Delay Is Expected

Sept. 1 has been set as the starting date for the five day week, but O'Connor said the change probably would be made no earlier than Oct. 1.

The council confirmed Mayor Daley's appointments of William G. Caples and Dr. John L. Reichert to the board of education and his reappointments of Frank Sain as Bridewell superintendent, Gen. Samuel T. Lawton as chairman of the board of zoning appeals, and Mrs. M. L. Purvin, E. Einar Anderson, and Dr. John Poslusny to the library board.

Referred to Committee

Referred to the planning and housing committee was Daley's appointment of Valentine Janicki, president of United Novelty Manufacturing company, to the community conservation board.

The council referred to the finance committee O'Connor's request for authority to set up a bureau to sell photostatic copies of auto accident reports. A private business formerly handled this work.

10 1957

Liberals Fight Move To Weaken

AFL+CIO News
Washington, D.C.
Sat. 7-20-57

A small group of northern Democrats and Republicans fought hard against "compromise" talk as the Senate settled into a full-scale southern filibuster on the House-approved "right-to-vote" bill.

Before the filibuster, however, the Eisenhower Republicans and liberal Democrats won a "second-round" victory over the southerners by winning a roll call, 71 to 18, to make the bill the pending business of the Senate.

Then they copper-riveted the victory by defeating, 54 to 35, a new move to send the bill to the Judiciary Committee with instructions to report back to the Senate within two weeks.

Toning-Down Measure

Sen. Wayne Morse (D-Ore.) argued that "bypassing" the Judiciary Committee, as the Senate voted to do earlier, set a bad procedural precedent which liberals would live to regret.

One amendment that seemed certain to pass was a Hubert Humphrey-William F. Knowland-sponsored measure to repeal a Reconstruction Era statute empowering the President to enforce civil rights statutes with federal troops.

Pres. Eisenhower at a news conference indicated he didn't intend to use federal troops for such purposes. He also indicated a softening of his previous support for the bill as passed by the House.

This brought a protest from Sen. Paul H. Douglas (D-Ill.) that Eisenhower has "pulled the rug from under the feet" of liberals trying to support the measure the Administration "presumably" is defending.

Ahead of the Senate lay an intense debate of unpredictable length. Numerous amendments that have steadily gained powerful bipartisan support will be the immediate center of the discussion.

One group of amendments, variously sponsored by Republicans and Democrats, would strike out or sharply tone down Section 3 of the House-approved measure.

This section, according to its critics, would not merely advance the "right to vote" but would also empower the Justice Dept. to enforce school integration and various old civil rights statutes by summary injunction obtained from federal courts.

Sat. 7-20-57

Another group of amendments, one offered by Sen. Joseph C. O'Mahoney (D-Wyo.) and another by Sen. Clinton D. Anderson (D-N. M.), would limit the power of federal judges even in "right-to-vote" cases by providing for jury trials to determine "disputed" facts if a judge's injunction against interference was disobeyed.

Militant bipartisan liberals warned that the "facts" in any case can be placed in "dispute" by an attorney for defendants and further warned that "southern white juries" will vote to acquit defendants in cases regarding Negro voting rights no matter what the "facts" reveal.

Called Minimum Bill

AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany, in a letter to senators just before the Senate began discussing civil rights, described the House-passed measure as a "minimum but meaningful bill" that could make a "significant contribution" toward spreading democratic voting rights.

He specifically urged the Senate to reject any "jury-trial" amendment that would "remove the teeth of the proposed law."

The voting pattern on the motion to "take up" the civil rights bill—a motion sponsored by Sen. William F. Knowland (R-Calif.)—showed a remarkable shift from roll calls on civil rights measures in the past.

All Republicans present and voting stood with Knowland against the southern effort to halt the measure at its inception by returning it to the calendar, where it might wither with a long list of other delayed bills.

Yet the southerners themselves showed a change by agreeing to a unanimous-consent agreement that allowed a vote on the Knowland motion on July 16. Objection by a single southern senator would have prevented the unanimous-consent agreement and would have prolonged a filibuster on the Knowland motion rather than on the civil rights bill itself.

Not in this century has any other bill dealing with segregation, integration or civil rights generally reached the position of being the "pending business" of the Senate. All previous bills have been successfully filibustered merely on a motion to "take up."

Two senators who usually vote with Deep South Democrats on civil rights issues deserted them to vote in favor of the Knowland motion. They were Sen. Lyndon Johnson (D-Tex.), majority floor leader, and Sen. Albert Gore (D-Tenn.). The other two Tennessee and Texas senators, Estes Kefauver and Ralph Yarborough, also voted with them in support of Knowland.

The 18 votes against the Knowland motion came from Democrats from the nine Deep South states.

Sen. Richard B. Russell (D-Ga.), strategic leader of the southerners, indicated that he would cooperate in efforts to get reasonably rapid action on proposed amendments to modify if not eliminate, Section 3 and to write in a full-sweep "jury trial" provision in the voting-rights section.

Johnson attacked certain provisions of a section to establish a Civil Rights Commission appointed by the President subject to confirmation of the nominees by the Senate. Various southerners also assailed provisions of a section to establish a new civil rights division in the Justice Dept.

Integration Covered Along With Voting

Herald Sun. 7-14-57 p. 2-G
Miami, Fla.

Civil Rights Bill Too Sweeping

By WALTER LIPPMANN

ONCE AGAIN, as with the budget, the President has let it be known that he is not sure he is fully in favor of a major measure put forward by his administration.

LIPPMANN

Indeed, in the case of the civil rights bill, it appears that he has had a misleading impression of what is in it.

Thus, he said in reply to a question that while he is not a lawyer and did not "participate in drawing up the exact language of the proposals," he did know "what the objective was that I was seeking."

It was "to prevent anybody illegally from interfering with any individual's right to vote if that individual were qualified under the proper laws of his state."

Protecting the right of Negroes to vote in elections for federal officials is, in fact, the objective of Part IV of the bill, but the objective of Part III is to strengthen the federal power to enforce all civil rights laws, including the law which calls for integration in the public schools.

The President has been misled.

★ ★ ★

THE PRESIDENT'S lack of understanding of the bill enabled Sen. Richard Russell of Georgia to score heavily when he charged that the bill was an "example of cunning draughtsmanship," and that it was promoted by a "campaign of deception."

It is puzzling to find the President inadequately informed about the objectives of the bill, but there has been no deception.

The text of the bill makes it obvious that much more than the right to vote is involved.

Attorney General Herbert Brownell, during the hearings in the House committee and in a memorandum, specifically included integration in the public schools among the federal activities to be promoted by the bill.

★ ★ ★

THE OBJECTIVES of the bill are much wider than to secure and protect the right to vote. This raises great questions of principle and of national policy.

While the right of qualified adults to vote and the right to have their children attend unsegregated schools are both civil rights, there are important differences between the two kinds of rights.

The two objectives — voting and integration — ought not to be lumped together, and the wise thing to do now would be to accept an amendment to the bill which separates them.

★ ★ ★

NO DOUBT there would still be a die-hard opposition in the deep South.

But a bill which did only what the President thinks this bill does, would be much harder to defeat. It would be hard to filibuster against it for long.

Millions of Americans outside the South think that it is time the right to vote was respected.

They do not think, however, that integration in the public schools can be or should be enforced more rapidly than local sentiment will accept it.

NEGROES ARE WARNED

Times p. 15-C

Alabama Boycott Threatened if Rights Bill Passes

Thurs. 7-18-57
New York

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., July 17 (AP)—Lieut. Gov. Guy Hardwick today predicted that Alabama white people would enforce a total boycott of Negroes if "this outrageous civil rights bill" became law and Negroes attempted to avail themselves of its provisions.

"All white men will, of necessity, be drawn together by common bonds of resistance," Mr. Hardwick told a Birmingham civic club. "And I predict they will refuse to employ, feed, clothe or otherwise air or assist Negroes, if the latter insist in disrupting and upseetting our way of life in Alabama."

Mr. Hardwick is presiding officer of the Alabama Senate, and is considered a possible candidate for Governor next year.

He said it was his opinion that "no man will be elected Governor of Alabama unless he enters into a solemn pact with the voters of this state to maintain segregation, and further pledge he will not use the National Guard of Alabama, manning tanks, to escort Negro children into white schools as was done in Tennessee and Kentucky."

Fear And Facts

In the midst of the civil rights debate now going on in the U. S. Senate there had been a number of inflammatory, intemperate and irresponsible utterings, we think. Reason and common sense are needed to bring prospective, clarity and understanding.

A city's boundary line has been narrowed and zig-zagged in one Alabama city. A bill has been introduced to abolish a whole county. A high-placed public official has suggested an all-white boycott of members of the Negro group in the event a federal civil rights program is enacted and this disadvantaged group seeks to avail itself of the benefits.

Such as this is being sponsored and advocated by Alabama leaders, who happen to be white. This is the view of few fellow American leaders, who happen to be state politicians. Yet spite work, hate acts, blind intolerance, and kindred evils, have a tendency to kick back on those who are guilty of such actions.

Increasingly it is being heard there is "great concern" about voting in "those sections of the South where Negroes by far outnumber the whites." Such fears do not seem to be grounded in the realities.

In Alabama's Wilcox County there are 4,910 white persons and 18, 566 Negro persons. But no Negro person votes. Marshall County has 44,639 white persons and 1,051 Negro persons. No Negro person votes.

In this same state Lowndes County 3,220 white persons and 14,798 Negro persons. Yet no Negro person votes. DeKalb County has 44,622 white persons and 864 Negro persons. Yet no Negro person votes in DeKalb County. Fear does not seem to match the facts.

A man's right to hold elective and appointive office is no less than his right to vote. Fear of such a right seems to be fear of democracy itself. It is time that rational men of goodwill face up to this reality.

Hate tends to shrink one's mind. To re-arrange a city's boundary line does not re-arrange an American citizen's claims to the benefits which go with his citizenship.

Congress has the duty and the challenge to implement and bring up-to-date the machinery of the federal government so that constitutional rights may not be infringed upon. The Senate should pass President Eisenhower's civil rights bill without any sabotaging amendments.

The South which lives with the constitution can live with civil rights. The fearful men of the South need only faith in democracy to guide and sober them. In goodwill the South can grow, go forward and prosper. If you dig a ditch of defiance for your brother, you might walk blindly into it yourself. Think of that, take heart, and be fair.

Matter Of Fact

By Joseph And Stewart Alsop

Border States Side With Yankees

WASHINGTON.

FOR hardened habitues of the Senate galleries, there is a certain wry amusement to be gained from watching the faces of the casual visitors—the tourists in their flowered shirts, the hippy ladies in shorts, the carefully herded school children. For, as the visitors peer down on the scene below them—a half dozen aging men chatting in a desultory fashion—their faces betray a single thought. "Is this really what the United States Senate is like?"

It is not what the Senate is like, of course, because the Senate's real work is done off the floor. But once in a very long while, there is a real debate on the Senate floor, a serious discussion of a serious subject. Then the Senate almost lives up on its advance billing, as the "greatest deliberative body in the world," and the faces of the tourists in the galleries are not disappointed.

This happened the other day, before the Senate broke all recent precedent, and voted to make civil rights the business before the Senate. The debate which preceded the vote had real meaning, and even moments of mute drama.

The drama came in quick flashes, when a ghost from the tragic past would suddenly rise on the Senate floor, as when Byrd of Virginia compared Earl Warren, the genial chief justice, to Thaddeus Stevens, the hate-filled evil genius of the terrible reconstruction days. The ghost rose up again when Ives of New York remarked that he "could not imagine" that "any Republican administration" would ever use troops to enforce its will on the South; and the Southerners, remembering reconstruction, laughed hollowly in unison.

BUT the meaning was to be found in the three brief speeches of Minority Leader William Knowland, who opened the debate, Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota, who supported him for the Northern liberal Democrats, and Richard Russell of Georgia, who spoke for the Southerners. For each summed up, as a sort of symbol, the political meaning of the civil rights struggle to the three major blocs of which the Senate is composed.

The Knowland speech was typical, massively earnest, without ornament or eloquence. But it served to underline a simple fact—that the bill which is now certain to pass, the first such bill since reconstruction, will be a Republica nbill. It will also be the Republican Party's bid to recapture the minority vote, and thus become again the nation's majority party.

Humphrey's speech underlined the irony of this fact. For if there is a "Mr. Civil Rights" in the Senate, it is Humphrey. He and his Northern Democratic cohorts have been fighting for a decade to get a civil rights bill to the Senate floor — and they have always failed, blocked by the Republican alliance with the Southern conservatives. Yet now all Humphrey could do was to say "me, too," praising as "moderate and reasonable" the bill for which the Republicans will predictably get the political credit. It must be a bitter pill for men like Humphrey to swallow, but all they can do is to grin bravely, and swallow hard.

The pill must be bitterest of all for Russell and those he spoke for. As he spoke, there was no mistaking how real and deep is the feeling of such men, who genuinely believe that their way of life is threatened. But Russell spoke sadly, as a man who knew that, on the central issue, he was already beaten, and as a supplicant: "We appeal that senators will not take action here which would deal unjustly with us."

THE vote which followed demonstrated just how badly Russell was beaten. The Republicans voted as a bloc, but the real significance of the vote was the way the border states, which had generally supported the South in previous such struggles, sided solidly with the North—Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, even Texas.

The motives of the senators from those states were mixed, of course, especially in the case of Lyndon Johnson of Texas. But the fact remains that the vote was a striking tribute to the political power of the Negroes, who now vote in decisive numbers in such states. And that suggests the real meaning to the South of the current struggle. Russell and his friends are brilliant parliamentarians, and they will no doubt succeed in watering down the Administration bill. But almost any bill which passes will greatly increase the already heavy pressure on the South further to enfranchise the Negroes.

Then the time will surely come when politicians even in the Deep South will begin to reckon with the Negro vote, as their border state neighbors already do. Thus the whole political structure of the South will ultimately be changed in a most basic way. That was why the tourists who happened in on the debate were present, for once, at a genuinely historic moment.

DORIS FLEESON

Turning Point in U. S. History

Senate Vote to Take Up Civil Rights Bill Called Sign of Legislation This Session

For the first time in contemporary political history, the South stands shorn of its protective alliances in the civil rights field.

The 71-18 vote by which the Senate agreed to take up the civil rights bill is far greater than was expected by leaders on any side. It demonstrates the paucity of real power held by the Southern minority when it does not act in concert with its Republican allies, with whom it has traditionally traded votes in tax and fiscal matters.

The one-sided ballot dramatizes the inevitability of civil rights legislation in this session. It stands as the most successful political maneuver of the Eisenhower administration, and for it Vice President Nixon must be given a major share of the credit.

Despite the completeness of the victory and the obvious fact that the victors have it within their power to pass almost any kind of civil rights bill, there is no disposition on the part of even the most avid supporters of civil rights to rub it in. There will be a compromise in which Republican Senate Leader Knowland will have the decisive voice.

Nobody here underestimates the meaningfulness of this vote. It is a true turning point in history, the first such congressional victory since reconstruction Congresses, in which the South was not represented.

Its completeness is shown by the fact that it is not a party victory, though it will, of course, be claimed as one. It has taken place with a Republican President and a Democratic Congress, and it could not have been achieved without the votes from each side.

The nature of the compromise on the actual legislation which will inevitably be passed should appear shortly. There is almost total disposition on the part of the victors to be magnanimous toward the South. Senators know they have to live together a long time and there is no desire to pour salt on the wounds of the vanquished.

The situation has, however, altered since the bigger and deeply emotional outburst of Senator Russell of Georgia showed that the South was aware of its weakness and its peril. At the time, it appeared the Southerners might set the limits of the compromise.

Today the initiative has passed out of their hands. Although the tenders from the victors may be sugarcoated, the South now has no alternative but to accept them.

The Southerners fought long and astutely to avert the present situation. They have taken advantage of every parliamentary weapon and of their powerful seniority. They repeatedly sacrificed the interests of the national party to make the Republican alliance which so long forestalled the inevitable day.

It was the failure of this alliance, largely the work of the two Californians who will oppose each other for the Republican nomination for President in 1960—Nixon and Knowland—which ended the South's long holding operation on civil rights.

10 1957

Nixon Leaves Decision On 'Rights' Shortcut Up To Roll Call Vote

Commercial Appeal P.1
Fri. 6-21-57 Memphis, Tenn.

SENATE IN HOT FIGHT

Russell Accuses Knowland Of Breaking Rule To Bypass Committee

By MORRIS CUNNINGHAM
From The Commercial Appeal Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, June 20. — Vice President Richard M. Nixon ducked a ruling Thursday night on a motion to vault the House-passed Civil Rights Bill past the Senate Judiciary Committee and onto the Senate calendar.

The Senate's presiding officer, Mr. Nixon announced after six hours of hot debate he would leave it to the Senate to decide in a roll call vote whether to refer the bill to the committee or place it on the calendar.

Knowland Offers Motion

Senate Republican Leader William Knowland (F., Caif.) ignited the debate by making the bypassing motion early Thursday afternoon.

He said the Judiciary Committee, headed by Senator James O. Eastland (D., Miss.), has held a companion bill for nearly six months.

While conceding his motion would invoke an unusual procedure, he argued it was justified to give the Senate a chance to vote on the Civil Rights Bill.

Senator Richard B. Russell (D., Ga.), spokesman for Southern foes of the bill, heatedly protested. He argued the bypassing move would violate long-established Senate rules.

And he declared if it was used it would set "a dangerous precedent" that would undermine the Senate's committee system and lead to "legislative chaos."

He appealed to Mr. Nixon, in effect, to rule the motion out of order.

After about six hours of debate, with numerous senators airing their views, Mr. Nixon announced he would leave the question to a roll call vote.

Rule Cited

Senator Russell contended that Rule 14, which Senator Knowland cited, was superseded by the adoption of Rule 25 in the 1946 Reorganization Act. He pointed out that Rule 25 says all bills "shall" be referred to committee.

To bolster his argument, he pointed to Senate precedents on moves to bypass committees with tidelands oil and oleomargarine bills.

He read from the Congressional Record statements made by Senator Knowland in 1948 in connection with the move to expedite the Tidelands Oil Bill.

Senator Knowland replied by insisting that in 1948 as today he recognized the validity of Rule 14. He declared there is ample justification for invoking its bypassing procedure to help assure a vote on the Civil Rights Bill.

He said there "is no language in the Reorganization Act showing any intention or desire to amend Rule 14." And he argued there is "no mandatory requirement" for bills to be referred to committee.

A coalition of Republicans and liberal Democrats lined up behind Senator Knowland in the debate.

Morse Bolts

But Senator Wayne Morse (D., Ore.), who earlier had expressed misgivings about the bypassing move, bolted the liberals with a fiery speech blasting the motion.

He called it a "two-edged sword" that could be used later to expedite passage of "right-to-work legislation, the Natural Gas Bill, and other legislation not in the people's interest."

"The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Americans for Democratic Action have been very busy in the last few hours trying to get senators to vote for this shortcut," he said, "but I say to the liberals this is not the road to travel."

He noted he is a vice president of ADA and for years has been an honorary vice president of the NAACP—"and as far as I know I still am."

Yet he warned: "I say to the making a mistake . . . you have ADA and the NAACP, you're much at stake here."

Vehemently denying that "a test of liberalism is a vote for this motion," he said, "I believe in the committee system of the United States Senate."

'Follow Procedures'

He reaffirmed his own support for the bill but he said "parliamentary expediency" should be avoided and that the bill should be referred to committee. A discharge motion—requiring a two-thirds vote—then could be made to extract the bill from the committee according to standard procedure, he pointed out.

"I sa ywe should follow the accepted procedures," he declared. "As liberals we must always be on guard against sunaway majorities."

"We can use the discharge method and then stay here as long as necessary to break a filibuster, until Christmas if necessary."

Senators Jacob Javits (R., N. Y) and Paul Douglas (D., Ill.) promptly took issue with Senator Morse and urged support for the motion.

Senator Russell was the South's chief spokesman but Senators James O. Eastland (D., Miss.), John Stennis (D., Miss.), John L. McClellan (D., Ark.), J. W. Fulbright (D., Ark.), Lister Hill (D., Ala.) and other Southerners also spoke against Senator Knowland's motion.

Gore Opposed

Senator Albert Gore (D., Tenn.) announced his opposition to it and also said he will vote against the bill in its present form.

Senator Estes Kefauver (D., Tenn.) opposed the motion but said he thought the Senate should have a chance to vote on civil rights this year.

He declared if the Senate approved the motion "we will be doing violence to the rules of the Senate."

Agreeing with Senator Morse, he urged that the discharge route be used to remove the bill from the committee if it was not returned to the Senate within a reasonable time after being referred to it.

He said this could be just as effective and would eliminate "all the confusion and chaos."

A member of the Judiciary Committee, the Tennessean conceded there has been "dragging of feet" within the committee. But he said if the committee does not approve a civil rights bill by a week from Monday, he will support a discharge motion to extricate a bill from it and send it to the floor.

Hennings For Motion

Senator John F. Kennedy (D., Mass.) also suported the discharge route in preference to the bypassing procedure.

However, Senator Thomas C. Hennings Jr. (D., Mo.), one of the bill's most outspoken supporters, strongly disagreed and declared he would vote to bypass the committee.

In an exchange with Senator Sam J. Ervin (D., N. C.) the Missouri Democrat conceded the bill could be used to enforce school desegregation in the South through Federal injunctions.

He also agreed that persons who violated the injunctions would be denied the right of trial by jury.

Southerners in the past few days have been attempting to rebutt implications that the bill is aimed only at assuring Negro voting rights.

ATTORNEY CRITICIZES CIVIL RIGHTS MEASURE

Commercial Appeal P.7

Threats To States Cited By Mississippian

Fri. 6-21-57

RAPS RIGHT TO WORK LAW

Memphis, Tenn.

By TOM R. FARRELL JR.
From The Commercial Appeal Greenville, Miss., Bureau

GREENVILLE, Miss., June 20. — "The Civil Rights Bill passed this week by the United States House of Representatives poses the greatest threat we have had to put up with since the days of Reconstruction."

This statement was made Thursday by Mississippi's Attorney General Joe T. Patterson before the Greenville Rotary Club. Mr. Patterson, who has served as attorney general since Dec. 1, 1947, spoke on "the vanishing rights of the states."

He said that people originally were afraid because they thought the Constitution didn't offer them enough protection. The speaker said the people of the South face the same problem.

Taking States' Rights

Mr. Patterson said it was when Congress was given the power to enforce the articles of the 14th Amendment that the Federal Government began taking away the rights of the states. The attorney general questioned the right of Congress to govern the states' schools under this article.

"The Supreme Court has decided that the states no longer have the power to govern their schools—the authority they had for 65 years," he said. "The Federal Government is not only taking away the rights in school affairs, but is moving into other fields under a new-found doctrine of preemption.

Threats Cited

"Under this theory the Federal Government says the state has no right to deal with subversion, because this control is invested in the Federal Government."

Other threats to the states cited were the Right to Work Law and the possible institution of pre-election injunctions.

Mr. Patterson said, "The highest court has construed the Fifth Amendment as a haven of rescue for those accused of acts detrimental to our Government."

Lose Few Battles

"Communists lose very few battles before the Supreme Court—it is the greatest protector the communists have."

The speaker said the United States attorney general wants to by-pass the state courts and Grand Jury hearings and to strip the states of all rights.

Mr. Patterson said, "The people of Mississippi are leading the way to bring the Government back from the court to the Legislature, where it belongs."

House Passes Civil Rights Bill Without Jury Amendment

Advocate
Sat. 6-22-57
Jackson, Miss.

Bill Now Ready To Go To Senate P.1

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 19. — The House passed President Eisenhower's civil rights bill 286-126 today and sent it to a new battleground in the Senate.

House passage came after Southerners lost their fourth attempt to attach a jury trial amendment, which supporters of the bill said would cripple it. The Southerners were turned back 251-158, and the House then proceeded to its final roll call.

Now the Republican leadership in the Senate says it stands prepared to take extraordinary steps to force the bill to the floor. But if the measure gets there it seems almost certain to run into a Southern Democratic filibuster.

Senate GOP Leader Knowland of California was asked by reporters today whether he was determined to try to break a filibuster, no matter how long it might take.

"I am prepared to take whatever steps necessary," he replied.

Joined Forces

One hundred eighteen Northern and Western Democrats joined 163 Republicans to get the bill through the House. Voting against passage were 107 Democrats and 19 Republicans.

The House passed a civil rights bill 279-126 last July 23 but it died in the Senate. This year's legislation has been bottled up in the Senate Judiciary Committee for six months.

As it left the House, the legislation was in essentially the same form as that recommended by Eisenhower.

It would set up a bipartisan commission to make a two-year study of civil rights problems and would establish a special division in the Department of Justice, under an assistant attorney general, to handle civil rights cases.

No Jury Trial

It would also empower the at-

torney general to take into federal courts the cases of persons whose civil rights were violated or threatened, and to protect their interests by seeking federal court injunctions.

Persons who violated these injunctions could be tried for contempt to court. It was for these contempt cases that the Southerners tried unsuccessfully to insure jury trials. A jury trial amendment has been attached to the bottled-up Senate bill.

The bill reached the Senate in record time, but when it arrived the chamber was in executive session for a continuation of debate on U. S. ratification of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Knowland and a bloc of 14 Northern and Western Democrats are planning to try to by-pass the Judiciary Committee and get the bill placed directly on the calendar for debate at an early date. Even if this parliamentary move is successful, a filibuster could not be avoided if the Southerners are determined to try to talk the bill to death.

Knowland said in his opinion a filibuster could be broken only by holding the Senate in continuous session indefinitely. He declined to speculate on how long that might take, but when a reporter suggested it might keep Congress in session until September of October, Knowland smiled and said: "No, I don't think it would take that long."

Rights Action Hope Of Ike

Advertiser — Montgomery, Ala. — Sat. 6-22-57

WASHINGTON, June 21 (AP) — President Eisenhower's press secretary said today "we sincerely hope for action at this session of Congress on the civil rights bill."

The secretary, James C. Hagerty, was asked for White House reaction to the unusual procedure by which the House-approved bill was placed yesterday on the Senate calendar.

In reply, Hagerty smiled and said: "Well, that's our bill."

"We sincerely hope there will be action on the bill in this session of Congress."

Former President Truman, a Capitol visitor today, said he "would have voted" for the procedure by which the Senate by-passed its Judiciary Committee which has not acted on similar legislation.

House nips jury trial proposal

Afro-American — Baltimore Md. — Sat. 6-22-57

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON (NNPA) — The Civil War was fought all over again in the House of Representatives Friday.

When the smoke of battle had cleared, the North, just as it did in 1865, emerged the overwhelming victor.

The Confederates, who brought out their heaviest artillery in an effort to attach a crippling jury-trial amendment to the Eisenhower civil rights proposals, were forced to concede defeat by a 199 to 167 vote.

It was one of the most dramatic fights ever staged in a house of Congress over the civil rights question.

* * *

BUT THE Southerners, while eloquent in their all-out effort to confuse the North with their jury trial argument, simply were no match for a hard-hitting Republican congresswoman from Illinois, Mrs. Marguerite Church.

Mrs. Church, conceding she was no lawyer and had no patience with legal arguments, took her stand against the jury right amendment on the higher level of moral right.

Citing the refusal of a Mississippi jury to convict the two men "responsible for the murder of 14-year-old Emmett Till," Mrs. Church conceded Congress could do nothing about that now, but it could at least see that colored citizens in that area are able to vote.

"I will vote for no amendment, no matter its worth," she said, "which will nullify the effect of this law.

"I believe even more in the right to vote than in jury trial. Without that no government is safe.

"If we had 10 per cent of the brilliance and oratory expended on this debate devoted to protecting voting rights in the South we wouldn't need this bill," she concluded.

* * *

ANOTHER STRONG argument against the jury trial amendment was made surprisingly by Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D., N.Y.), who had just been released from a hospital bed after suffering a heart attack.

"Strip the opposition to this bill of all hyprocrisy, dishonesty and subterfuges and only one reason stands out why anyone is opposed to this bill and that is because a minority in this country has made up its mind that under no circumstances is it going to allow colored citizens the right to vote—even in a Federal election," he declared.

"God sits in judgment here today as He sits everywhere when a moral question arises and God knows our cause today is right, is just, is honest, is holy, is legal and is moral.

"Let us therefore face this question with honesty not hypocrisy. Let us stop revealing ourselves before the American public and the world as cheap political puppets.

"Let us realize that at our best we are nothing but spitted clay, grown arrogant with breath, and each one of us at the Undisputed Barricade has a rendezvous with Him who dispenses equal and exact justice without regard to race, creed, color or religion and without trial by jury."

* * *

REP. WILLIAM L. DAWSON (D., Ill.), who has also been absent because of sickness, disobeyed his doctor's orders to be present on the House floor during the momentous debate.

He was seen visiting a number of House members who were wavering on the issue, urging them to vote against the Dixie effort to cripple the bill.

The jury-trial amendment was not offered by a Southern Democrat, but by a Northern Republican, Rep. Russell W. Keeney, of Illinois, and in a milder version than the jury-trial amendment about which the Southerners had been talking.

* * *

DURING THE debate the Southerners have discussed an amendment which would require jury trials in all contempt proceedings arising out of violations of court injunctions obtained by the Attorney General to prevent a person from being denied his right to vote or from having his other civil rights violated.

The Keeney amendment provided for jury trials only in criminal contempt cases.

Criminal contempt cases are those which involve a violation of a federal or state statute as well as a court order, or where the person charged with contempt of court may be punished by a definite jail sentence and may not purge himself of contempt merely by complying with the court order.

* * *

IN MOST of the cases arising under the provisions of the civil rights bill, violations of court orders would also be a violation of existing federal civil rights statutes and, in some cases, of state laws.

Rep. Emanuel Celler of New York, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, Democratic manager of the bill, tried to dispose of the jury trial amendment on the point of order that the amendment was not germane.

He contended that there was nothing in the civil rights bill to which to anchor the jury trial amendment and cited a ruling against such an amendment when offered to the Volstead Prohibition Enforcement Act in 1919.

* * *

REP. KENNETH B. KEATING of New York, manager of the bill on the Republican side, supported Mr. Celler.

But Rep. Aime J. Forand, (D., R.I.), presiding, held the amendment germane and overruled the point of order.

As the House prepared to vote on final passage, the bill appeared to have a good chance to reach the Senate floor and survive a Southern filibuster.

Although Sen. William F. Knowland, of California, the Republican floor leader, has declined to reveal the stragety he and civil rights supporters plan to follow, it is generally believed that an effort will be made to keep the House bill from being referred to the Eastland committee, which is the graveyard for that type of legislation.

* * *

ALL THAT knowland has been willing to say is that several alternatives are under study for bringing a civil rights bill to the Senate floor.

Senate precedents dealing with problems which may arise are voluminous, but one move that is being talked about is to request Vice President Nixon not to refer the bill to a committee.

This would bring from the vice president a ruling as to whether or not he has the authority to refuse to refer a bill to a committee.

In the light of his advisory opinion in January that the Senate of each new congress has the right to adopt rules, it is believed that Nixon will rule favorably on this question.

* * *

IN THAT case, Southern Democrats will appeal from his ruling. A motion to lay on the table would be made. Such a motion is not debatable and may be passed by a simple majority vote.

But a motion to take up the bill would have to be made. Such a motion would be filibustered. The Southerners met Thursday and decided to use every parliamentary means available to defeat the bill.

To break the filibuster, an affirmative vote of two-thirds of the entire Senate membership, or 64 senators, is required.

The last filibuster with a rollcall vote occurred on an FEPC bill on July 12, 1950. The motion to limit debate lost by a vote of 55 to 33—nine short of the required number.

* * *

SINCE THEN there have been a number of changes in the Senate membership which have improved chances for cloture.

Besides, if the White House and the Republican leadership exerts the kind of influence in the Senate as was done on civil rights in the House, it is possible that more than 64 votes can be mustered for cloture.

Other alternatives which are at Knowland's use are a motion to suspend the rules and take up the House bill immediately when that bill reaches the Senate, or a motion to discharge the Judiciary Committee from further consideration of the Hennings Dirksen bill.

* * *

EACH OF these motions requires a two-thirds majority and must be disposed of before 2 p.m., or go to the Senate calendar. If they are put on the Senate calendar, a motion to take them up would be necessary.

Such a motion also could be filibustered.

Apparently, Senator Lyndon B. Johnson, of Texas, the majority leader, has been clearing Senate decks for a filibuster.

All last week he had the Senate to meet at 9:30 a.m., instead of noon and five days, instead of the three he has been running that body on.

There also were reports that action on civil rights in the House was slowed down to permit Senator Johnson to get appropriation bills and the mutual security bill passed before that measure reached the Senate.

Remember

Daily World — Atlanta, Ga.

1. Go to Church today.
2. Write your senators and congressmen and tell them how you feel about Civil Rights legislation.
3. Encourage your business enterprises.
4. Drive carefully; swim carefully; respect your fellowman's rights.

Profile Of Expediency

Afro-American — Baltimore Md.

Senator John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts, who would hardly turn down the Democratic nomination for President if it were offered, recently made a public splash out of his presentation of a $500 check to the United College Fund.

He had received the check as a Pultizer biography award for his best-selling book, "Profiles of Courage."

But it would appear Senator Kennedy does not have the stomach to emulate the great men of the past about whom he chronicled.

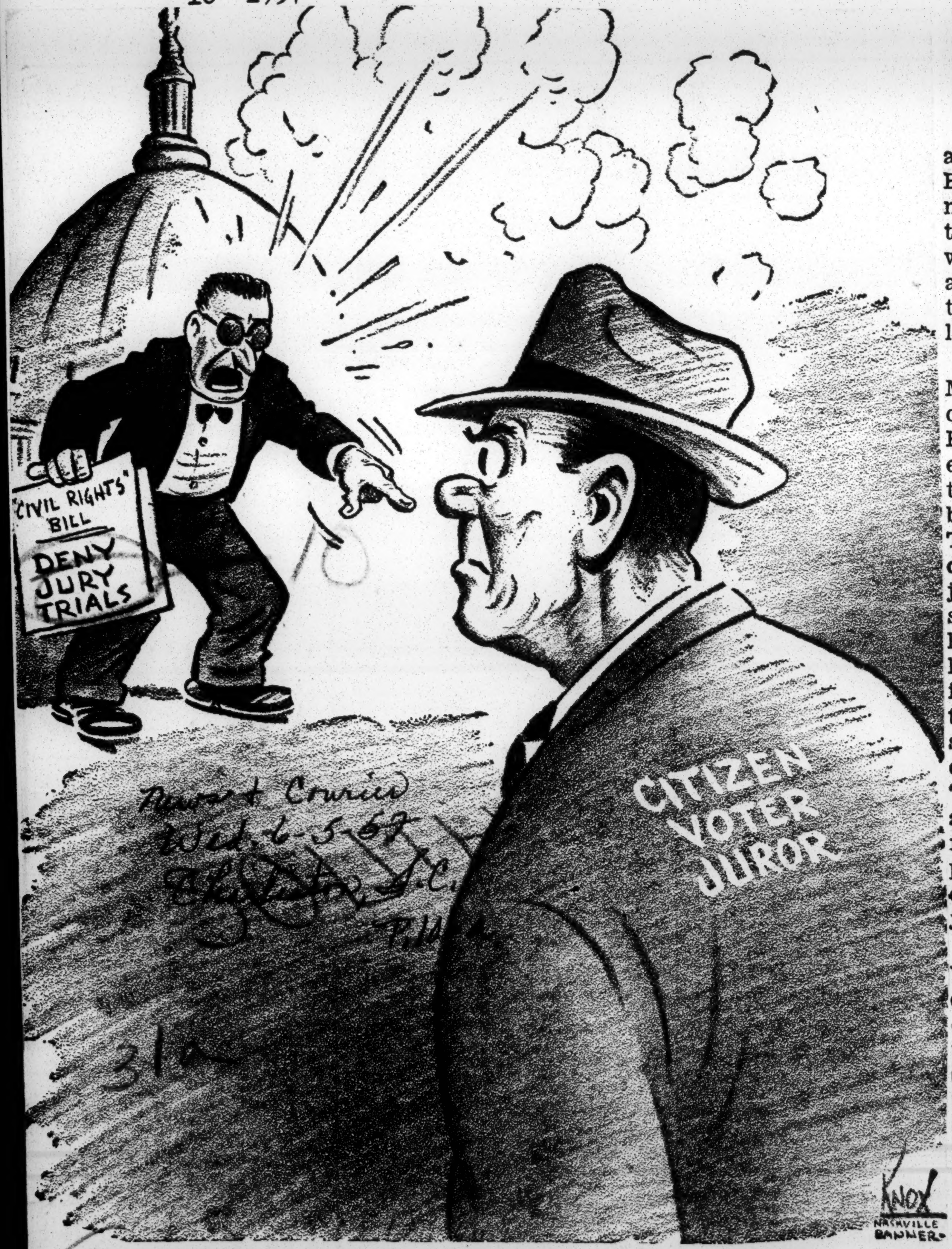
When the chips were down in the Senate on the issue of withholding the House-passed civil rights bill from the strangling clutches of the Eastland committee, Senator Kennedy preferred political expediency to courage.

He voted with Senator Eastland and his Dixiecrats.

All of which leads to the question we would like Senator Kennedy to answer:

How can he justify educating colored citizens in the North while denying them the ballot in the South?

10 1957



"I DISTRUST THE PART OF YOU THAT'S JUROR!"

Newark Courier Wed. 6-5-57

Mr. Brownell's Witness

Evening Star

For reasons which are obscure to us, the Attorney General has called the late William Howard Taft as a witness in his behalf in his opposition to the jury trial amendment to the proposed civil rights bill. And at his press conference last week the President joined Mr. Brownell.

Early this month the Attorney General wrote to several members of Congress arguing against the jury trial amendment. And he quoted the former President and Chief Justice to this effect:

Washington, D.C.

The administration of justice lies at the foundation of government. The maintenance of the authority of the courts is essential unless we are prepared to embrace anarchy. Never in the history of the country has there been such an insidious attack upon the judicial system as the proposal to interject a jury trial between all orders of the court made after full hearing and the enforcement of such orders.

Mon. 6-10-57

On its face, this sounds impressive—and it certainly impressed Mr. Brownell. But let's look a little closer. Mr. Taft made the statement in a speech accepting the Republican nomination in 1908. It was a political speech—a speech attacking a Democratic proposal to provide for jury trials of persons accused of violating labor injunctions.

P. 12-A

A year later, on September 16, 1909, Mr. Taft made another speech, and we commend it to Mr. Brownell's attention. For by that time Mr. Taft had been elected, and it is fair to say, we think, that his real attitude toward jury trials became clearer. The truth is that Mr. Taft, a former judge even at that date, did not think very highly of the American jury system. He thought that "a judgeship is a great office and the man who holds it should exercise great power and he ought to be allowed to exercise that in a trial by jury." He deplored the practice of letting juries "follow their own sweet will, influenced by all the arts of counsel." He spoke chidingly of the "weaknesses, the timidities and the ignorance of juries." In short, Mr. Taft preferred the English system, where, as he put it, a murder case would be disposed of in two or three days, and where "the judge controls the trial."

But let's go back to the 1908 speech. Why does Mr. Brownell cite it in support of his current opposition to jury trials in civil rights cases? For the plain fact is that Mr. Taft was mistaken. Despite his opposition, Congress *did* provide for jury trials in labor cases. And the country did not sink into anarchy, nor did the provision prove to be an insidious attack upon the judicial system. In short, Mr. Taft was just about as wrong as a man could be in 1908. Why does Mr. Brownell call him to the witness stand in 1957?

The Lack Of Precedent

Advertiser P. 4-A Tues. 7-2-57 Montgomery, Ala.

George Wallace, the youthful state judge who is a candidate for governor, has now urged Alabama law enforcement officers not to assist federal cops in any investigation under the proposed civil rights law. He does not believe the federals could enforce any federal laws without the help of state officials.

It sounds to us like Judge Wallace has been reading the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court before the civil war in the North South conflict over the return of fugitive slaves. In those days it was the North that passionately defied the federal law and court orders. They would not return fugitive slaves. Law enforcement officers in Northern states did what Wallace is now enjoining Southerners to do—non-cooperation.

After much defiance, the Supreme Court ruefully acknowledged that the states had nullified the federal law. Chief Justice Roger Taney wrote:

". . . The federal government, under the Constitution, has no power to impose on a state officer, as such, any duty whatever, and compel him to perform it."

Slaves were property recognized by the law and the law imposed a duty on all states to cooperate in the return of fugitive slaves to their lawful masters. The response was that 14 Northern states enacted the "personal liberty laws" which forbade their citizens and their officers from helping to return a fugitive. This defiance of the federal authority was carried on for more than a generation.

An example of these 14 personal liberty laws was that in Massachusetts where an official was subject to a $1,000 fine for detaining a fugitive slave. Then came the Dred Scott decision. The Massachusetts General Court of 1858, speaking through some Wallace or McKay, held (quoted from Kilpatrick's *The Sovereign States)*:

> Resolved, that while the people of Massachusetts recognize the rightful judicial authority of the Supreme Court of the United States, in the determination of all questions properly coming before it, they will never consent that their rights shall be impaired, or their liberties invaded, by reason of any usurpations of political power by said tribunal . . .
>
> Resolved, that no part of the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of Scott vs. Sandford, is binding . . .

We do not know how effective Wallace's non-cooperation plan would prove, but from whatever Northern states come denunciations of his lawlessness, he can attribute his inspiration to their court defiance in the case of the Fugitive Slave Law.

New Setback for Civil Rights Bill

In their stubborn fight to prevent the passage of any civil rights legislation that would really work to protect minorities, Southern Congressmen have put forward various proposals which appear to stem from a high-minded concern for the rights of others.

The latest is the adoption of an amendment to the Administration civil rights measure which would guarantee jury trials to those accused of violating Federal Court injunctions against denial of civil rights.

On the surface, this may look fine. The majority of the Senate Judiciary Committee which voted for the amendment advanced all manner of arguments in favor of the right of trial by jury.

But what the Senators—mostly Southerners—did not say is that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to get a conviction from Southern juries of anyone accused of denying the right of a Negro to vote. In othe words, a law with this "trial-by-jury" pr vision in it wouldn't work in the Stat where it is most needed. It would be a meaningless gesture.

The Administration, in preparing its bill, provided that persons charged with denying voting rights to any person in violation of Federal Court injunctions should be tried by Federal judges. This was not dreamed up simply to get around jury trials. It followed a well-established legal practice of trial by judges alone in contempt proceedings. And the Southern foes of civil rights have not seen fit to challenge this practice until they could serve their own purposes by doing so.

Since the civil rights bill was introduced at the beginning of the current session of Congress, it has run into one obstruction after another. Only now, after five months, is a bill ready to be debated on the floor of the House. In the Senate, it has not been approved finally by the Judiciary Committee and Chairman Eastland, an all-out supporter of racial discrimination, is in no hurry to complete action on it.

The fight is not over. But unless the Republicans and the Northern Democrats vigorously counter these Southern maneuvers, the result is liable to be no civil rights legislation at all, or a bill which will have little practical effect in protecting minority rights in the South.

Civil Rights Can Win

Despite the gloomy forebodings of Senator Ives, the prospects for Senate approval of the civil-rights program are good. In voting 45 to 39 to by-pass the Judiciary Committee, the Senate made it possible to place the legislation on the calendar for July 8 and, at the same time, managed to reduce the legislative opportunities for filibusters. Nowadays most of the Dixiecrats are elderly gentlemen, short of breath, who, in the muggy atmosphere of Washington in midsummer, are likely to wilt fairly soon; not more than two weeks should be required to "wear them down." The admission by their maladroit spokesman, Senator Eastland, that adoption of the proposed jury-trial amendment would not placate them, neatly exposes the fraudulence of that particular maneuver. Moreover, the continued attacks by the Dixiecrats on the Supreme Court are consolidating support for the civil-rights program; it is becoming clear, for example, that one way to bolster the Court's decision in the desegregation cases is to guarantee the Negro's right to vote.

The political factors, also, have shifted in favor of the civil-rights program. For the first time, the Republicans have espoused civil-rights as a matter of highest party policy. The by-passing maneuver was initiated by Senator William Knowland, nominal Republican leader in the Senate and spokesman for the right-wing of the party, with an assist from Vice President Nixon who, shortly before the ruling and vote and on the eve of the NAACP convention in Detroit, staged a carefully-publicized meeting with the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Reverend Ralph Abernethy, leader of the Montgomery bus-boycott movement. Both in the Senate and the House, more Republicans than Democrats have voted favorably on civil-rights roll-calls. Under the circumstances the liberal and moderate Democrats must bestir themselves, for they cannot permit the Republicans to charge that the civil-rights program was defeated by a filibuster in which only Democrats participated. Should this happen, the Democrats can forget about regaining control of the White House in 1960.

Votes in Senate, House By Area Congressmen

Following are the votes of Maryland and Virginia members of Congress on major roll calls last week:

SENATE

An amendment to the Atomic Energy Treaty prohibiting the United States from making special fissionable materials available to the International Atomic Energy Agency except under terms authorized by Congress, defeated 31-55; **Maryland—For:** Butler (R). Against: Beall (R). **Virginia—For:** Byrd (D), Robertson (D).

Atomic Energy Treaty ratified 67-19. **Maryland — For:** Beall (R). Against: Butler (R). **Virginia—For:** Robertson (D). Against: Byrd (D).

Motion on Civil Rights Bill placing the bill on the Senate calendar, where it can be called up by majority vote, approved 45-39. **Maryland—For:** Beall (R), Butler (R). **Virginia**—Byrd (D), Robertson (O).

Authorization for construction, operation and maintenance of Hells Canyon Dam on Snake River, adopted 45-38. **Maryland—Against:** Beall (R), Butler (R). **Virginia—Against:** Byrd (D), Robertson (D).

HOUSE

Motion to send Civil Rights Bill back to committee with instructions to amend to provide for jury trials in contempt proceedings; rejected 158-251. **Maryland—For:** Devereux (R), Hyde (R). Against: Fallon (D), Friedel (D) Garmetz (D), Lankford (D). Not voting but answered "present": Miller (R). **Virginia — For:** Entire delegation.

Civil Rights Bill, approved 286-126. **Maryland — For:** Entire delegation. **Virginia —** Against: Entire delegation.

Motion to accept Senate amendment to Third Supplemental Appropriation providing $14 million for starting Federal flood insurance program, defeated 186-218. **Maryland—For:** Devereux (R), Lankford (D), Miller (R). Against: Fallon (D), Friedel (D), Garmatz (D), Hyde (R). **Virginia—** For: Hardy (D). Against: Abbitt (D), Broyhill (R), Gary (D), Harrison (D), Jennings (D), Poff (R), Robeson (D), Smith (D), Tuck (D).

Reuther On Civil Rights

Civil rights, Walter P. Reuther told the NAACP at Detroit, is "the key issue of the world." A news story on page 3 of The News and Courier quoted the president of the United Auto Workers as saying also, "We are with you all the way until victory is ours . . . More than half the people of the world have dark skins. They are asking us, 'How do you square your noble professions with ugly practices in the civil rights field?' "

On the editorial page of the same issue of The News and Courier appeared an article by Holmes Alexander about Reuther's protection of John Gunaca, who is wanted in Wisconsin for trial on charges of brutally beating a father and son for refusing to join in a strike at the Kohler plant. The older man died. Reuther's friend Gov. Soapy Williams of Michigan refused to permit extradition of Gunaca.

This is not the only instance of interference with civil rights charged to the United Auto Workers. Mr. Alexander's column described other terrorism by UAW goons. How does Mr. Reuther square these ugly practices with his noble professions on civil rights?

10 1957

Earnest Efforts To Pass Civil Rights

From every indication, it is evident that the Eisenhower Administration is in earnest about passing Civil Rights legislation. Both the President and Vice President have indicated no patience with foot-ball playing with an old ball, or those otherwise who would find something of the texture of this particular legislation upon which to build a fortification for votes.

From the very beginning the President made known his intention to see that the right to vote be not abridged. He stressed that a government designed for regulation by the consent of the governed, would lean heavily upon the voters and in that none should be excluded from participation in making known their wishes by the route of the ballot.

Vice President Nixon showed his mettle when he ruled in the face of Senator Richard B. Russell, the apparent leader in the Senate against the legislation, that the bill could by-pass the Eastland committee where possibly a grave had already been dug for it, with its winding sheet prepared for a short funeral.

This ruling paved the way for a vote on the motion to place the pending bill on the senate calendar for action. This ruling certainly shows to us that the present Vice-President is sincere about Civil Rights.

There is no question in our mind that this issue has been used as a political football for many years. But action by the President and leaders of his party and some of the northern Democrats convinces us that the time has come when there is determined and sincere efforts to enact into law legislation to strengthen the position of Civil Rights for colored Americans.

The bill has already passed the House by a big margin. As the membership of the two parties are about evenly balanced in the Senate both could take credit for this bill if the southerners could be dissuaded from staging a real filibuster.

Under the present rule of the Senate, two filibusters are possible. One on the question to take up the measure, and of course, one of the bill itself. It will require two-thirds of the Senate membership, or 64 votes to stop a filibuster.

As we have stated, the bill could pass and both parties receive their respective share of the credit, but if the filibuster develops, the Republicans stand to get more credit politically whether the bill passes or not.

In the next ten days the bill is tentatively scheduled for consideration and the voters of the nation will take careful note of what they see and hear.

The Senate Can Act

(From The Christian Science Monitor)

Hopes for civil rights legislation at this session of Congress are definitely looking up. The House of Representatives gave a thorough airing to objections to the program put forward by the Eisenhower administration and then adopted it. In the process it cleared up much confusion about the question of jury trials. And now the Senate has taken dramatic action to place the House bill on its calendar, bypassing its own Judiciary Committee.

This unusual step is justified by that committee's own departure from orderly processes. It has bottled up the legislation for six months and has shown no intention of giving the Senate an opportunity to consider it on its merits. But a majority has now placed it in position where any member can call it out for floor debate.

That move is expected by early July for the legislation still faces a battle — which could be prolonged and rough. Opponents have by no means exhausted their weapons — especially those of diversion and delay. The most likely prospect is a major filibuster. There will be maneuvers now to prevent other measures getting caught behind a filibuster. These may affect the vote on civil rights. For a talkathon can only be limited by a vote of 64 senators — which is very difficult to obtain.

The legislation includes proposals for a non-partisan commission to study abuses and for a plan to permit the attorney general to obtain injunctions to prevent such things as denial of voting rights to Negroes. The President appears to have enlisted general Republican support for it and northern Democrats favor it. But while hopes for congressional action on civil rights are brighter than for 70 years, this moderate program is going to need all the help it can find.

Washington Scene . . . *By George Dixon*

White House Breakfast Discrimination

In what I can characterize only as a rather low and tricky manner, Rep. Robert L. F. Sikes, of Florida, used the civil rights debate the other day as a subterfuge to sneak in a mean dig about President Eisenhower's partisanship at the breakfast table.

Dixon

Rep. Sikes got himself recognized by Speaker Sam Rayburn by pretending he desired to support a nullifying amendment to the civil rights bill offered by Rep. Martin Dies, of Texas. But when he got the floor, Sikes devoted only four words to supporting the amendment, then swung to his real target, as follows:

"Mr. Chairman, I see by the papers that the President is inviting our Republican colleagues for breakfast. That brings us right into the heart of the subject before us. In the midst of this heated debate on civil rights, I must protest the violation of the civil right of Democrats by President Eisenhower."

BY THIS time, some of the more alert GOP Congressmen were beginning to suspect that Sikes was directing a sneak attack at their feeder leader. They kept yelling at the Floridian to yield, but he was unyielding. With a look of such drollery as hasn't been seen since the demise of the Cheshire cat, he proceeded:

"The President invites only Republicans for breakfast. The White House is a Federal institution operated by public funds, and the laws which have been issued by the Supreme Court do not allow segregation in such facilities. Yet we find the Republicans openly practicing segregation against the Democrats."

Now fully alive to what was going on, Republicans howled at Sikes to yield, but he blithely proceeded:

"Mr. Chairman, we from the South would be content with separate but equal time at the White House dining tables, but we are not allowed even that. This is discrimination of a most serious character. I am directing the whole matter to the attention of Attorney General Brownell, with a strong plea for prompt and efficient action to protect the civil rights of Democrats in Congress. As a Democrat, Mr. Chairman, I demand my civil rights."

The Republicans finally halted the attack on their feeder leader's unilateral hospitality, but only because Sikes had exhausted the time allotted to him.

Dixie Lawmen Told To Comba Rights With PassiveResistanc

CLAYTON, Ala., July 1 (AP)—Circuit Judge George Wallace offered a passive resistance formula today for combatting civil rights laws in the South.

If President Eisenhower's program now pending in the Senate is enacted, Wallace said Southern law enforcement officers should refuse to cooperate with federal authorities in any investigation.

In a charge to the Barbour County grand jury, the judge said the Federal Bureau of Investigation and other federal agencies have been successful in the past only because of "the cooperation of local law enforcement agencies and local people."

Without that cooperation, he said, "the federal authorities would not know where to turn."

Wallace, who once threatened to jail any federal agent caught investigating "our courts," predicted that "999 out of 000" investigations resulting from passage of civil rights legislation would be "spurious and inspired either for political reasons or spite."

"The local law enforcement officials should use their offices to defend the local citizen instead of harassing him," the judge continued. "No local law enforcement officer should even discuss civil rights investigations with federal authorities except in defense of the local citizen and state sovereignty."

Wallace told the grand jury "there is no law which says we must cooperate with federal authorities in the harassment of local citizens," and said, "I hope that no local law enforcement official will aid in any investigation under these pending bills."

But he said southerners should continue to cooperate with federal authorities "in the field of legitimate law enforcement problems."

Rights Bill Wins Test in House

Herald Tribune
Tues. 6-18-57
New York

By Don Irwin

WASHINGTON, June 17.—The Administration's civil rights bill got tentative House approval in virtually its original form today, while Senators squared off for a last-ditch fight that may be as hot as the blistering Washington summer.

The four-point bill got voice-vote approval foreshadowing certain passage tomorrow after a day that saw Southerners repeatedly balked in attempts to blunt the bill. Leaders decided to put off the final record roll-call until tomorrow as Southerners prepared a delaying action that would inevitably have forced deferment anyhow.

While the House was still debating amendments, the superheated issue erupted on the floor of the Senate, where many Republicans and Northern Democrats are planning an unorthodox coup to force the House bill directly to the Senate floor. The maneuver would bypasse the Judiciary Committee, where the Senate's version of the bill has been blockaded since Jan. 7.

Maneuver Defended

In the debate, Sen. William F. Knowland, R., Calif., the minority leader, vigorously defended a projected maneuver to force a decision on bypassing the committee as soon as the official engrossed copy of the bill comes before the Senate. This may well be tomorrow.

The procedure would be under the Senate's old Rule 14, which Southern members maintain has been superseded by a section of the Legislative Reorganization Act specifying the types of legislation which should go to each committee. uBt civil-rights supporters hope to raise the issue in such a fashion as to force it before the Senate, where it could be decided by majority vote with no chance for a filibuster on the immediate question.

The Senate debate was touched off when Sen. Wayne Morse, D., Ore., arose to announce his withdrawal from a group of fourteen Democratic liberals which joined last week in a statement supporting the move to bypass the committee. He warned his colleagues that the precedent set by such a move could backfire against them in the future.

Warning by Russell

Sen. Richard B. Russell, D., Ga., termed the maneuver a perversion of the rules that would lead to "legislative chaos."

Sen. Knowland later told reporters that if the maneuver, last used in 1947, is successful, he doesn't anticipate any immediate effort to call the bill off the calendar, but does expect such a step well before the Senate moves toward adjournment.

Timming is important because the motion to call the bill off the calendar is certain to signal a Southern filibuster that would block all other legislation. Sen. Knowland indicated that he expects the move when most, but not all, of the basic appropriation bills have passed the Senate. Unless some importante legislation is pending, the bill's supporters would face the likelihood of a Southern move to break the deadlock by adjourning for the summer.

The rights bill tentatively approved by the House after seven days of consideration provides for:

1. Amendments to existing law to permit the Attorney General to move in Federal courts for injunctions to forbid infringements of civil rights, notably the right to vote.

2. Appointment of a new Assistant Attorney General to head a new civil rights division in the Justice Department.

3. Establishment of a bi-partisan commission to investigate alleged violations of laws affecting civil rights and to recommend changes in laws and policies.

Today's action saw reversal of three new Southern attempts to add varying amendments to require a jury trial of violators of civil rights injunctions.

One minor amendment—the second since action began—was adopted. It was designed to assure representation by counsel to defendants.

Brownell No. 1 Target Of Dixie Foes of Rights

Constitution Thurs. 7-11-57
Atlanta, Ga.

By JAMES RESTON
(Copyright 1957 by The New York Times Co.)

WASHINGTON, July 10—Attorney General Brownell as emerged in the Senate civil rights debate as the chief whipping boy of the Southern opposition.

He is charged with being the chief draftsman of an ambiguous and "cunning" bill, presenting it as a "right-to-vote" bill, and attempting to conceal the fact that it could also be used at his own discretion to help enforce racial integration in the public schools and other publicly owned establishments in the South.

Like most charges in Washington, there is less here than meets the ear. It is true that the attorney general is the chief draftsman of the bill—that he and his associates, particularly Assistant Attorney General Warren Olney III, devised the formula of giving federal judges the right to hold in contempt of court, without a jury trial, anyone who defied a court injunction against interfering with a citizen's civil rights.

MAIN PURPOSE

It is also true that the bill is ambiguous in the sense that it can be interpreted in many ways, and that in all his testimony Brownell has emphasized that its main purpose is to secure the right to vote of all qualified citizens, including Negroes in the South.

It is not true, however, that he has sought to conceal from the Senate the fact that the authority sought in the bill could be used under certain circumstances to assure compliance with the Supreme Court's public school decision.

In a formal statement Feb. 14, he told the subcommittee on constitutional rights of the senate judiciary committee that "the proposals of the administration would, of course, go beyond the voting cases and give to the department (of Justice) the authority to invoke civil remedies in other cases of civil rights violations."

VIOLENCE THREAT

He illustrated this specifically in the case of the Supreme Court's public school integration decision, by pointing to the Hoxie, Ark. case.

In that case, the local school board decided on racial integration in the schools without waiting for a law suit to compel them to follow the Supreme Court decision. Shortly thereafter, individuals mainly from out of the town came into Hoxie and, according to the court record, threatened the superintendent and members of the school board with violence if they insisted on maintaining the integrated school.

Brownell noted before the judiciary subcommittee that the Hoxie school board defied the intimidation, took the case into federal district court, sought and received an injunction against the intimidators and carried on peacefully with the integrated school. The attorney general added, however:

"There may well develop other situations in which after voluntary desegregation the pressures placed upon the local school authorities are so great as to prevent their taking the initiative in instituting legal action.

"In this situation, the department (of Justice) under this legislation would be authorized to take the initiative in filing a suit for an injunction against any individuals seeking to interfere with the school authorities in their attempt to comply with the ruling of the Supreme Court."

Brownell implied that he would follow the Supreme Court's principle that the local school authorities "have the primary responsibility for elucidating, assessing, and solving these problems," and that he would intervene only if the local authorities were unable or unwilling to deal with persons seeking to block voluntary integration by the local school board.

BROAD LANGUAGE

Nevertheless, he did testify that the adminisration's new civil rights legislation could be used to help implement the school integration decision and that it did "of course, go beyond the voting cases."

The Southern bloc in the Senate is unalterably opposed to this, and they insist that while this may be Brownell's interpretation of the law he is seeking, the language is so broad and ambiguous that he or some other attorney general in the future might interpret it in such a way as to use the power of the federal government regardless of whether the local school authorities were trying voluntarily to integrate the local schools.

For example, in the hearings before the House judiciary committee, Brownell was questioned at length about whether he would intervene on an appeal from any citizen in the South who claimed that he was entitled under the Supreme Court order to attend an integrated school and was being denied that right by local authorities.

"What would you do then?" he was asked. "Would you initiate an injunction against the school board in the case I gave you under this act if it is enacted?"

SPECIAL CIRCUMSTANCES

Brownell: "I don't want to mislead you. I am not trying to avoid answering your question. I have found in my own experience that it is very unwise to give answers to a hypothetical case of that kind because there are always special circumstances. . ."

In short, part of the reason why the Southern senators are up in arms about this legislation is that they are being asked to accept imprecise language that even the administration's officials concede could be interpreted in many different ways, most of them anathema to the South.

The administration officials have emphasized the "right-to-vote" aspects of the bill, because this is their main objective and because this is the most popular aspect of the legislation.

They have also made the language ambiguous and this is now being challenged and will undoubtedly be changed substantialy before the end. But they have not threatened, as charged, to use troops in the South to enforce court injunctions, and they have not denied that the legislation could be used in the school integration problem.

10 1957

Why Civil Rights Legislation May Pass

Black Dispatch 2-6

Oklahoma City Okla.

While Senator Eastland was casually sitting in the upper chamber of Congress with the civil rights legislation safely, under the rules, jammed in his back pocket, Republican leadership decided upon a type of parliamentary maneuvering last Thursday that must have made the Mississippi statesman very unhappy.

Determined that they would leap over a Senate barrier with one jump, Republican leadership decided to by-pass the judiciary committee, which Eastland heads. The civil rights bill is now on the calendar of the house and can be brought up for passage while we write these lines. At least the bill is in the parliamentary position where any member can call for action on it. The only thing that can stop a vote on the bill is the launching of one of those frequent filibusters, for which the Senate is noted.

Fri 6-28-57

It is the state of mind the nation is in just now that causes us to feel that before Dixie gets through with its filibuster it will have lost all of the good public relations and friends it ever had. The Senate vote already shows that Dixie has less friends than it ever had. Civil rights have been thoroughly discussed from every angle. The people have reached a decision in their mind about what to do, and they are going to get short-tempered when someone attempts to upset the orderly processes of that body.

The action of Senate leaders in by-passing Eastland and his judiciary committee proves conclusively that a majority of the Senate desire to vote on this question. If the South is warm in the collar because the Senate by-passed the judiciary committee, the pro-civil rights group may also be developing a temperature also. Keep in mind this was a coalition of Democrats and Republicans who took this viewpoint after looking at the storm clouds.

Another subject that is likely to come out in this washing is the question of state and national citizenship. A little of this discussion came up in the sub-committee of the Senate. Why should the federal government qualify a man for national citizenship that will not hold good in state citizenship? That's the core of this whole discussion. The federal government is at logger-heads with the methods used by certain states as to qualifications for voting.

We have always fought against differences in the qualifications for state and national citizenship, and before this nation gets a half century older the illogic of such difference in rules is going to drive this nation up to another Fort Sumpter.

Why men and women cannot see that this is the weakness of our democracy, we are unable to determine. Daily serious minded citizens are discovering this is the rat hole we must fill up in our federal charter. The right to vote should be limited to being born in the United States, to have reached the age of 21 years and being of sound mind and morally clean.

This situation was bound to come about sooner or later. The whole nation wants to know why every time Dixie realizes it is going to be outvoted, it ties up the Senate with a talkathon, the greatest deliberative body on earth. Thousands of precious dollars are burned up in useless talk.

Of course, if the Senate passes the Civil Rights bill, the only purpose of which to to permit the Negro to vote, Southerners in some of the states are going to commit some overt, reprehensible act when the Negro arrives at the polls, which will bring out in the open what is actually happening down in such states as Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi. These states are determined the Negro shall not vote at a time when the nation has to establish itself with the darker people of the world as a people who believe in the equality of all men. Vice President Nixon discussed this viewpoint in a recent talk with Martin Luther King.

It is this issue that is going to break out in the open and be spread before the eyes of the world, that the American government seeks to dodge. Talmade and Russell are contemplating upon what will happen in their section, with never a thought regarding the impact of their position upon the mind and conscience of the dark world.

Next week, and the next may be the turning point in race relations in the United States. If World War III comes, the men who guide the destiny of this nation realize they must form alliances with Nehru, Nasser, Selassie, Tubman and Nkrumah, and that in this coalition and the forming of new manpower friendships the nine stubborn American states away down in Dixie spell nothing in the equation. They know alliances with Africa and Asia are far more important than alliances with Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina.

Editorial Of The Week

The following editorial appeared in The New York Times, May 19, 1957

Washington Pilgrimage

Tulsa Okla.

The third anniversary of the Supreme Court's decision outlawing racial segregation in the public schools was observed in a "prayer pilgrimage" to Washington by many thousand Negroes. They assembled at the Lincoln Memorial to pray not only for more speedy implementation of the court decision but also for more action by the Congress in the field of civil rights.

Thurs 6-6-57

There is ground for their impatience in the matter of school segregation but there is also ground for hope. Much progress has been made, albeit slowly, and the principle has been firmly established. In the general civil-rights field there is again good ground for apprehension because of developments in Congress. This demonstration will serve a good purpose if it makes plain the obstruction that has been so evident in Congress is becoming increasingly intolerable.

The character of this demonstration was noteworthy. When a march on Washington was first proposed there was much justifiable anxiety among those who remembered Coxey's Army and the Bonus March. There was also the reasonable fear that Communist agents might take advantage of the occasion to promote disorder. Fortunatel, these anxieties proved groundless. The meeting was, in the main, thoughtful and orderly.

Our First Amendment, perhaps the most treasured part of our Bill of Rights, guarantees to this people the right peacefully to assemble to petition for the redress of grievances. The assembly in Washington was completely lawful in every respect and those who organized it and led it are to be congratulated.

Precisely because of this emphasis we are not in entire sympathy with Representative Adam Clayton Powell's urging upon these supplicants in the use of boycotts, work stoppage and slowdowns to make their point. Their point has already been well made and their case will be stronger if they, unlike some of their antagonists, remain rigidly within the law.

DIXIE LOSES PLACE ON CIVIL RIGHT UNIT

Commercial Appeal

Celler Shuns Southerners On House Group

Fri. 1-25-57 Memphis Tenn. P.22

From The Commercial Appeal Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, Jan. 24. — A maneuver by chairman Emanuel Celler (D., N. Y.) of the House Judiciary Committee Thursday ruled out Southern representation on the House subcommittee that will hold hearings on civil rights legislation this year.

Mr. Celler, from the Brooklyn section of New York City, assigned all civil rights bills to Judiciary Subcommittee No. 5—though it normally considers anti-trust legislation.

Mr. Celler—a leading advocate of civil rights measures — is chairman of subcommittee No. 5. Other Democratic members are Representatives Lester Holtzman of the Queens section of New York City, Peter W. Rodino Jr. of Newark, N.J., and Byron G. Rogers of Denver, Colorado.

All seven members are on record as favoring civil rights legislation. To expedite matters, they agreed to limit hearings to four days—Feb. 4-7.

Rights Foes Fail To Halt 'Short Cut'

Advertiser Fri. 6-21-57 Montgomery Ala. P.1

Senate Members Elect To Bypass Committee Action

WASHINGTON, June 20 (AP)—The Senate voted tonight to take a short cut on civil rights legislation—a decision that spelled a big preliminary victory for backers of the bill.

Over hot Southern protests, the chamber in a dramatic night session voted to by-pass the Senate Judiciary Committee, where Dixie members have bottled up civil rights legislation for months, and

put the bill on the Senate calendar.

The vote was 45-39.

FIREWORKS AHEAD

That means any member can move to take it up for debate. But when such a motion is made a real fireworks will begin. Southerners are in a position to launch a filibuster against the measure—a talkathon that could be broken only by exhaustion or by a vote of 64 of the 96 senators.

Thus tonight's decision, while a jolt to the Southerners, was strictly a preliminary one.

In ordering the parliamentary shortcut, the Senate overrode bitter protests from Southerners that the procedure smacked of "a legislative lynching bee" and would lead to "chaos."

NAILED DOWN

But supporters of the move contended it was perfectly proper under Senate rules and was made necessary by the failure of the Judiciary Commitee to act.

The issue came to a vote after Vice President Nixon announced he would not rule one way or the other but would leave it to the Senate's decision.

Nixon did say, however, that he regarded as not well taken a point of order raised by Sen. Russell (D-Ga) against the unusual parliamentary procedure invoked by advocates of the civil rights bill.

The showdown vote came on whether or not to sustain Russell's point of order. The Senate voted to override it, with the result that the civil rights bill went to the calendar.

Voting to put the bill on the calendar were 34 Republicans and 11 Democrats. Voting to send it to the Judiciary Committee were 34 Democrats and five Republicans.

After their victory, the advocates of the civil rights bill nailed it down with a 49-36 vote to table a motion to reconsider the previous vote.

..Nixon's statement 5th graf ta42

The move to bypass the Judiciary Committee and put the bill directly on the senate calendar was initiated by Senate Republican Leader Knowland of California.

Knowland contended that the Senate's Rule 14 permits a bill already passed by the House to be placed on the Senate calendar for action without reference to a committee.

POINT OF ORDER

Russell raised a point of order, disputing this. He said Rule 14 had been "superseded and annulled" by the Congressional reorganization Act of 1946. He said this act requires that all House bills be referred to committee for consideration before they can be brought to the floor for Senate action.

The Senate Judiciary Committee has not yet reported out a civil rights bill which a subcommittee approved last March 19. This bill, like the administration bill passed by the House, would set up new federal procedure for dealing with complaints that Negroes' civil rights are abridged in the South.

Knowland told the Senate Rule 14 should be used sparingly to bypass a committee, but he said its use was justified when it becomes "obvious that an attempt is being made to prevent the Senate from functioning as a legislative body."

Sen. Humphrey scoffed at Russell's argument that the Senate would be thrown into chaos if committees were by-passed. Humphrey said the only arguments that opponents have to using the rule is that "they don't like it."

"Some of us don't like not having a chance to vote on civil rights legislation," Humphrey said.

Russell recalled that in 1948, in a somewhat similar situation on an oleomargarine bill, Knowland supported the argument of Sen. Millikin (R-Colo) who contended that the Reorganization Act had made Rule 14 inoperable. In reply, Knowland said this was not a fair comparison since in the earlier case there was also a dispute over committee jurisdiction.

FAVORED ARGUMENT

In the 1948 case, Russell said, the Senate voted 56-15 in favor of Millikin's argument "and that the bill should go to committee."

If it should reverse itself now, Russell said, it would "throw us into legislative chaos." He agreed with Sen. McClellan (D-Ark) who said the effect would be to enable any senator at any time to place any bill on the calendar without it having been considered by a committee.

During this debate there was no indication whether Vice President Nixon, as presiding officer, would rule on the issue or leave it up to the Senate. Any Nixon ruling would be appealed and submitted to the Senate.

Sen. Sparkman (D-Ala) predicted Nixon would rule that the House bill can be put before the Senate.

"Vice President Nixon is running for president," Sparkman said. "It—this ruling—will be favorable to the Eisenhower civil rights program and a bid for the Nego vote."

Civil Rights Backer Blasts Powell Letter

Fri. 6-7-57

By the Associated Press.

WASHINGTON, June 7. — Rep. Wayne L. Hayes (D., Ohio) accused Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D., N. Y.) today of "scurrilous" tactics in connection with the civil rights debate in Congress.

Mr. Hays, a supporter of the Civil Rights bill, said a letter Mr. Powell had written to "persuade and threaten" members to support a strong civil rights bill has almost persuaded Mr. Hays to vote for the jury trial amendment which southern opponents of the measure are seeking.

Mr. Hays' speech, delivered in obvious anger and drawing applause from some Democrats and some Republicans, came in the wake of claims by southern leaders that they have picked up enough Republican and northern Democratic votes to attach the jury trial amendment to the bill.

Mr. Hays took exception especially to one sentence in the letter the Negro Congressman sent his colleagues. Mr. Powell said Negro voters "are increasingly asking the question, why send Pennsylvania and Ohio Democrats to Congress if they must take their orders from middlemen who serve the white citizens' councils?"

Mr. Hays was applauded when he said, "There is no person in the United States, in my opinion, who is doing more to divide Negro citizens from other citizens than the gentleman from New York (Mr. Powell)."

Mr. Hays said Ohio and Pennsylvania Democrats in the House had voted for the civil rights bill last year at a time when Mr. Powell considered it "more important to be leaving on a sea voyage for a vacation in Europe."

Democrats issue demand for rights legislation

Baltimore, Md.

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON (NNPA) — After an all-day meeting in the Caucus Room of the Willard Hotel Thursday, a group of colored Democrats issued a statement calling upon the Senate Democratic leadership to "take the initiative in passing strong civil rights legislation."

Apparently there was sharp disagreement among the group over the contents of the statement.

Sat. 1-5-57

After it was drafted by a small group headed by Earl Brown, New York City Councilman, and Robert C. Weaver, New York State Rent Commissioner, the group argued fully two hours behind closed doors before giving the statement to waiting newspaper reporters.

* * *

THE GROUP was made up partly of Democrats, who met in Chicago last summer shortly before the Democratic national convention and issued a "statement of principles" and later presented to the platform committee of the convention a suggested civil rights plank.

Mr. Brown, one of those, who called the Chicago meeting, also called the meeting here along with Charles Wartman, editor of The Michigan Chronicle, Detroit, and Austin T. Walden, an Atlanta attorney. Participating in the meeting was Rep. William L. Dawson, of Illinois, vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee.

In their demand for civil rights legislation, "with or without a change in the Senate rules," the group made no mention of the Powell amendment which would deny Federal funds, under proposed Federal aid to school construction legislation, to school districts which are in rebellion against the Supreme Court decision outlawing racial segregation in public schools.

Sat. 1-5-57

THE AMENDMENT is sponsored by Rep. Adam C. Powell, (D., N.Y.) who supported President Eisenhower for reelection.

The statement charged "reactionary Republicans" with joining Dixiecrats to bottle up civil rights legislation.

Eastland was chiefly responsible for bottling up in the Judiciary Committee four civil rights bills approved by a subcommittee headed by Sen. Thomas C. Hennings, (D., Mo.) as well as the Eisenhower Administration's civil rights program.

A number of Democrats, white and colored, labor and NAACP leaders have taken the position that civil rights legislation is possible only if Congressional rule by filibuster is broken and Congressional leadership and committee chairmen are chosen who are committed to allowing civil rights legislation come to a vote in both Houses of Congress.

* * *

AFTER THE meeting Thursday, Mr. Brown said the consensus of the group was that the Democratic party will lose even more colored and liberal supporters in coming elections if it fails to back a strong civil rights program now.

"We do not absolve the Republican party of its responsibility for bottling up civil rights legislation in the Senate," Mr. Brown said.

"But we do believe that the civil rights program suggested by liberal Democratic Senators must be supported by the Democratic party leadership in Congress if the party is not again to deteriorate into a mere sectional one."

Senator Lyndon B. Johnson, of Texas, the Senate Democratic leader, has already said he is opposed to any change in Senate rules.

* * *

IN THE five-point statement the group called upon the Senate to:

1. Recognize the importance of passing civil rights legislation in view of its national and international implications.
2. Support those liberal Democratic Senators who have initiated the present movement for such legislation (Senators Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota, Paul Douglas of Illinois, Wayne Morse and Richard Neuberger, both of Oregon).
3. Change the Senate filibuster rule to make easier passage of civil rights legislation.
4. Meet the civil rights issue honestly and effectively.
5. The group also called upon President Eisenhower to recommend strongly civil rights legislation in his State of the Union message to the 85th Congress.

* * *

THE STATEMENT asserted that the failure of Congress to pass civil rights legislation was due to the tight cloture rule, which requires the votes of 64 Senators, or two-thirds of the entire Senate membership, to limit debate, and to the "coalition of reactionary Republicans and Dixiecratic Senators."

It said voters will be watching carefully the ruling of Vice President Richard M. Nixon on the motion to be offered when Congress convenes on Jan. 3 that the Senate proceed to adopt new rules.

Among the Democrats attending the meeting were; Robert C. Weaver, New York State Rent Commissioner; the Rev. Julian A. Taylor, Hearing Examiner, Connecticut Civil Rights Commission, Ansonia, Conn.; Rep. William L. Dawson, of Illinois; the Rev. Marshall Shepard, Councilman-at-large, Philadelphia.

Charles V. Carr, City Councilman, Cleveland; J. T. McNeely, Oklahoma City, Okla.; Luther White, executive director, Wilberforce Foundation, Cleveland; E. L. James, wholesale produce, Charleston, W.Va.; Austin T. Walden, attorney, Atlanta; Dr. Silas H. (Shag) Taylor, Boston; Benjamin Wilson, Gary, Indiana; Elmer W. Henderson, Washington, D.C.; Robert B. Watts and Lloyal Randolph, both of Baltimore.

10 1957

Senators Agree To Vote Tuesday In Rights Fight

Southerners Map Battle To Balk Bill

Advertiser Sat. 7-13-57 Montgomery

WASHINGTON, July 12 (AP)—The Senate agreed unanimously today to vote at about 6 p.m. Tuesday on a motion to bring the House-passed civil rights bill before it for action. *P. 1*

Adoption of the motion in the Tuesday vote is a foregone conclusion. Bringing a bill of that nature before the Senate would in itself be a major victory for civil rights supporters.

What may happen thereafter remains uncertain.

Southern senators have bitterly denounced the bill, backed by the Eisenhower administration. They have given every indication they will use their traditional weapon—the filibuster—to try to talk it to death in its present form.

OPPOSITION LEADER

Sen. Russell (D-Ga), leader of the Southern opposition, said he had been authorized to work out arrangements for a vote in the neighborhood of Wednesday.

The Senate's majority leader, Sen. Johnson (D-Tex), expressed hope there might be a roll call as early as Tuesday. He estimated there were a score of senators, including himslf, who still wanted to talk on the North-South issue.

The vote will be on a motion by Sen. Knowland of California, the Republican leader, to bring the disputed civil rights legislation to the floor.

Russell conceded today that Knowland's motion will probably be adopted.

VOTING STRENGTH

"Very frankly," he said, opponents of the bill won't be able to muster their full voting strength against a motion to take up. "Many who are likely to vote against the bill will support a motion to take it up," he added.

But once the legislation is before the Senate the Southern Democrats will fire a new verbal barrage against it. The debate may develop into a filibuster.

Knowland reported after a White House breakfast with President Eisenhower that the administration still stands behind the civil rights measure as it passed the House June 18. *Advertiser P. 6-a*

"Their recommendations are still their recommendations," the GOP leader said. "They have never taken the position, however, that there should not be any clarifying amendments."

SUPPORTING BILL

Some Northern Democrats supporting the bill, including Rep. Celler of New York and Sen. McNamara of Michigan, contend that Eisenhower is wavering in his support of the legislation. Asked if this were true, Knowland said "No."

Russell is working out a voting agreement with Knowland and Johnson. He told reporters "there is no possibility of a vote on Sen. Knowland's motion before Tuesday. I'd prefer to delay it until Wednesday, or even Thursday."

Almost all the Southern Democrats attended a 45-minute conference in Russell's office.

"We felt we have been fully justified in our debate on the motion to take up," Russell said. "This bill has pursued a very unusual course. There is no committee report on it. We feel justified in putting into the Senate record, at least, an analysis of this bill."

OVERTIME SESSIONS

Knowland's motion has been debated in overtime Senate sessions since last Monday. Johnson is reported to believe that when the time for voting comes, the motion will be carried by about a 2-1 ratio.

In a renewal of the debate today, Johnson told the Senate that the speeches so far had demonstrated that the civil rights controversy is not one that can be settled by a simple "yes" or "no."

"I believe that most thoughtful men now agree that there are serious issues which must be explored carefully and prudently," he continued.

"There are still those, of course, who believe that the Senate should operate on the basis of 'Get out of town by sundown.' But I doubt whether they will impress the Senate or the great majority of our people."

Knowland has estimated the civil rights fight may keep Congress in session until mid-September. Very little other business will be taken up by the Senate while the debate is in progress. A log-jam of other legislation is piling up.

Russell, in another floor speech, contended the bill gives the attorney general far more power to enforce civil rights by injunction than he asked for initially.

He called the measure "an attempt at legislative legerdemain and obfuscation."

Russell said the broad and punitive powers sought for the attorney general were aimed at 40 million white persons who live in the South. By a series of questions, Sen. Malone (R-Nev) indicated he agreed with Russell.

'LIBERTY' CONVENTION URGED IF CIVIL RIGHTS BILL OKAYED

Advertiser Sat. 7-13-57 P. 1 Montgomery, Ala.

A resolution introduced in the Alabama House yesterday calls for a statewide "liberty" convention if Congress passes a civil rights bill which does not carry a jury trial clause.

Walker County Rep T. K. Selman, in a fiery oration against federal encroachment on states' rights, declared "It's time we took some action." His resolution was sent to the committee at his request to allow members time to study it.

Purpose of the convention would be to "consider, determine and do whatever" the convention deemed necessary "for protection of the people of the state, the continuation of their duly established government and enforcement of the duly enacted laws of the state."

The resolution would require Gov. James E. Folsom to call an election to name delegates to a convention if the civil rights measure is approved without providing right to jury trial.

Selman told House members "this is a liberty resolution" and that "this is the first time any concrete action has been called for."

Roscoe Drummond

Constitution P. 4

Modified Rights Bill Might Pass Senate

Tues. 7-16-57 Atlanta, Ga.

WASHINGTON—We are today witnessing the most meaningful and productive debate on civil rights that has marked the deliberations of the Senate in years. It is premature to try to forecast unqualifiedly the end result. On the basis of the opening stages of this historic debate three conclusions emerge:

1. The opponents of the civil rights bill have devoted themselves to discussing the issues on their merits and thus far have refrained from abusing the precious right of extended debate.

2. The Southern Democratic opponents already are exerting a substantial impact on the shape of the legislation that ultimately may come. Everyone close to the scene knows that their purpose is to defeat the whole bill, but it is my conviction that the Southerners deserve credit for forcing its proponents to take a second and third look at its provisions. The result will almost certainly be some clarifying and moderating amendments.

3. From conversations with leaders on both sides the present outlook is this—without clarifying and moderating amendments, it is very doubtful that the bill can pass; with such amendments, it is quite probable that the bill will pass.

Three amendments now are in the making and after the vote putting the bill before the Senate they undoubtedly will come to the surface.

One amendment would have the effect of affirming that the new legislation in no way authorizes the use of troops to enforce decisions of the courts.

Another amendment which will be considered would strike from the bill any authority for the federal government to enter civil suits bearing upon the integration of the public schools.

A third amendment would bear upon jury trials for persons held in violation of a court injunction. Historically injunction proceedings have not involved jury trials but a compromise is being discussed which would prescribe trial by jury when matters of fact, rather than law, were primarily at issue.

The second and third of these amendments would obviously narrow the scope and force of the legislation. But its heart and center would remain. That is to secure and bring to reality the most fundamental right of American citizens, the right of all to vote under the same terms and the same qualifications.

These amendments would, in the judgment of its supporters, make the bill as moderate as President Eisenhower has been describing it. They would strip from the bill the objections which its critics have been raising most strenuously and would leave it dealing with a civil right which even opponents of the bill rarely question openly—the right of all citizens to vote on equal terms.

Thomas L. Stokes

Constitution P.4

Home Rule Denied Residents of Capital

Tue. 7-16-57

Atlanta Ga.

WASHINGTON—Once again, this time as a sort of sideshow to the big civil rights battle in the Senate, we are watching the annual skirmish to give full civil rights to several hundred thousand permanent residents, taxpayers and homeowners in your own national capital. The capital of the United States is the only place in the great democracy we hold up to the rest of the world where people don't enjoy democracy.

It is the only place where citizens are denied the right to vote, except for such denial to Negroes in some Southern states which the Eisenhower administration civil rights bill is supposed to correct.

We can't vote for local officials, for representatives in Congress or for president of the United States.

We just can't vote, period.

It was not always so. When the national capital was moved here in 1800 from Philadelphia, local self-government was instituted, first with a mayor appointed by the president and an elected city council, and from 1820 on with an elected mayor and an elected city council until 1871, when Congress abolished local self-government.

Now, if you can believe it, the Eisenhower administration offers as its civil rights formula for the national capital a territorial government, with a governor and lieutenant governor appointed by the president, an elective legislative assembly over whose acts the president would have a veto and a nonvoting delegate in the House of Representatives! That instead of an elective mayor and council as we had up to 86 years ago and as is proposed in pending bills.

The Eisenhower proposal harks back to the crown colonies of the pre-Revolutionary era, with a governor appointed by the king and the royal right of veto over the local assembly.

It suggests that we might bring back the coach-and-four for our governor, with outriders in fancy uniforms, and return to knee britches and silver buckles on our shoes and powdered wigs and philosophical discussions of John Locke in the candlelight over our wine before we join the ladies.

Amusing was President Eisenhower's injunction to a delegation that called on him in the interest of home rule here. He suggested that they needed "more good arguments" for self-government and franchise. Most of us are under the impression that all that is required in the United States is our Constitution and American citizens, of which there are several hundred thousands living in the District of Columbia.

The President also suggested stirring up "grass roots" support to prod members of Congress. That's been tried.

The trouble is in the District of Columbia Committee in the House of Representatives which for years has quietly pigeonholed home-rule bills passed by the Senate. How is that managed? Well, Chairman John L. McMillan of Florence, S.C., has a "packed" committee. Of its 14 Democratic members, 10 are from the South. All McMillan has to do is to make a deal with three Republicans, which is easy enough, and the bill is interred.

The Southern members do not want Negroes to vote here. It is as simple as that.

So you see how civil rights in the national capital is a sideshow of the big show in the main tent of the Senate.

On Civil Rights Program

News and Observer

Ervin Seeks Explanation

Wed. 1-23-57

The News and Observer Bureau,
1255 National Press Building

By MARY ANN PARDUE.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 22—Senator Sam J. Ervin, who today was appointed to the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee handling Civil Rights legislation, said there are several points in the President's proposed civil rights program on which he would like an explanation from attorney general Herbert Brownell, Jr.

Raleigh, N.C.

"I have grave reservations about the provision in the President's bill whereby the Federal Government would provide counsel for one side but not for the other," Ervin asserted. (Under the President's proposal, Justice Department attorneys would come to the aid of persons who claimed their rights had been violated, while plaintiffs would have to hire their own lawyers.)

p.1

The North Carolina Senator said he also has "misgivings" about another provision authorizing the granting of injunctions in reference to voting rights.

"I would want to make a study of that question," said the former State Supreme Court Justice, "because if the people against whom injunctions are granted are to be punished without jury trials for alleged violations, then that provision of the President's bill would circumvent their constitutional right to trial by jury."

Ervin was one of four new members appointed to the subcommittee by Judiciary Committee Chairman James O. Eastland, Dem.-Miss., thus increasing its membership from three to seven.

Sen. Olin Johnston, Dem.-S.C., is the other Democrat assigned to the group, along with Republican Senators Hruska (Neb.) and Watkins (Utah). Senator Hennings (D-Mo.), is chairman of the subcommittee, which before today's additions included only two others, Senators O'Mahoney (D-Wyo.) and Langer (R-S.D.).

Last year, the House passed the administration's civil rights bill, but the measure was never acted on in the Senate.

p.3

Senator Ervin indicated he will insist on full hearings on any civil rights legislative proposals offered during the present session. "There are a number of new members in Congress, as well as on the committee," he pointed out, "and I think the entire problem should be thoroughly studied.

"The country is out to find out what's in bills offered" he added, "so the people can decide whether they want them. I wouldn't want to see any legislation, even that which I favor, passed without due consideration."

So far, an estimated 60 bills dealing with civil rights have been dropped in the hopper.

The Tar Heel legislator said he sees "no necessity" for setting up a special commission to investigate civil rights violations, as proposed by President Eisenhower. "If the administration could show me any good reason why congressional committees ought not to study the problem I would certainly give it an attentive ear," Ervin asserted

Civil Rights in the Senate

Herald Tribune p.6

Sat. 6-22-57

New York

The supporters of the Civil Rights Bill have won their first victory in the Senate by having it placed directly on the calendar. Normally the bill would go to the Senate Judiciary Committee. But the Judiciary Committee, headed by Senator Eastland of Mississippi, is a place of imprisonment and death so far as civil rights measures are concerned. What goes in does not come out; has not come out, in fact, for the last seven years.

The procedure by which the bill avoided this fate is one seldom used, but was invoked this time by Senator Knowland. Some Senators who favor the bill were against by-passing the committee on the principle that this might establish a practice which would threaten the whole committee system. That seems unlikely. What is more to the point is the urgent need for the legislation itself, and the fact that no civil rights measure has come to the Senate floor for so long. Senators, as Senator Knowland remarked, cannot allow themselves to become "completely paralyzed" when it comes to debating a great matter of public policy.

The bill is on the calendar, but its greatest trials are yet to come. The real fight will begin when it is called, probably after July 4. Then there will be two opportunities for Southern filibusters, one when a motion is made to take the bill up for debate, and the other when it is ready to be voted upon. If there is no action on the bill before adjournment this summer, it will still be on the calendar when Congress reconvenes next January. There may be some comfort in that thought. But it should not tempt any supporter of civil rights, whether in the Senate or in the Administration, to slacken his efforts to secure passage of this legislation as soon as possible.

Washington Dateline

Inquirer p.2

Liberal Democrats Hit On Civil Rights 'Sellout'

Mon. 6-24-57

Philadelphia Pa.

From Our Wire Services

WASHINGTON, June 23.

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CHAIRMAN MEADE ALCORN charged today that six "self-styled liberal Democrats" sold out civil rights in the Senate last week to win Southern Democratic support for the Hells Canyon Dam bill.

Sen. Mike Mansfield (D., Mont.), Senate Democratic whip and acting Majority Leader, promptly denied the charge. He said there was "no deal of any kind, sort or nature and there were no trades on the part of any Democrat with any other Democrat for votes."

Those accused by Alcorn were Sens. Wayne Morse (D., Ore.), John F. Kennedy (D., Mass.), Warren G. Magnuson (D., Wash.), James E. Murray (D., Mont.), Joseph C. O'Mahoney (D., Mont.) and Mansfield.

Alcorn said the "band of self-styled 'liberal' Democrats who have been hoodwinking minority groups for years showed their true colors" when they backed a move to send the civil rights bill to the Senate Judiciary Committee, which has bottled up civil rights legislation. The move was defeated Thursday, 45 to 39.

10 1957

TODAY AND TOMORROW

News P.16 A

Voting And Integration Are Different Rights Issues

Sun. 7-14-57

BY WALTER LIPPMANN

B'ham, Ala.

ONCE AGAIN, as with the budget, the President has let it be known that he is not sure he is fully in favor of a major measure which has been put forward by his Administration. Indeed, in the case of the civil rights bill, it appears that he has had a quite misleading impression of what is in it. Thus, at his press conference on July 3, he said in reply to a question that while he is not a lawyer and did not "participate in drawing up the exact language of the proposals," he did know "what the objective was that I was seeking." It was "to prevent anybody illegally from interfering with any individual's right to vote, if that individual were qualified under the proper laws of his state."

The Present Bill Is A Comprehensive Measure

PROTECTING the right of Negroes to vote in elections for federal officials is, in fact, the objective of part IV of the bill but the objective of part III is to strengthen the federal power to enforce all the civil rights laws, including the law which calls for integration in the public schools. The President has certainly been misled, in fact it is hard to see how he can have read the bill, if he thinks that it is directed solely, or predominantly, at securing and protecting the right to vote. For, as the text shows clearly, the bill is a comprehensive measure for the better enforcement of all these civil rights, which exist in the laws but are in fact denied or nullified in various parts of the country.

The President's lack of understanding of the bill enabled Sen. Russell of Georgia to score heavily when he charged that the bill was an "example of cunning draughtsmanship," and that it was promoted by a "campaign of deception."

School Integration Is An Objective

IT CERTAINLY is puzzling to find the President so inadequately informed about the objectives of the bill. But whatever the reason for his misunderstanding, there has been no cunning deception. The text of the bill makes it quite obvious that much more than the right to vote is involved. The attorney general, Mr. Brownell, during the hearings in the House committee and in a memorandum, dated April 9, 1956, specifically included integration in the public schools among the federal activities to be promoted by the bill.

There is no doubt, therefore, that the objectives of the bill are much wider than to secure and protect the right to vote. This raises great questions of principle and of national policy. For while the right of qualified adults to vote and the right to have their children attend unsegregated schools are both civil rights, there are important differences between the two kinds of rights. Sen. Russell himself recognized this in his speech of July 2 when he said that "the American people generally are opposed to any denial of the right of ballot to any qualified citizen" but that even "outside the South there are millions of people who would not approve" of the use of force to compel integration.

Objectives Should Not Be Lumped Together

IN PRINCIPLE, it is the duty of the federal government to use its legal powers to secure and protect the right to vote. But to promote integration it is its duty to use persuasion in order to win consent. The two objectives—voting and integration—ought not to be lumped together, and the wise thing to do now would be to accept an amendment to the bill which separates them.

No doubt there would still be a die-hard opposition in the Deep South. But a bill which did only what the President thinks that this bill does, would be much harder to defeat. It would be hard to filibuster against it for any long time. For there are indeed millions of Americans outside the South who think that it is high time that the right to vote was respected. They do not think, however, that integration in the public schools can be or should be enforced more rapidly than local sentiment will accept it.

Disenfranchised Minority Is Politically Helpless

INSOFAR AS the right of Southern Negroes to vote can be secured and protected, they will acquire powerful means for establishing all their rights. I am not sure whether Sen. Russell's remarks, which are quoted above, really mean that Southerners of his eminence are now prepared to concede the right to vote. But if they do mean that, they mark a very great advance for the cause of civil rights.

A disfranchised minority is politically helpless. Let it acquire the right to vote, and it will be listened to.—©

From the Work Bench

Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

By Clarence Mitchell

Sat. 6-22-57

Their Ability Way Over-rated

The abortive attempt of Howard Smith (D., Va.), Rules Committee chairman, to call a point of order on the civil rights bill when it came to the House floor is a reminder that Southern congressmen are greatly overrated as parliamentarians.

P.4

Smith tried to get the bill referred back to committee on the ground that it did not comply with a rule governing proposals to change existing law. Rep. Jere Cooper (D., Tenn.), rushed to Smith's aid with high sounding phrases of justification.

Speaker Sam Rayburn (D., Tex.), is no friend of civil rights, but he will not let anyone use him in a game of obvious deception. He promptly cut Smith and Cooper down to cheroot size by overruling the point of order. Among the precedents he cited to support his action was a similar ruling made by Cooper on April 15, 1940, while serving as speaker pro tem.

* * *

SOUTHERN CONGRESSMEN look good in parliamentary skirmishes only when they are not challenged by persons who are willing to cite rules and precedents. It also helps if the Dixie speakers have their man in the chair because they know he will rule in their favor.

Using this kind of formula, the Southern group was seriously deflated during the life of the Wartime FEPC. One of the anti-civil rights leaders knocked out the FEPC appropriation on the ground that the agency was not established by legislation.

The man who made the point of order knew very well that most of the vital war agencies rested on the same legislative base as the FEPC. Apparently, he did not think that other members would have the courage to show him up by making points of order against these.

He guessed wrong. About a dozen agencies were hit by points of order. It soon became apparent to the country that FEPC was being singled out because it was established to combat racial discrimination.

* * *

BECAUSE THEY practice in a region that relishes folksy jokes and histronics, Southern lawyers are able to walk out of the court room with freed burglars, murderers and other criminals after convulsing juries with laughter and laying down a smoke screen of oratory. Appeals based on the glory of motherhood, Southern tradition and white supremacy are sure fire winners.

Like the Dixie parliamentarians in Congress, members of the bar in that region look good because they get the right judge and the right jury, but not because they know much about the law.

Now and then a story about the amazing reasoning in Southern courts comes to my attention. One of these is about a man who owned some oil property in Texas.

A company had gotten the man to lease his land, but a persuasive lawyer urged him to seek more money. In his letter to the company the lawyer said:

"I don't need to remind you that if we go to court before Judge —— he will be sure to decide against you because he knows that my client is an ignorant fellow who cannot read and write."

* * *

APPARENTLY THE COMPANY decided that the lawyer was right about the judge and promptly settled the matter out of court. The lawyer took most of the money and severed his connections with the client.

This lawyer would be very much at home in the circle of operators in Congress who win their points on counterfeit parliamentary moves.

National Whirligig

Advertiser P.4-A

By Ray Tucker

Wed. 7-17-57 WASHINGTON.

THE unexplainable confusion and uncertainty which have marked the Administration's handling of many grave problems strengthens the South's chances of forcing a defeat or serious compromise of the pending civil rights bill. White House wavering also jeopardizes other important matters now before an irritated and impatient Congress.

Montgomery, Ala.

White House Indecision Helps South

Presidential indecision is all the more puzzling to Capitol Hill because Ike was supposed to have established a staff system, with Sherman Adams in command. The congressional conclusion is that Adams permits himself to become immersed—or submerged—in minutiae, technicalities and petty politics.

Ike's failure to realize that the civil rights bill could be used to enforce segregation, and not merely to protect minorities' voting opportunities, has shaken the measure's supporters, especially as the Southern bloc boasts the abler lawyers and parliamentarians. It has discouraged both Republican and Democratic liberals, and thrown them on the defensive.

* * *

WHITE HOUSE HEDGING—Even more damaging was the President's ignorance of the fact that the bill, as framed by Atty. Gen. Brownell, permitted the use of the federal military in its enforcement.

But these are not the only evidences of White House backing and filling, and an abysmal lack of team work. Ike, for instance, first insisted that his huge budget was "tight to the penny" after months of preparation, only to concede that it could be cut. Secretary Humphrey and Undersecretary Burgess contributed to congressional confusion with equally contradictory remarks.

Eisenhower first maintained that his requests for national defense and the foreign aid appropriations could not be reduced without endangering the security of the free world. But even on this issue, so close to his program for world peace, he recanted to the extent of more than a billion dollars.

Behind The Rights Fight:

Mississippi Worst Offender In Voter Intimidation

Daily World P.1

Atlanta Ga.

Sun. 6-30-57

NEW YORK, N. Y. — (ANP) — Citizens in many areas in the South are prevented from voting by widespread campaigns of economic pressure, intimidation and even murder, THE REPORTER said Saturday.

Mississippi is the worst offender, Edward Gamarekian writes in his copyrighted article, "A Report from the South On the Negro Voter."

He reports that in the 1956 election, in nearly all of Mississippi's 82 counties, "Negroes were stalled, blocked, rejected, intimidated and even threatened when they tried to exercise their rights as citizens."

Registration figures compiled in 1954 show there were 13 counties in which no Negroes were registered at all, nine other counties in which six or less were registered, and 29 others in which fewer than 100 were registered.

The low registration figures for Negroes in Mississippi can be attributed to pressure, Gamarekian says, quoting a threatening letter received by potential Negro voters in Lowndes County: "Last warning. If you are tired of living, vote and die."

No Negroes vote in Humphreys County, Mississippi. On May 7, 1955, one of the county's leaders, the Reverend George W. Lee, was shot in the face while driving. His murderers were never apprehended. The local sheriff said Lee probably had had a heart attack and was killed in the crash that followed, and that the lead pellets in his face were probably fillings from his teeth.

Following are some other techniques, listed by Gamarekian, which were used to prevent Negroes from voting:

1. Economic pressure.
2. Negroes were required to interpret portions of the Federal and state constitutions to the satisfaction of the registrar before they could register, despite the 1949 Supreme Court Decision declaring this practice unconstitutional.
3. To test their understanding, other Negroes were aksed how many bubbles there in a bar of soap.
4. Chanenge at the ballot box was another effective technique. This involved challenging the right of all Negroes to vote because they did not subscribe to the "principles" of the Democratic Party of Mississippi and therefore were not qualified to vote in the primary. The "principles" included opposition to a Fair Employment Practices Committee and the support of states' rights, segregation, the poll tax, etc. On the assumption that no Negro could possibly subscribe to the "principles," it was not considered necessary to ask any Negro whether he did or not. He was automatically barred from voting in the Democratic primary—the only election that counts in Mississippi.

After Mississippi, Alabama ranks second in the list of states in which Negroes have difficulty registering and voting. Of the 516,000 Negroes of voting age in Ala., only 53,400 were permitted to register in 1956.

Louisiana ranks third. Of the 529,000 Negroes of voting age in Louisiana, 152,000 were permitted to register in 1956. This is a remarkable increase over 1948, when there were only 28,300 registered Negro voters in Louisiana.

Nation's County Officials To Consider Resolution Asking a Softer Rights Bill

Constitution Wed. 7-17-57 Atlanta Ga. P.9

By ALLAN HEAD

A resolution urging Section 3 be deleted from the administration's civil rights bill will be presented for debate during the final session of the National Association of County Officials Wednesday afternoon.

The resolution has been drafted and will be considered by the resolutions committee at 10 a.m. Wednesday, Judge M. Ward Forman of Springville, Ala., said Tuesday.

Section 3 of the civil rights bill would permit the attorney general to obtain federal court injunctions against violations, or threatened violations of voting and other civil rights.

Support for the resolution already has been promised by delegates from Pennsylvania and other northern and western states, Judge Forman said.

"I think we have enough in committee to report it out," he added. Forman said that should the resolution die in committee it then would be offered from the floor.

The resolution originated in the Alabama delegation, according to Forman. He said it is "short, simply worded," and "almost certain to be approved" by the convention.

"Every state is interested in the right of trial by jury," he added. "Section 3 is the part that takes away the right of state and local authorities to try their own cases."

Judge Forman is a former NACO president and chairman of the NACO roads and highways committee. His committee will offer no resolutions for convention action Wednesday, he said.

Bernard F. Hillenbrand, NACO executive director, said Tuesday the board of directors has approved a resolution commending the President's Commission on Intergovernmental Relations and laying groundwork for a "grass roots campaign" to implement the committee's recommendations.

The resolution will be among those presented for convention action.

John Sammons Bell, Atlanta attorney and acting chairman of the NACO legislative committee, said his group also would propose a number of resolutions.

They will include: a resolution opposing federal aid to education, a resolution noting the importance of water control and asking NACO to have a competent engineer report on the problem at the mid-winter session, a resolution asking continued tax exemption at all levels for municipal and city bond issues, and a resolution commending columnist David Lawrence for "forthright writing" in defense of the Constitution, states rights and local government.

Other resolutions may be presented by NACO committees on civil defense, welfare and federal real property.

Among speakers addressing the convention Tuesday were Rep. William Cramer (D-Fla), Robert E. Merriam, assistant director, Bureau of the Budget, Washington, D.C., and Hugh Gallagher, assistant administrator, Federal Civil Defense Administration.

THE HEART OF CIVIL RIGHTS

Times P.18-E

Mon. 7-15-57 New York

One fact we might think about as the civil rights bill, already passed by a House vote of 282 to 126, comes up this week in the Senate is this: the right to vote is the heart of all other civil rights. If a recognizable group, such as the Negroes in the Deep South, is hindered in registering and voting it has no means whatever of sustaining its other rights. It would not therefore be an unworthy compromise if the friends of democracy in the Senate agreed to limit the use of the injunction in the proposed legislation to cases in which the right to register and vote was denied.

This limitation would not deny the principle of integration in the schools which was laid down in the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954. It would put first things first. It would put emphasis on education—in this case, adult education. It would show the folly of Senator Russell's nightmare of integration by bayonet. It would accept the Court's own formula of caution and conciliation in this delicate field.

But there can be no justifiable compromise of the right of any individual, of the Negro race or of any other race, to exercise the franchise in a Federal election.

It is now clear that it was this sort of interference with the rights of the citizen that President Eisenhower had chiefly in mind in his somewhat casual mention of the subject in his State of the Union message on Jan. 5, 1956, and which he repeated, in more deliberate terms, in his corresponding message of Jan. 10 of this year. He did not explicitly mention the use of the injunction in segregation cases. He did urge, in this year's message, "enactment by the Congress of new laws to aid in the enforcement of voting rights."

The proposed bill went beyond what the President seemingly contemplated when it suggested the use of the injunction, with possible fines and prison sentences for those held in contempt, to enforce school integration as well as voting rights. If the friends of the measure are sensible they may decide to be as patient in promoting integration in the schools as the Supreme Court itself has been. This concession may eliminate some sincere and anxious opposition among white Southerners. Integration will create a new problem in human relations, and such problems cannot be solved overnight.

But the right to vote is clear-cut. Whatever the anti-civil-rights bloc of Southern Senators decides to do or say, liberals in both major parties must in this field stick to the fundamentals. They can no longer, in honesty or in political wisdom, let Senator Russell or anyone else ignore the Fifteenth Amendment.

1C 1957

Push For Civil Rights Bill Laid To Northern Mistrust

Advertiser P.5-a
Tue. 7-19-57
Montgomery Ala.

One of the reasons behind the civil rights measures now pending in Congress is that Northerners "don't trust Southerners as jurors in civil rights issues," Circuit Judge George C. Wallace told members of the Alabama Farm Equipment Dealers Assn. here yesterday.

Judge Wallace, who is slated to appear before a U.S. Senate committee for a hearing on a rule change aimed at killing filibusters, said one of the primary objects of the civil rights bills was to abolish trial by jury.

Proponents of the bills hope to do this, he explained, by trying to move from the criminal to the civil side of law and using injunctions issued at the discretion of judges instead of jury trials.

He accused civil rights advocates of "having no consiitutional arguments for these bills," but added, "the black and red Supreme Court will no doubt hold it constitutional."

The civil rights bills would increase the power of federal judges, relegate states to "mere administrative agencies" of the national government, and make the Federal Bureau of Investigation a "federal gestapo."

He said a rule change allowing a simple majority instead of the two-thirds vote now required to stop Senate debate would be a blow against "minority groups." He called the filibuster the strongest weapon and the only means available to minorities in Congress.

He urged Southerners to continue to fashion "legal remedies."

"We must win within the law," he said.

Earlier in the one-day meeting at the Whitley Hotel, equipment dealers heard Montgomery State Sen. Vaughn Hill Robison outline the present status of the Legislature, which he said was deadlocked.

Sen. Robison said several bills affecting the equipment dealers, including one measure which would repeal the sales tax on farm equipment, were caught in log jams. He said the repeal measure was still in committee.

Also speaking to the group was R. C. Bamberg, Uniontown planter and one-time candidate for the post of state commissioner of agriculture.

Vows No Deal On Civil Rights Bill

Defender Chicago Ill.
Sat. 7-20-57 P. 2

By ROSE MCKEE

WASHINGTON — (INS) — Senate Democratic leader Lyndon Johnson denied Thursday that moves are afoot by either Republicans or Democrats to "compromise" the administration's civil rights bill.

The Texan, indicating a vote by the Senate next week to determine whether the bill will be taken up for consideration, said "there is quite some distance to go before the end result even begins to take shape."

Should an actual around-t h e-clock filibuster develop against the measure, it would not come until after the initial vote is taken on consideration of the measure.

Johnson said "The issue is deeply emotional and cannot be settled in a few hours or even a few days. As long as we can continue to explore them in the current spirit, I have every confidence that the Senate will reach a reasonable judgment."

The Senator said talk of compromise "arises because the debate has been conducted on a high plane, free of rancor and bitterness."

He declared: "I do not know of participants on either side who are talking in such terms, nor do I consider the study of this bill as being intended for compromise purposes."

Reports of compromise circulated through Washington after Sen. Richard B. Russell (D) Ga., leader of the opposition to the civil rights measure, spent 50 minutes in conference with President Eisennower Wednesday.

In the wake of that visit, Sen. Patrick McNamara (D) Mich., urged the President to reaffirm his support of the measure.

The Michigan Democrat, in a telegram to the White House, said he is "deeply disturbed by the flood of reports that you and your administration are wavering in your support of the basic provisions of the civil rights legislation pending in the Senate."

McNamara told the President that "to allow these reports to gain currency by your silence, sabotages the efforts of the House and all of us in the Senate, regardless of party affiliation, who believe that every American is entitled to the privileges of first-class citizenship."

He said: "If ever the prestige and voice of the office of the Presidency were needed, it is now. Please act."

Sen. John Stennis (D) Miss., an opponent of the measure, also called for presidential action, but in a different direction.

The Mississippi Democrat called upon the Chief Executive to withdraw his support of section three of the bill, which Southerners contend can be used to force integration in schools at gunpoint.

Earlier, assistant Senate Democratic leader Mike Mansfield, Montana, told reporters he expects the Senate to modify section three, the most disputed part of the bill and the one discussed at greatest length by Russell and Mr. Eisenhower.

Hint Compromise On Rights Bill

Defender Chicago Ill.
Sat 7-20-57 P.1

By ROSE MCKEE

WASHINGTON — (INS) — Sen. George D. Aiken (R) Vt., said there "seems to be a greater understanding" in the Senate of the South's position on the civil rights issue than ever before.

His statement and the private comment of other senators indicated that the administration faces trouble in its attempts to get Senate approval of civil rights legislation without a major compromise.

The Senate opens its second week of debate on the bill, which would give the Justice Department authority to use court injunctions to enforce civil rights laws, including Negro voting rights.

SEC. 3 "FATAL" TO SOUTH

Aiken, usually an administration supporter, indicated he may back a compromise bill. He said that "I do not think it would be fatal" if the Senate "removed section three."

Section three is the hotly disputed position which southerners claim is "cunningly designed" to enforce school integration even at the point of bayonets.

Another Republican — Sen. Karl Mundt of S. D. — has outlined a compromise which incorporates amendments asked by the South, including elimination of the disputed provision.

He proposed his compromise, which would assure jury trials in civil rights cases, as legislation which — he said — would appeal to senators who are "neutral" in the civil rights fight.

PROPOSAL AVOIDS FILIBUSTER

Mundt's proposal represents just about what key senators have predicted the Senate eventually will approve. It also would provide the best chance of the Senate avoiding a lengthy southern filibuster.

Sen. Paul Douglas (D) Ill., served notice, however, that he will resist any attempts to compromise. He said: "I think the bill is okay as it is. Who would we be winning over by making a compromise? We wouldn't pick up any southern votes."

Douglas labeled as a "smokescreen" and "just nonsense" southern charges that the measure would permit the use of troops to enforce school integration.

The Illinois Senator said that all section three would do is permit the government to obtain injunctions to prevent racial discrimination and does not contemplate any use of troops.

FORCE NOT CONTEMPLATED

Douglas said the provision might have a salutory effect on school integration "but no one in his right senses would try to use it to force integration on a state like Mississippi" with a large Negro population.

The civil rights bill faced its first major test Tuesday. The vote will come on a motion by Republican Leader William F. Knowland, of Calif., to make the bill the pending business of the Senate.

SEC. 3 CALLED "DANGEROUS"

Sen. Clinton P. Anderson (D) N. M., a supporter of the bill, disclosed he had been considering offering such an amendment himself. He said: "I am for a civil rights bill but as I see it now, section three should come out. It seems to me it would be dangerous."

Why Negroes Do Not Vote

Daily News
Jackson, Miss.
M. 7-19-57

Senators supporting the civil rights bill say they are doing so because Negroes are being deprived of voting rights in the South.

That isn't true.

Any Negro can vote in any Southern state, without any form of molestation, if he complies with the essential qualifications for voting.

The cold truth is that an overwhelming majority of Negroes in the South don't want to vote.

First, they are unwilling to pay the required poll tax, although it is only the trivial sum of two dollars.

Second, they want to avoid getting their names on the books for any form of taxation.

Third, the more intelligent Negroes in the South have no faith in their radical leaders, whether politicians or pulpiteers, and will not bow to their leadership.

The NAACP, the AFL-CIO, the ADC, the Civil Rights Communists, and the Communist party, talk a lot of twaddle about Negroes being intimidated when they offer to register, yet they are unable to furnish any authentic testimony showing this has been done in any Southern state.

The GOP leaders well know that there will never be enough Negro votes in any Southern state to swing the result of an election. What they hope to do is to control the Negro vote in Northern, Eastern and Western states where Negroes might hold the balance of power.

Members of Congress in both Houses who have at least enough sense to come in out of a rainstorm well know that Negroes who do not posses sufficient intelligence to vote should not be allowed to vote. What they are now seeking to do is defy the laws of both God and Nature by forcing a mixture of the white and Negro races and establish complete social equality, all in order that they hope to be favored with the Negro vote.

If a serious attempt is ever made to enforce this 1857 version of a force bill then repercussions and resentment therefrom will will run into the next century. It will mean the end of domestic tranquility.

TODAY AND TOMORROW

News P. 18-A

Civil Rights Compromise

Sun. 7-21-57 B'ham, Ala.

Limiting Substance Of Bill To Single Issue Of Suffrage Seen As Desirable

BY WALTER LIPPMANN

NOW THAT civil rights legislation is before the Senate, the crucial question is whether the leaders from the Southern states are willing to let a bill pass which is directed solely to securing and protecting the right of Negroes to vote. There have been some indications that Sen. Russell may be willing, after the Southern minority have argued their case, to let the majority of the Senate pass such a bill. There is, also, some reason to think that Sen. Lyndon Johnson is feeling his way towards a compromise based on limiting the substance of the bill to the single issue of suffrage in the Southern states.

By such a compromise the Southerners would be making a very big concession. But they would avoid, or at least postpone for some considerable time to come, what would amount to a decisive defeat on the whole range of civil rights issues. If they resorted to a filibuster to destroy a bill amended to deal only with federal voting, there is a very good chance, as Mr. Rowland Evans, Jr., reported in the *New York Herald Tribune* the other day, that they will provoke a movement to amend the rules of the Senate in order to abolish the right to filibuster.

South Has Much To Lose By Being Intransigent

IF EVER THE rules are amended, the Southerners will be faced with a majority in the Senate which is prepared to use the federal power to enforce all the civil rights laws, including that against segregation in the public schools.

The South, therefore, has much to lose by being intransigent, and it has much to gain by a concession on the right to vote.

The word "compromise" needs to be defined. A genuine compromise would be an understanding that the bill should be amended by cutting out Part III, which deals with integration in the schools and other civil rights. Such an amendment would mean that the special feature of this bill—the use of injunction—would be limited to the cases where there is a denial by local election officials of the right to vote. The injunction procedure would not apply to the school problem, or to the other civil rights problems.

It would not be a true compromise, on the other hand, to cut out Part III, and then also to amend Part IV to require trials by jury in all election cases. That would amount to the emasculation of the bill, and would mean that Congress was passing a bill that was not meant to be enforced. Either the federal government is to have power to secure and protect the right to vote or it is not to have that power. That power can be, and should be, strictly defined. But there is no halfway station between granting and not granting the power.

There may be in the making something bigger than a compromise on the bill which is now before the Senate. We may venture to hope that for the first time there exists an opportunity for something like a national settlement and understanding based on the inherent principle and implied policy of an amended bill.

The principle of the amended bill would be that the paramount civil right of an American citizen is the right to vote. If he can qualify under rules that are the same for all, the right to vote is his guarantee that he will be heard and listened to and counted.

Other Rights Would Be Sought By Persuasion

THE COROLLARY of this principle that the right to vote is the paramount civil right is that the other civil rights are not to be enforced by the executive power of the federal government. They are to be brought into being by persuasion, experiment, negotiation, and by judicial process.

It would be a bright day for the country if there could be a general national understanding based on such a view of the scope and nature of federal intervention in the problem of civil rights. There are great reputations to be made by those, be they in Congress or in the Administration, who seize the opportunity which is open, and make themselves the architects of such an understanding.—©

Political Danger Signals

Defender P. 10
Chicago, Ill.
Sat. 7-20-57

The civil rights issue endangers not only the Democratic party's return to national power, but its very existence as an effective political entity. If a coalition of Southern forces succeeds in defeating the Administration's proposal, there will be a wholesale desertion of the party by Negroes and white liberals.

Can the Democratic party survive an exodus of this magnitude? The cracks in the wall have been widening since 1952. What was then barely noticeable as a trend, loomed up as a major obstacle athwart the path of the party's leadership in 1956. And today the very structure of the organization is threatened by disunity on the one hand and sectional disaffection on the other.

Since 1952, Negro voters have been moving away from the Democrats in increasingly impressive numbers. Any further defections of the big city votes would all but dim the Democratic prospects of victory in 1960.

The party's leadership can scarcely be insensitive to the danger signals that are visible almost everywhere. Some may shut their eyes to the forebodings of these signals; but others more sagacious and introspective are brooding over the circumstances that defeated their political ambitions.

Senator Earle Clements of Kentucky is among those who have begun an examination of their conscience. Clements attributes his defeat for re-election to the fact that he presented Senator Eastland's name for chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee. Clements' explanation that as assistant Democratic floor leader, the task of presenting Eastland was automatic. In other words, he had no choice in the matter. Apparently that explanation did not satisfy his Negro constituents in Louisville.

Competent political analysts are attributing Adlai Stevenson's failure, last November, to his moderate civil rights stand. Mr. Stevenson was a virtual prisoner of a palace guard that made him straddle the fence on so momenteous an issue. But he went to far away South Africa to denounce racial segregation as incompatible with the social concept of modern free society. He has yet to lift his voice in inescapable tone against Dixie's indefensible treatment of the Negro.

Surveys of key cities show that President Eisenhower won a larger percentage of the Negro vote in '56 than he did in '52. This indicates plainly that Negroes are getting tired not only of the Dixiecrats, but also of the Democratic party's obvious disinclination to negate the noxious influence of its Southern wing. These segregationists are a liability to the party.

Unless northern Democrats align themselves with liberal Republicans and defeat the opposition to the civil rights proposal, Negroes will return to the Republican party in droves.

The plaintive chant will no longer be "a vote for the Democratic standard-bearer, is a vote for Eastland of Mississippi," rather a vote for any Democrat is a vote against civil rights and all the other constitutional guarantees which are essential to a first class American citizenship.

Northern Democrats will not be able to offer the obstructive strategy of their Southern brothers in the Senate as a perpetual excuse for their failure to pass a civil rights measure. Because they hold some trump cards they have never cared to play. But for their support Southerners could not obtain choice committee chairmanships and other prestige posts in the senate. The Republicans would beat them with odds to spare. These northern Democrats, therefore, could insist upon passage of the civil rights legislation as a condition for their votes in any future contest for control of committees in the upper chambers.

Some strategy must be divised to force the bill through in this session of Congress or else the Democrats might as well fold up their tents and abandon hope of returning to national power in this generation.

10 1957

To voting protection only—

News P. 2 P

Forty of 64 senators favor reducing scope of 'rights'

Sun. 7-21-57 B'ham, Ala.

BY JACK BELL

WASHINGTON, July 30—(AP)—Forty of 64 senators willing to state their position said Saturday they favor reducing the scope of the administration's civil rights bill to the point of providing only for enforcement of voting rights.

An Associated Press canvass of 92 of the 95 present members disclosed 24 want to retain the measure provision for enforcing a variety of civil rights.

48 yes votes needed

IF ALL SENATORS participated—which rarely occurs—48 affirmative votes would be required for adoption of any amendment.

As it passed the House, the bill would authorize the attorney general to act on his own initiative in seeking injunctions to enforce school integration, desegregation in transportation and public places and other rights. These powers are contained in Section 3 of the bill.

Sen. Anderson (D., N. M.) and Aiken R., Vt.) have proposed striking this section from the bill. That would confine the measure largely to voting rights. The attorney general could ask injunctions to prevent violations or threatened violation of such rights, and anybody disregarding the injunctions could be punished by a federal judge without jury trial.

Efforts of Republicans and Northern Democratic supporters this far have produced no agreement on a substitute for Section 3 which would retain even a portion of the enforcement powers in that part of the bill.

Thus the Anderson-Aiken amendment may go to a Senate vote early next week without any leadership effort to change its over-all terms. If the amendment were adopted, leaders then could try to put back in the bill some of the powers thus wiped out.

Many undecided

IN ADVANCE of this major test, nearly one-third of the Senate's members said they are yet uncertain on the issue of cutting the House measure down to a voting-protection bill.

Southern Democratic opponents of the measure have made it clear they will vote for all amendments that will soften its terms and then vote against the bill.

Privately, some of them have been saying that they could live with a "voting rights" bill and they have made strenuous efforts to pare the measure down in that direction.

For varying reasons 10 Republicans and 30 Democrats—including nine Democrats from states outside the South—indicate they are willing at this time to reduce the scope of the House measure.

Sen. Flanders (R., Vt.) said he is for confining the bill to the enforcement of voting rights because he felt there was danger in going too far too fast in the general field of civil rights.

"Prohibition went too far and the prohibition amendment became a dead letter," he said. "If this bill goes too far and becomes a dead letter it will be a terrible setback for the Negro."

Other men, other reason

ON THE OTHER HAND, Sen. Kuchel (R., Calif.) said he was going to "follow the platform of the Republican Party and the recommendations of President Eisenhower." For that reason he said he was against narrowing the measure to a strictly voting rights bill.

Sen. Malone (R., Nev.) said he thinks any bill Congress passes "should be restricted so as not to interfere with states rights." He indicated he believes such interference would be involved in federal attempts to enforce civil rights generally.

Sen. Church (D., Idaho) said he is supporting the Anderson-Aiken amendment. He said how he votes on other proposals will depend on the result of that vote.

Sen. Dworshak (R., Idaho) said he wants the bill to go as far as possible toward the enforcement of civil rights for all citizens.

"I believe in the principle of civil rights under the Constitution," he said.

For the bill

SEN. GOLDWATER (R., Ariz.) said he would vote for the bill in its present form if major amendments failed. He said he is supporting the Anderson-Aiken proposal.

Sen. H. Alexander Smith (R., N. J.) said he thinks the main objective now should be to make certain that Negroes can vote in the South. From that point, he said he thinks further gains can be made later in obtaining all civil rights for them.

Smith said he would go along with elimination of other civil rights from the bill if there could be some assurances that Southerners would not try to filibuster final passage of the measure and "put us in danger of losing everything."

Sen. Edward Martin (R., Pa.) said "Voting rights alone would be a good start" but he will oppose reducing the bill's scope. He said, however, the measure's supporters "may have to make some concessions" to get it passed.

Sen. Carroll (D., Colo.), who wouldn't commit himself, said he regards protection of the right to vote as the "basic" objective of the bill. He said he wants to study the enforcement provisions.

Sen. Beall (R., Md.) said he is sticking by the House bill.

Sen. Lausche (D., Ohio) said that in his opinion "there are other civil rights, besides voting privileges, that need protection."

Names withheld

TWO DEMOCRATIC senators and one Republican who said they favor the Anderson-Aiken amendment, asked that their names be withheld. One Republican senators who was against it made the same request.

Sens. Bridges (R., N. H.), Jenner (R., Ind.) and Langer (R., S. D.) were not reached in the canvass.

The question asked in the poll was: "Do you believe enforcement provisions of the bill should be limited to the field of voting rights?"

Those favoring limiting the scope of the bill to the enforcement of voting rights were:

Democrats—30

Anderson of N. M., Bible of Nev., Byrd of Va., Church of Idaho, Eastland of Miss.

Ellender of La., Ervin of N. C., Fulbright of Ark., Hill of Ala., Holland of Fla.

Johnson of Texas, Johnston of S. C., Kefauver of Tenn., Kerr of Okla., Long of La.

Mansfield of Mont., McClellan of Ark., Monroney of Okla., O'Mahoney of Wyo., Robertson of Va.

Russell of Ga., Scott of N. C., Smathers of Fla., Sparkman of Ala., Stennis of Miss.

Talmadge of Ga., Thurmand of S. C., Yarborough of Texas, plus two Democrats who asked not to be named publicly.

Republicans—10

Aiken of Vt., Case of S. D., Cotton of N. H., Flanders of Vt., Goldwater of Ariz.

Malone of Nev., Mundt of S. D., Smith of N. J., Young of N. D., plus one Republican who asked not to be named publicly.

Thoes opposed:

Democrats—8

Clark of Pa., Douglas of Ill., Hennings of Mo., Humphrey of Minn., Lausche of Ohio.

McNamara of Mich., Neely of W. Va., Neuberger of Ore.

Republicans—16

Bealle of Md., Case of N. J., Dirksen of Ill., Dworshak of Idaho, Hruska of Neb.

Ives of N. Y., Javits of N. Y., Knowland of Calif., Kuchel of Calif., Martin of Pa.

Payne of Me., Potter of Mich., Purtell of Conn., Watkins of Utah, Wiley of Wis., plus one Republican who asked that his name not be used.

Rights, Civil Rules Rate Hottest Items At Bar Gathering

Post-Herald P. 1

Sat. 7-20-57 B'ham, Ala.

BY CLARKE STALLWORTH
Post-Herald Staff Writer

TUSCALOOSA, July 19 — Civil rights and civil rules were the hottest items of discussion at the 80th annual convention of the Alabama State Bar Assn. here today.

The civil rights talk centered around the segregation decisions made by the U. S. Supreme Court, and the civil rights bill now before Congress.

Chief Justice J. Ed Livingston, of the Alabama Supreme Court, said most chief justices of state supreme courts disagree with the U. S. Supreme on recent decisions.

Some hot resolutions on the civil rights question were expected to be introduced during the business session of the convention tomorrow.

Many of the lawyers at the convention today were discussing the propsed new rules of civil procedure now before the Alabama Legislature.

Both opponents and proponents of the new rules—based on the federal court procedure — came to the convention today prepared to do battle on the convention floor.

But it looked today as if the battle had been called off. State Sen. Albert Davis of Aliceville, an arch opponent of the new rules, said: "I think it would be unwise for either side to bring it up tomorrow. It would split the bar right down the middle. But if it does come up, I'll be there to present my side, and I'll have some able help."

The proposed rules caused a lengthy filibuster—with Senator Davis at the helm—in the Alabama Senate about a month ago.

Those lawyers who favor the bill also were against bringing up the subject during the convention business session tomorrow. They figure they can pass a resolution approving the rules, but they don't want to start a bitter fight on the issue.

Actually, according to some of those who favor the rules, the state bar association had approved the rules "in principle" at an earlier convention.

So a possible floor fight tomorrow seems to have been called off by both sides.

Justice Livingston, talking about the U. S. Supreme Court, blasted the high court's rulings on desegregation, its recent freeing of accused Communists, and opening of FBI files.

Post-Herald

In my humble opinion I can truthfully say that the same opinion prevails in the mind of every chief justice of a state court in this entire nation," he said.

P. 2

Livingston said the U. S. Supreme Court Associate Justice Tom Clark was a guest at a recent New York conference. At the conference Livingston said he told Justice Clark bluntly how state judges felt about the recent decisions.

During the business session tomorrow, John D. Higgins of Birmingham—state president of the association—will retire from office. Burnie E. Jones, an Evergreen attorney, is now vice prsident of the state group and is almost sure to succeed Mr. Higgins as state president.

Walter Gewin of Tuscaloosa is a candidate for first vice president during the session tomorrow. If he wins the post, he'll be in line for state president in 1958-59.

Sen. John Sparkman, who was scheduled to appear and speak at the convention, sent a telegram today that he was unable to attend because of a "vicious piece of legislation with a misnomer of civil rights."

In his speech, prepared for delivery before the members of Phi Alpha Delta law fraternity, Sparkman said the

South's filibuster in the Senate against the civil rights bill is aimed at "bringing out the injustice that this bill represents."

He attacked northern criticism of the filibuster as "wild oversimplification that arises to stunt intelligent discussion every time we encounter the emotional race question."

There was much shaking of hands at the convention today, some of it by several prospective candidates for governor next year. Some of those talked as gubernatorial candidates — and who shook some hands here— were Lt. Gov. Guy Hardwick, Atty. Gen. John Patterson, Circuit Judge George Wallace and Rep. Karl Harrison of Colum-

Workshop sessions on taxation, negligence and criminal law were held today, and the law school alumni of the University of Alabama also met today.

Speaking on negligence was U. S. District Judge Seybourne H. Lynne, of the North Alabama district, and Ralph H. Farrell, an attorney from Richmond, Va.

Criminal law discussions were lead by Macey Taylor, Roderick Beddow, George Rogers, Drew Redden, Cecil Deason, all of Birmingham, M. Clington McGee of the University of Alabama law school, and Circuit Solicitor George C. Johnson, Athens, Ala.

The state's circuit judges met yesterday and elected Judge Reuben Wright, Tuscaloosa, as president of their group to succeed Judge Bowen Simmons of Andalusia.

Emmett Perry of Jefferson County was chosen president of the Alabama Circuit Solicitors Assn. Lewey Stephens of Elba was named vice president and William Thetford of Montgomery was renamed secretary-treasurer.

George P. Taylor, Birmingham, was elected president of the Alabama Junior Bar Assn. Herman Hamilton, Montgomery, was named vice chairman and Vann Waldrop, Tuscaloosa, was re-elected secretary.

Glen Bashore, Clanton, was elected president of the Alabama Plaintiffs' Lawyers Assn. Ralph Williams, Tuscaloosa, was elected first vice president.

Right-to-Work Fight Centers On N.Y. Voters

World-Telegram & Sun P. 15 Mon. 7-1-57

By ROGER STUART.

New York Staff Special

WASHINGTON, July 1.—Scant progress has rewarded the anti-closed shop right-to-work drive in recent months, a development moving national heads of organized labor to considerable glee.

But the indefatigable advocates of a ban on compulsory union membership refuse to admit their cause may be slipping. Quite the contrary. Recent buffetings in Washington and in several states, they insist, have served merely to inspire a shift in strategy.

New York Testing Ground.

A primary testing-ground picked for their newly devised plan of campaign will be New York State.

Having failed to induce the Albany Legislature to adopt a right-to-work law, its champions finally have decided to concentrate on securing the same ultimate objective in a more roundabout fashion.

This requires advance planning—and William A. Mills, executive vice president of the Empire State Chamber of Commerce, has revealed how the effort will be made.

"We're planning," he said while on a visit to the national capital, "to have a right-to-work provision approved as part of the state's Constitution. You see, the voters are going to decide at the 1958 general election whether to call a constitutional convention. If they approve the idea, we think the chances of getting our provision adopted will be very bright."

A recent public opinion survey, it was asserted, indicated that 74 percent of New York voters favored right-to-work legislation. Moreover, almost the same percentage of support was said to have been given the proposal by such union members as were interviewed in the course of the poll.

Confident of Approval.

The Empire State Chamber, according to Robert T. Eaton, its organization service director, is "confident" that, "because of the nonpolitical character of constitutional convention delegates," a right-to-work amendment would be approved. And if the draft constitution contained such a measure when submitted to the voters, "it would be ratified," he added.

A statewide vote is expected, too, in Kansas in 1958. In that state the Legislature this year approved a law banning compulsory union membership but the governor vetoed it. However, it's to be considered on a referendum.

Eighteen of the 48 states now have right-to-work laws on the books. Efforts were made to have similar measures adopted in six states this year, but only one — Indiana — approved the bill.

Spokesmen at the National Right-to-Work Committee headquarters here, meanwhile, said that the investigation of labor-management racketeering by the McClellan committee of the Senate has built up interest throughout the country in the anti-closed shop drive.

Lawyers Hit At Congress, High Court

Advertiser Sun. 7-21-57 Montgomery, Ala. P. 1

Resolutions Condemn Rights Legislation, Integration Rulings

By DON McKEE
Advertiser State Editor

TUSCALOOSA, Ala., July 20—The Alabama Bar Assn. today strongly condemned in resolutions the U.S. Supreme Court on two counts, charging encroachment on states' rights, and Congress for "indicating an intention" to bypass jury trials in civil rights legislation.

For the third consecutive year, the state legalists condemned the nation's highest court for its integration decisions.

Another resolution condemned and deplored the court's reversal of a California bar's refusal to admit to practice an applicant who took refuge behind the 5th Amendment when questioned about possible Communist connections.

"The Alabama Bar Assn. does respectfully, but nonetheless firmly and resolutely, protest against this unjustified seizure of power reserved to the states," the resolution said.

INVADING NEW FIELD

Declaring that the Supreme Court has "now manifested an intention" to "invade a new field and to direct or supervise the courts of last resort" and the qualifying of lawyers, in the states, the resolution deplored the "threat" which the rulings pose "to the sovereignty of the several states."

"Forceful action" was urged on the nation to "protect and preserve" the judicial systems of the states. The court was "strongly urged" to reconsider and reappraise its ruling.

Regarding civil rights legislation pending in Congress, the state bar adopted a resolution which said the "present Congress is indicating an intention to circumvent trial by jury."

"We deplore and unhesitatingly condemn this and all other assaults upon our system of trial by jury," the resolution said.

A lone dissent was sounded against the three resolutions from among an assembly of 450 lawyers.

CHORUS OF 'AYES'

As out-going president John Higgins, Birmingham, called for the affirmative vote on each resolution, the hall thundered with a chorus of "ayes." Each time he called for opposing vote, a single voice in the rear of the room said "no."

The dissenter was identified as Alvin Horn, Birmingham, a former student at the University of Alabama who was among others supporting the re-admittance of Negro co-ed Autherine Lucy after her enrollment touched off near-violence here.

Advertiser

Horn, who later told The Advertiser he voted against the resolutions, refused to elaborate on his action, explaining "I've still got one cold foot." P. 7-a

Other resolutions — passed unanimously — endorsed House-approved pay raises for Alabama circuit judges, appellate judges and circuit solicitors, and the Junior Bar Assn. for its study of laws regulating small loan firms.

As expected, no attempt was made to bring to a vote the controversial judicial reform bill, a measure which changes Alabama's rules of civil procedure. The bill, drafted on the association's own recommendation, has passed the House but is pending in the state Senate where it touched off a filibuster.

In the election of officers, Bernie Jones of Evergreen was elevated to president from the post of first vice president and Walter Gewin, Tuscaloosa, was named first vice president. Clopper Almon, Sheffield, was elected second vice president; John Scott, Montgomery, re-elected secretary, and Jack Crenshaw, Montgomery, re-elected proctor.

Bar Commissioners Reinstate Hamilton

TUSCALOOSA, Ala., July 20—In a unanimous vote of the state Board of Bar Commissioners here today, Russellville attorney H. H. Hamilton Sr. was reinstated as a member of the Alabama Bar Assn.

Hamilton was suspended from practicing law for three years in 1953 on account of "unprofessional conduct."

Although the Russellville lawyer was disbarred four years ago, he only recently petitioned for reinstatement.

Washington merry-go-round

News P. 8-a Sun. 7-21-57 B'ham, Ala.

Ike gets answers on rights

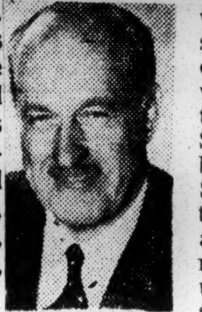
BY DREW PEARSON

WASHINGTON, July 20—The president delivered a little pep talk to congressional Republican chiefs at their closed-door session last week, but he came up with no strategy to break the Southern filibuster.

Ike told the leaders he strongly preferred passage of the civil rights bill now, rather than next session. There would be other important legislation to think of next January, the president said.

However, he stressed that he wasn't trying to dictate to the leaders, only expected them to do all they could to bring in a civil rights measure this Summer.

"WELL, MR. PRESIDENT," said Senate GOP Leader William Knowland of California, "We may as



PEARSON

well get straight on one thing. We won't be able to stop the Southern filibuster if the Senate attempts to enact the civil rights measure in the same form that it passed the House." Knowland said, however, that he thought there was "a good chance of invoking cloture" (mustering a two-thirds Senate vote to stop the filibuster) if two changes were made in the House bill.

First, he said, Section III of the bill would have to be sharply revised and "limited to voting protection." It must strike out any language construed by the South to enable the use of federal troops to force school integration.

Second, Knowland suggested GOP acceptance of Democratic Senator O'Mahoney's amendment to permit jury trials of civil rights violations where questions of fact are in doubt.

KNOWLAND CONTENDED that the two changes would weaken Southern opposition and that GOP support of the O'Mahoney proposal would help to solidify Republicans and Northern Democrats in a vote on cloture. Eisenhower said he had no objections.

"If this works out, we can stop the filibuster in its tracks," said Knowland. "If it doesn't, of course, I will have to make other plans. Lyndon Johnson (the Senate Democratic leader from Texas) says he will agree to put civil rights on the calendar for debate beginning in January of next year, in the event of a long deadlock this Summer."

10 1957

Northern Senators Fight Compromise On Civil Rights Bill

Times-Union
Jacksonville, Fla.

Preliminary Vote Is Set For Today

Tues. 7-16-57

McNamara Avers Foes Hope to Gut Measure of Effectiveness

WASHINGTON, July 15 (AP)—A cold north wind began to blow today against Senate efforts to compromise the civil rights bill.

Sen. McNamara (D-Mich) said it is obvious to him "that the principal motive of the compromise seekers is to gut this bill of any effectiveness."

Sen. Potter (R-Mich) declared: "I think the bill is a good one as it stands," while Sen. Douglas (D-Ill) announced he will resist any efforts to amend it.

This Northern offensive against a compromise on the administration-backed legislation came in debate on the eve of a Senate vote that will decide whether the civil rights bill is to be brought to the Senate floor for action.

Agree to Vote

Southern senators fighting the bill have agreed to a vote tomorrow on a motion to bring the measure formally before the Senate. They bank on getting a series of amendments to soften its terms.

Majority Leader Johnson (D-Tex) announced before the Senate recessed at 6:21 p.m. tonight that the vote will probably come about 4 p.m. tomorrow. He added that neither side planned to use the two hours set aside for final debate after 4 p.m. Tuesday's Senate session will begin at 11:30 a.m.

Johnson said there also might be another roll call shortly after the decision on the motion to bring the bill to the floor. This would come on a motion by Sen. Morse (D-Ore) to send the bill to the Judiciary Committee with instructions to report it back in seven days.

Cuts Time

Originally, the Oregon senator had planned to make the period two weeks, but he announced on the floor late today he had cut this to seven days.

Sen. Russell (D-Ga), leader of the Southern opposition, has conceded he can't prevent the House-passed bill from being taken up. Sen. Johnson (D-Tex), the Senate majority leader, has predicted the vote in favor of Senate consideration will be about 2-1.

Southern resignation to a full-dress debate on the bill itself may have been the signal Northern supporters were waiting for to begin their drive for passage.

The motion of Sen. Knowland of California, the GOP leader, to take up the bill has been argued for seven days. Most of the speeches, however, have been made by Southerners bitterly opposed to the legislation. For the most part, Northerners have withheld their fire.

Changes Picture

McNamara changed this picture today with a fiery speech for Senate approval of the legislation.

"If Congress can enact the first civil rights bill in almost 90 years—and the Senate filibuster can be broken—the power of civil rights obstructionists will be on the way out," he declared.

The bill would create a Civil Rights Commission with broad subpoena rights. It would set up a civil rights division in the Justice Department and provide an assistant attorney general to head it.

Additionally, it would empower the attorney general to seek federal court injunctions against any actual or threatened violations of civil rights. Persons disobeying the injunctions could be charged with contempt of court and punished without a jury trial. Southerners are particularly opposed to this section.

Hits At Die Hards

McNamara counseled those who speak of compromise that "the die-hard opponents of this legislation will vote against it" no matter what compromises are accepted.

"Their compromise feelers amount to proposals of appeasement," he asserted, "of surrender even before parliamentary debate begins—exacted by the threat that debate will never end.

"We are presented in effect with an ultimatum. The ultimatum is that the terms of surrender must be written into amendments and agreed to now.

"We know that they have cunningly planned every step—that while this debate continues we are permitted an occasional peek at their ultimate weapon, the filibuster.

"This is a weapon that the Senate must bury forever."

Question Undecided

Southern Democrats can filibuster against a vote on the bill; it takes the affirmative vote of 64 of the 96 senators to limit debate. Russell has indicated the filibuster question will be decided by the extent to which the bill is modified by amendments.

Potter said the changes proposed by the bill's opponents would make a "travesty" of the measure. He predicted none would be adopted.

"All the so-called compromises are coming from people against the legislation in the first place," Potter said. "I won't have any part of that."

Douglas, a leader of the Northern Democrats who favor the bill, said the section providing for federal injunctions should be preserved to provide additional means to enforce what he called the "good" decisions of the Supreme Court with respect to public school desegregation and other civil rights questions.

Javits Speaks Out

Sen. Javits (R-NY) also spoke out in favor of the injunction section.

Knowland said he was not prepared to discuss any changes in the legislation until the Senate votes tomorrow on his motion to make it the pending order of business.

But he said the administration would oppose striking out the injunction section.

Russell has proposed eliminating the entire section from the bill. Other senators have suggested limiting it to the protection of voting rights.

Majority Leader Johnson praised the Senate for its restrained debate so far.

"Thoughtful men are at work to explore the alternatives," he said.

Sen. Holland (D-Fla) told the Senate that "to the glory of the South, it can be said we have done away with the crime known as lynching without any coercion from Washington."

He said this was "without too good an example" from big cities in the North. He said race riots in Detroit cost the lives of 34 persons in 1943, with 500 injured, and that these totals are greater than the casualties from acts of race friction violence in all of the South "in the whole period." It was not clear what years he meant.

He said there have been other outbursts in Chicago, New York, Philadelphia and other cities, details of which he would not mention, but which represented something that "has not found its equal in the South by any manner of means."

He said he intended his statements as a protest against what he termed "threats" to write anti-lynching provisions into the civil rights bill now under discussion.

In the South, he said, the two races live in relative harmony, friendship, mutual trust and understanding, and "anyone who says to the contrary just doesn't know his South."

Sen. Smathers (D-Fla) said there is "no need for the type of bill we are considering now." He said Negro teachers did not want segregation abolished in the schools "because they would lose their jobs."

Holland introduced a proposed substitute for the civil rights bill in the form of a constitutional amendment to prohibit collection of a poll tax or making property requirements a prerequisite for voting for federal officers.

Sen. Lausche (D-Ohio) told Holland he did not see how such a proposal would cure the problem of people denied the right to vote because of their color.

"It would be a possible cure if the only means of disqualifying a citizen from voting was the inability to pay a poll tax," Lausche said. "If you concede there are other means to disqualifying him, then you've got to go beyond what the amendment contemplates."

Holland said that Florida outlawed the poll tax in 1937, and by 1944 20,000 Negroes had registered to vote. By 1956, he told Lausche, 148,636 negroes had registered in Florida.

"I am of the deep conviction that it is essential that we provide the right to vote without discrimination because of race, color and religion," Lausche said.

Lausche said he hopes that out of the Senate's action will come a law "giving every American the right to vote." He said he doesn't think adoption of an amendment to abolish the poll tax would offer any "complete cure" for the denial of voting rights.

Holland said that was true. But he added that he doesn't think any federal law would accomplish that result.

GRAVEL DEFENDS RIGHTS STAND

Demo Committeeman to Hold Onto Job

By JAY HALL

BATON ROUGE, La., July 6—Camille F. Gravel Jr. of Alexandria answered critics of his civil rights stand Saturday in terms that left no doubt he intends to hold on tightly to his title of Democratic national committeeman from Louisiana.

A flurry of recent criticism has brought "resign" demands from some individuals.

"I am not disturbed," Gravel said, "by the 'wild and whirling words' of racists who seek to promote controversy."

Five Democratic state central committee members have asked him to step down from his high party seat and three have defended him.

Backed Resolution

Critics charge that last February at a San Francisco meeting of the Democratic national advisory council he "voted for and supported a resolution seeking passage of the infamous federal force bill which has been misnamed the 'civil rights' legislation of 1957."

They hold also that last May 8 at a New Orleans meeting of the American Civil Liberties Union Gravel "reaffirmed his support of the supreme court decision of May 17, 1954, on segregation, his support of the 'civil rights' bill, and his hostility to the public policies of the state of Louisiana with regard to separation of the races."

Gravel was back in Alexandria Saturday after attending a law convention in New York. The controversy involving him picked up momentum in his absence.

Gravel made his position clear with the following statement, which he termed a "statement of policy":

"I have just returned to Louisiana to find that vicious attacks have been made in a planned effort to discredit me as Democratic national committeeman for Louisiana.

Classes of Charges

"The charges fall into two classes. First, I am criticized for supporting the Democratic party's platform and, secondly, I am specially condemned for having said that I approved the purpose behind the civil rights bill now awaiting action in the Senate.

"Since the presidential election of 1952, I have publicly and consistently declared that I would individually and officially support the Democratic party, its candidates, and its platform commitments.

"If and when I find that I cannot do so, I will have the courage and honesty to withdraw from the party.

"Any lawyer can readily see that the chief purpose of the civil rights bill presently pend-

ing in the Senate is to provide, subject to reasonable, uniform restrictions provided by the states, that all Americans are guaranteed the right to vote.

"In that regard, I think it is a good bill. It seeks to prevent the un-Christian, un-American and undemocratic type of action recently taken in Louisiana whereby thousands of voters were disenfranchised solely on account of their race.

"As I publicly stated in New Orleans several months ago, there are some phases of the bill with which I do not fully agree. Perhaps the failure to provide for trial by jury is the chief defect.

Better Than None

"I would prefer, however, to see the enactment of a statute without the jury trial provision which would protect the right of every citizen to vote, than to have no protective law at all.

"My official acts as Democratic national committeeman for Louisiana have been taken deliberately, intentionally, and conscientiously with the firm belief that I was doing the right thing

"I have always conceded the right of others to have views contrary to mine.

"I am not disturbed or dismayed by the 'wild and whirling words' of racists who seek to promote controversy. I shall never be subject to thought control by extremists on either side of the unfortunate race problem with which we are confronted.

"I have firm hope that moderate, enlightened, realistic Louisianians will lay aside bias and prejudice in a sincere effort to resolve fiery issues without rancor and without hate."

Gravel's reference to disenfranchisement in Louisiana because of race looked back to a voter purge backed by the citizens councils of the state last year which resulted in eliminating approximately 10,000 Negro registrants.

Speaking of Concessions

As the civil rights bill moves toward an initial test of strength (on whether it shall be formally considered by the Senate), the spirit of compromise is in the air. Several legislators are trying to work out amendments that would soften its provisions. Some of them are ready to strip the bill of all provisions except the safeguards it would throw around the right to vote. President Eisenhower has seemed to lean in this direction, but he made clear to Senator Knowland on Friday that he is not at this time proposing any modifications.

We have felt that the school segregation issue should be kept apart from this debate. The school problem is already being threshed out in the courts. Not much would be gained and much might be lost by sweeping it into this legislation that is more specifically aimed at protecting voting rights. Yet we should be loath to see the bill stripped solely to the voting rights section. Important also are the provisions to create the position of Assistant Attorney General in charge of civil rights cases and to set up a Civil Rights Commission.

Some legislators, including the liberal-minded Senator Anderson, would be willing to strike out Part III of the bill that has so aroused Senator Russell. This section would authorize the Attorney General to institute suits to establish the rights of citizens to equal protection of the laws in a variety of circumstances. It is not essential, perhaps, to the main provisions of the bill dealing with the right to vote. Yet if the entire section should be eliminated so as to stand on its separate merits at a later date, the Senate would face another major filibuster to get it considered.

If the demand for striking out this section attains wide support, the least advocates of the bill can do is to require a concession in return. Such a concession might consist of modification of the Senate's rules so that civil rights measures could be debated in the future without the threat of an endless filibuster. The minimum price for deletion of Part III ought to be a new rule making cloture applicable to all matters that come before the Senate by vote of two thirds of those present and voting. The argument for separation of the civil rights bill into two or more parts will meet with stubborn opposition unless the Senate is willing to restrain use of the filibuster weapon.

EARS STEELED WITH PREJUDICE

The people, this week were rejoicing, celebrating the Nation's birth and steps made against racial bias made possible by whites and Negroes who died fighting in the Revolutionary war against the British. But Russel of Ga. and Eastland of Miss. were aiding Communist propaganda with anti-civil rights shouts. They would undo all progress made. They seek to kill any bill in the Senate that would make further payment on the debt America owes its blacks, due for 181 years.

Before the Civil Rights bill comes up for vote in the Senate, we hope Senator Knowland calls for a visit by senators to Boston to see what they could not read about in school histories.

Let them view a monument erected in memory of the first American to give his life—a Negro, Crispus Attucks—which helped give birth to our Nation. At Bunker Hill, another Negro, Peter Salem killed Britian's Major Pitcain who had put to death the first seven whites fighting to establish the USA where full civil rights were to be enjoyed by all the inhabitants thereof.

Why have lives of Negroes given with whites to found and keep our land have not been enough to destroy Russel-Eastland hypocrisy? Tom Paine answered it during the Revolution. He said: "Nothing can reach ears steeled with prejudice." Nothing, that is, without God's help.

In 1775, God helped liberty lovers against Britain's steeled ears because we promised to practice the Golden Rule toward all. But in carrying it out, we grew complacent regarding one segment of our population because of steeled prejudice ears within our midst.

God has been good. Today, He is

waiting for us to make good our promises and we can do so not by Revolution but by law, orderly enforced before the Universal Law evens things up.

Ben Franklin evidently had something like this in mind when he said: "They have a Democracy if they can keep it."

10 1957

Operation Dixie!

Claim 'Rights' Legislation Aims to Punish South

By HAROLD L. KEITH
(Courier Staff Writer)

Now is the time for all "good' Democrats to get together is the clarion call of the one-party South's political leaders who are openly expressing their fears regarding Republican encroachment.

• The shackles on the necks of white Southerners, already ruffled by the civil rights issue, rose even higher in the wake of the Republican party's announcement that "Operation Dixie" is under way.

To the average Southern politico, "Operation Dixie" stands as a distinct threat to the heretofore invulnerable position he has held in both local and national politics.

• Typical of the attitude of the Southerner is the "reasoning" that "Republicans are playing Northern Democrats for a bunch of suckers and making it stick." The Southerner claims that the GOP has the upper hand on the civil rights issue and notes that Eisenhower, Nixon and Brownell are "going to get all of the credit."

However, the Southerners are not taking the civil rights issue without a fight. Typical of their tactics was the recent reported "vote swapping" which was carried out in favor of the Hell's Canyon Dam, a gigantic public power project on the Snake River in Idaho. The votes of six Southern Democrats made this 45-38 victory possible. However, in the wake of the vote was noted the fact that six Wesernt Democrats had voted with the South on the civil rights bill.

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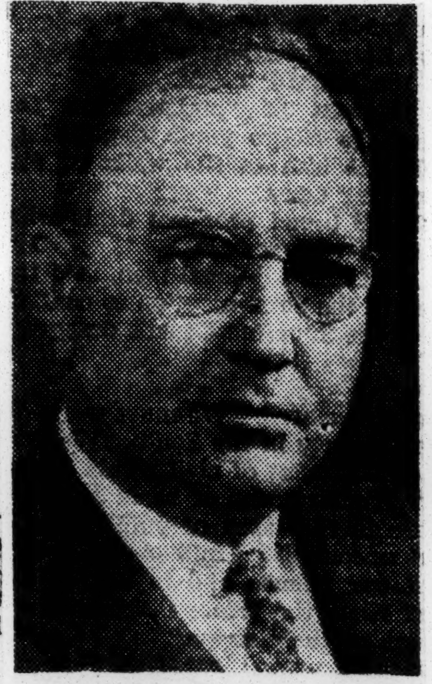
THE "COPPERHEADS" included Senator Magnuson of Washington, Mansfield and Murray of Montana, O'Mahoney of Wyoming, Anderson of New Mexico and, to the shocked surprise of many of his supporters, Wayne Morse of Oregon.



SEN. JIM EASTLAND
. . . is he all "shook up?"

• Three other members of the Western liberal bloc, Jackson of Washington, Neuberger of Oregon and Caroll of Colorado voted in favor of civil rights.

The six votes of the "copperheads," had they been cast as expected, would have given the civil rights ball an overwhelming advantage of 51 votes.

■

IN THE SOUTH'S board of strategy aimed at circumventing "Operation Dixie" are such bellweathers as Dick Russell of Georgia, with his junior, Herman Talmadge, and Jim Eastland, the hoary Mississippi strategian.

SEN. HERMAN TALMADGE
. . . one of the belwethers

This triumverate, along with Lyndon Johnson of Texas, should be pretty well "shook up" over the GOP pronouncements.

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• Men like these named owe their political careers to the South's one - party system which is based upon a studied system of political disfranchisement which allows a minority of the South's voters to elect representatives for the majority. The "excuse" used by the Southern Democrat is the "threat" of political domination by the Negro.

To the Southern Democrat, "Operation Dixie" is a 1957 reincarnation of the period of Reconstruction. They charge openly that Dick Nixon, the GOP Vice President, along with U. S. Attorney General Brownell, and "Ike" are plotting the founding of a GOP dynasty in Washington which will be predicated on the strength of newly franchised Negro voters.

■

MEADE ALCORN, the Republican chairman, is also considered one of the arch-villains in this tableau.

• Here is one of the typical coments which appeared in the Daily News of Jackson, Miss.: "The plan is well under way. Richard Nixon is meeting, fraterizing and having his picture made at every opportunity with radical Negro leaders, his latest

SEN. RICHARD RUSSELL
. . . with his junior, Herman

with Negro preachers from Montgomery, Ala. The photos reflect his uncomfortable and conspicuous self-consciousness, but given time he will feel quite at home.

"After all, this is quite new to Dickie. You see, he never associated very much with them until he reached the pinnacle of practical politics. Now he has learned to go out of his way, even as far as Africa for political fraternization and photographing with his newly discovered friends of color."

■

THE DAILY NEWS averred that the Republicans are angling for the election of Negro Senators, Negro Congressmen and Negro votes for Republican Presidential nominees.

• Whether the GOP's project is aimed at creating Negro public officials on both the national and local level is beside the point. What is important is the fact that the Negro vote must play an important role in behalf of the Republican party if "Operation Dixie" is to be a success.

Bayonets or Ballots?

Senator Russell's onslaught against the civil rights bill is disturbing because he did not address himself to its merits as a reasonable legislator should. Rather, he tried to create the impression that it would unloose troops and bayonets against the South. We doubt that any thoughtful citizen really believes that the sponsors of this measure wish to impose "unspeakable confusion, bitterness and bloodshed"—to use Mr. Russell's words—"in a great section of our common country." The Georgia Senator's speech was essentially an effort to fight a moderate legislative proposal with an emotional tidal wave.

In the fury of his attack against the specter of desegregation being enforced in the South by Federal bayonets, Mr. Russell spoke in sympathetic terms of the right to vote. He noted with seeming pride of the election of a Negro over a white candidate in Atlanta recently and conceded that "the American people generally are opposed to any denial of the right of ballot to any qualified citizen." This might be interpreted as meaning that he would not oppose the principal provision of the bill if only the supposed threat of using bayonets to enforce integration of the schools were eliminated.

Some other parts of Mr. Russell's speech intimate that he will soon be tearing to shreds the right-to-vote provisions of the bill. In this initial effort he was only focusing on what he believes to be the weakest spot in the measure. If, however, there should be any disposition on the part of the anticivil-rights forces to accept a limited right-to-vote bill, a compromise would by no means be impossible.

President Eisenhower restated his objectives in regard to the bill at his news conference yesterday. He wants Congress to set up a civil rights commission, to authorize the appointment of an Assistant Attorney General to handle civil rights cases, and to prevent illegal interference with the right to vote. The President did not repudiate the broader section of the bill authorizing the Attorney General to bring suits to restrain the violation of a variety of citizen rights, which was so bitterly denounced by Senator Russell. But he did leave it dangling, with a virtual invitation to Senator Russell to show him that it would be dangerous. Incidentally, Attorney General Brownell had previously testified that the measure would not, or was not intended to, apply to the

enforcement of rights in the schools.

Here are important cues for the Southern Senators if the fears voiced by Senator Russell are sincere. Let them offer an amendment to make certain that the bill will have no impact on the school segregation problem—a problem that is now being handled by the courts under their constitutional powers, without any direct legislation. Let them at the same time withdraw their opposition and their proposed crippling amendments to the right-to-vote section of the measure. It seems altogether probable that, with reasonable concessions of this sort, a filibuster, with all its backwash of bitterness, could be avoided.

The chief trouble with Mr. Russell's argument is that he ignores the South's general disfranchisement of the Negro. Congress can no longer do so. The time has come when the Federal Government must act to protect the constitutional right to vote without discrimination as to race in order to save its own self-respect. For the South to stand uncompromisingly against this essential reform would be only to make it more painful. It is not in any sense a question of whether bayonets shall be used to suppress the South but only whether ballots will be used to ameliorate the South's suppression of its minority.

BATTLE STARTS ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Times-Picayune

Tues. 7-9-57

Ervin Opens Attack, Calling Bill 'Indefensible'

New Orleans La.

By WILMOT HERCHER

WASHINGTON, July 8 (AP) — A Senate battle of historic proportions began at 2:17 p.m. today when Republican Leader Knowland, of California, moved to call up the administration's civil rights bill.

P.1

The bill was immediately attacked by Sen. Ervin (D-NC) as the "most drastic and indefensible" legislation ever submitted to Congress.

Southern senators are determined to try to kill it—as they have all other civil rights legislation in recent years. A filibuster may develop from this effort. In that event, Congress might have to stay in session until mid-September.

GOP to Bar Other Business

Sen. Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, the Democratic leader, said he had been informed by Knowland and other supporters of the bill that no other business will be allowed before the Senate until the civil rights issue is settled.

The only exceptions, Johnson said he was advised, would be measures of "extreme urgency" or bills that could be handled by unanimous consent.

The galleries were filled and there were about 50 senators on the floor when the opening guns were fired.

To 'Make South Whipping Boy'

Sen. Russell (D-Ga), the leader of the Southern opposition, jumped quickly into the fray with an assertion that backers of the civil rights bill have tried to "make the South the whipping boy of the nation."

"They are trying to make us a bear, being poked at all of the time to make it dance!" he cried. "We will resist—we will resist."

Russell has asked for a conference with President Eisenhower on the civil rights bill and will get an appointment, the White House announced.

Round-Clock Sessions

Knowland told the Senate he hoped for a vote on his motion before the end of the week. He had said previously he would force the Senate into round-the-clock sessions if it became apparent that Southerners were trying to talk the bill to death.

Both Knowland's motion to bring the House-passed bill before the Senate and discussion of the bill itself are subject to unlimited debate. The vote of two-thirds of the Senate membership—64 of the present 95 senators—would be necessary to impose a limit on the debate.

Vice President Nixon, presiding officer of the Senate, was not present for the opening of the battle but he told reporters in Rochester, N. Y.:

Times-Picayune

"I believe there is a good chance the Senate will pass a civil rights bill at this session."

P.3

Nixon Expects Passage

Speaking for the administration, Nixon said, "We are not rigid but, generally speaking, we feel the bill in its present form is moderate and would not cause the violent reaction which some of its opponents talk about."

The bill that Knowland seeks to bring to the Senate floor was passed by the House June 18 by a vote of 286-126.

It would empower the attorney general to take into federal courts the cases of persons whose civil rights were deemed violated or threatened, and to protect their interests by seeking federal court injunctions. Those disobeying injunctions could be tried by a judge for contempt, without a jury.

Special Division

It would also establish a special division in the Justice Department to handle civil rights cases and would set up a bipartisan commission to make a two-year study of civil rights problems.

Ervin's speech was the first formal one to be made in opposition to Knowland's motion.

He said President Eisenhower would not favor the civil rights bill in its present form "if he understood its provisions and implications." Eisenhower said at his news conference last week that he didn't understand "certain phrases" of the bill completely. He indicated he would seek clarification from Atty. Gen. Brownell.

Double Jeopardy, Says Ervin

Ervin contended the bill would not only skirt what he called the constitutional requirement for jury trial in criminal cases but would make violators subject to contempt action in civil cases and liable for criminal prosecution on the same charge.

An unsuccessful effort was made in the House to attach a jury trial amendment to the measure for the benefit of persons charged with contempt of court under the proposed civil rights injunctions. Traditionally, contempt of court cases are decided by the judge against whom the contempt is alleged.

"The only reason advanced by proponents of the bill for urging its enactment is, in essence, an insulting and insupportable indictment of a whole people," Ervin declared.

'Said Southern People Faithless'

"They said that Southern officials and Southern people are generally faithless to their oaths as public officers and jurors, and for that reason can be justifiably denied the right to invoke for their protection in courts of justice constitutional and legal safeguards. . . ."

As Ervin got deeper into his speech the number of senators dwindled until there were only about 20 left on the floor.

The first "compromise" proposal came today from Sen. O'Mahoney (D-Wyo), who said he would offer a novel jury trial amendment under which most contempt cases involving a denial of voting rights would be tried by a judge without a jury.

A jury would be brought in, he said, only if the presiding judge determined that matters of fact were in dispute. It is quite different from the jury trial amendment rejected by the House.

O'Mahoney Would Allay Fears

O'Mahoney told newsmen his proposal was designed to allay Southern fears that the attorney general could use his power to bring suits for damages as a result of civil rights violations, thus forcing integration of schools and changing the whole social order of the South.

Even before Knowland made his motion, Russell attacked the bill on a technicality. He said the bill Knowland was presenting was not the same as the one originally sent over from the House.

The GOP leader conceded there was a clerical error in the bill first sent over and voted directly to the Senate calendar. But he said this error had been corrected. Speaker Rayburn (D-Tex) took the same position in the House.

Sen. Humphrey (D-Minn), a supporter of the bill, called the question "much ado about little" and said the error would not change the course of the debate.

Russell, however, said the point was important and would be elaborated on later.

Morse for Committee Action

Sen. Morse (D-Ore) served notice that if the Senate votes to take up the bill he will move to send it to the Judiciary Committee for two weeks of study and possible revision.

The Senate could spend the two weeks in passing emergency legislation, Morse said.

From the start, Morse has opposed bypassing the Senate Judiciary Committee and bringing the civil rights bill passed by the House directly to the floor.

But when the bill is returned from the Judiciary Committee, Morse said, he would be "for staying here until the snow flies to pass a fair civil rights bill."

There was a discussion earlier of bills that senators said would be held up by the civil rights debate.

Sen. Kerr (D-Okla) cited two such bills. One, he said, would authorize New York State to build a 600-million-dollar power plant at Niagara Falls, and the other would set up a self-financing bond plan for the Tennessee Valley Authority.

Mundt Complains

Sen. Mundt (R-SD) complained that while the Senate talkathon is on "Communists and crooks will continue to function." He recommended early action on other legislation.

Knowland's comment on this discussion was that, "The Senate will continue to be here and will act on these bills before we adjourn sine die."

Sen. Douglas (D-Ill) speaking of the bill itself, said all its suppporters are trying to do "is to make effective in actual life the constitutional rights of all citizens—regardless of race and color—primarily the right to vote."

Russell Asks Probe

Russell called for a Senate investigation of the way television has been handling news about the civil rights bill. The views of those who oppose the legislation, he said, have been "completely obscured" on TV. He did not mention any particular TV stations or circuits.

Russell then referred caustically to Knowland's appeal for "a sense of responsibility" in considering the bill.

"Those of us who are unfaltering in our opposition" have acted responsibility, the Georgian aid.

"I will leave it to the record whether we have conducted ourselves as men of responsibility, men of patriotism," he continued.

10 1957

Grant Blames Racial Agitators For Bombs; Opposes Rights Law

Post-Herald

BY GENE WORTSMAN
Post-Herald Correspondent

B'ham, Ala.

Tue 6-11-57

P.24

WASHINGTON, June 10—Rep. George Grant today blamed both "modern-day carpetbaggers" and agitators for racial unrest in Montgomery.

Opposing civil rights legislation on the floor of the House, he said he could not leave as unchallenged statements that justice doesn't prevail in Montgomery.

Other Alabama congressmen—including George Huddleston, Carl Elliott and Armistead Selden—also have opposed the legislation before Congress.

"I do not approve of violence," said Grant, "and the people of my district do not approve of violence, regardless of why it may be committed or by or to whom."

He said that civil rights supporters have mentioned the bombings of Negro churches in Montgomery and the freeing of two white defendants.

Grant said, "I am not going to let go unchallenged the statement that justice does not prevail there.

"None of these things would have ever developed had it not been for the fact that some of

ANSWERS CELLER — Rep. George Grant.

these modern-day carpetbaggers and agitators came to Montgomery intent upon stirring up strife and turmoil.

"Law and order does function in Montgomery. Arrests were made, several defendants were indicted by a grand jury, and two of them were duly tried.

"A jury of good and true men said that the state did not convince them beyond a reasonable doubt that the defendants were guilty.

"Who are they to say that they were.

"There are others yet to be tried."

I want to say that defendants whether white or Negro, are going to receive justice and courts and juries are not going to be browbeaten by outsiders and trouble makers."

Grant's remarks were made following statements on the floor Thursday by Rep. Emanuel Celler (D., N. Y.)

Celler made the two references to Montgomery.

First he told of a $100,000 fine levied against the NAACP in Montgomery.

"There was no possibility of trial by jury," Celler said.

"In Alabama, the clearly excessive fine of $100,000 was imposed upon that organization without trial by jury."

He said. "All we have there is stony silence" from Southerners who did not object to that proceeding.

Celler also mentioned the acquittal of two white defendants on charges of bombing a Negro church.

"That case," I think, could be deemed typical of what could happen where there are jury trials where the population has been inflamed into excitement and into a highly emotional state by these, shall I say, demagogues on the other side," Celler declared.

" . . . reports of the proceedings indicated that the guilt of the defendants was hardly in doubt or in dispute.

"The issue that the defense attorney made clear was whether their acts should be considered a crime in these days of Alabama's last desperate stand against desegregation.

" . . . this is an illustration of the failure of criminal prosecutions against white defendants in these times of race tensions."

Civil Rights Program Suffers Sharp Set-Back

Call Fri. 6-7-57 P.1

Kansas City, Mo.

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(NNPA) —A little band of willful men in the Senate Judiciary committee are not seeking to perfect but to destroy civil rights legislation.

They nearly accomplished their purpose Monday when the committee adopted, by a 7-to-3 vote, a right-to-jury trial amendment.

Their action, however, is only tentative. The amendment may be reconsidered, or the original Hennings-Dirksen bill, may be adopted as a substitute for the amended measure, before a final vote is taken on reporting civil rights legislation to the Senate.

The right-to-jury trial amendment was offered by Senator Sam J. Ervin, Democrat, a former judge of the North Carolina Supreme Court, who has been carrying the brunt of the opposition for the Southerners to civil rights legislation.

Ervin offered the provision in the Norris LaGuardia requiring jury trials in contempt cases arising out of labor disputes as a substitute for the right-to-work amendment which had been previously offered by Senator John L. McClellan, of Arkansas, chairman of the Senate Committe to Investigate Improper Activities in Labor-Management Relations.

Vote With Southerners

Three Senators cast unexpected votes with the Southerners. They were Senators Estes Kefauver of Tennessee and Joseph C. O'Mahoney of Wyoming, both Democrats, and John Marshall Butler, Republican, of Maryland.

They joined, in voting for the Ervin substitute, Senators James O. Eastland, of Mississippi, committee chairman; Olin D. Johnston, South Carolina; McClellan, and Ervin.

The only three senators to vote against the right-to-jury trial amendment were Senators Alexander Wiley, Wisconsin; Arthur V. Watkins, Utah, and Everett M. Dirksen, Illinois, all Republicans.

Five senators were absent—Senators Thomas C. Hennings, Missouri; Matthew M. Neely, West Virginia, Democrats, and William E. Jenner, Indiana; William Langer, North Dakota, and Roman L. Hruska, Nebraska. The first four are recuperating from illnesses.

After the vote on the Ervin substitute, Senator Watkins made a request for unanimous consent that absent Senators be permitted to vote on the jury trial amendment. Objection was made on the ground that the Judiciary Committee has never permitted such a vote on an amendment. There have been such votes on reporting bills.

Call

Senator McClellan offered an amendment to authorize the bipartisan commission the bill would create to conduct investigations additional to the ones specified in the measure.

P.4

The bill would empower the commission to investigate deprivation of the right of citizens to vote because of their color, race, religion or national origin.

The McClellan amendment would authorize it to investigate allegations of economic suppression of any employees resulting from unlawful picketing which obstructs the normal routine of business, and to investigate allegations of economic suppression of any employers prohibiting from pursuing normal trade resulting from unlawful picketing.

It also would authorize the commission to investigate racial riots and the conspiracy which was the source of its effects upon individuals, property and communities, and to investigate charges of racketeering and gangsterism and their effects upon the economy and civil rights of individuals.

The McClellan amendment was defeated by a vote of 7 to 3. The only Senators voting for it were Eastland, McClellan and Ervin.

Senators who voted against it were Kefauver, Johnston, O'Mahoney, Wiley, Watkins, Dirksen and Butler.

Senator Ervin offered a substitute amendment to strike from the bill all of part I providing for the establishment of a bipartisan commission on civil rights.

The Ervin amendment was offered as a substitute for an amendment proposed by Senator Johnston to repeal the section of the United States Code which gives the President the power to call out the armed forces to enforce Federal court decrees.

The Ervin substitute was lost by a tie vote, 5-5. Voting for the substitute were Johnston, McClellan, O'Mahoney, Ervin and Eastland. Voting against it were Kefauver, Wiley, Watkins, Dirksen and Butler.

After this vote Ervin then offered another substitute for the Johnston amendment. It provided that no suits to enjoin threatened deprivation of voting or other civil rights except by the expressed consent of the persons for whose benefit the suit is brought.

That was the pending business when the committee adjourned.

The bill authorizes the Attorney General to bring injunction or other civil suits in the name of the United States.

Eastland would not tell reporters when the next meeting of the Judiciary Committee will be held. Members of the committee who want a vote taken on reporting the bill to the Senate have been pressing for the committee to meet often to consider the measure.

Eastland admitted that the question of more than one meeting a week was discussed in the committee session behind closed doors. All he would say was that he would see what could be done.

McClellan told reporters that he will probably rewrite his right-to-work amendment and offer it again.

Eastland was asked whether he would vote for the bill in its present form.

"I am against it, whatever is in it," he replied.

Civil Rights Measures Hit By Patterson

Advertiser P.6-a

Sat. 7-13-57

Montgomery, Ala.

Maintaining our segregated way of life is the most pressing problem now before the people of Alabama, State Attorney General John M. Patterson told graduates of the Jones Law School here last night.

Under the civil rights legislation now pending in Congress, states and especially southern states would become as mere counties to the nation in what Patterson called "the first steps toward a police state."

"The civil rights measures are now sectional bills designed to harm the South but if passed they could be turned against the East, West, and North also."

Patterson said the Supreme Court "which has become a super-legislature" is slowly eating away the constitutional rights of states. "Their school case decisions did not interpret but ammended the Constitution," he said.

"We have not had as much strife between the races since the Civil War," Patterson said in commenting on the Supreme Court's segregation decisions which he said had "brought violence and bloodshed to the South."

"The problem is purely local and if ever solved must be solved by local people working together," he said in blasting Northern attempts to legislate and order harmony in the South.

About 100 guests of the 13 graduates attended the public exercises at the Whitley Hotel.

Judge Walter B. Jones, president of the 29-year-old law school presented diplomas to the following.

Homer Dee Coffeey Jr., Montgomery; George Henry Connor, Montgomery; Edward Gene Gibbons, Butler; Rep. Carol Jackson Law, Wetumpka; Edgar Bernard McDaniel Jr., Dothan; Henry McNeill, Troy; Ramon C. Miller, Montgomery; Glen Lee Suyden, Montgomery; Gus Michael Vergos, Mobile, Mary Thompson White, Martha Gresham Williams, Montgomery; and William Swift Woolsey Jr., Selma.

McDaniel, valedictorian, addressed the graduating class briefly during the exercises. The invocation was given by Dr. Arlie B. Davidson, a student of the school.

U. S. Senate Obviates The Preponderance

Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.
Sun. 6-9-57

By J. Fred Thornton
Associate Editor, The Advertiser

THE CIVIL rights issue is before Congress and the Yankees are wrought up worse than they have been since the firing on Fort Sumter. We have beat anti-South moves before and there is a good prospect of doing it again. The U. S. Senate is our best bet. I am not throwing off on our representatives; they are just as patriotic rebels as the senators. But the Senate, because of the way it is constituted, its rules and customs, is a better spot for a minority to foil unjust action by a majority. We of the white South are a minority in the nation today; we might as well recognize that.

Thornton

This nation is commonly called a democracy. But it is not an absolute democracy, never was, and was not intended to be. We use the word democracy in a different sense from its original meaning. When we say a nation is a democracy we mean that its people are free; that its laws are enacted by independent legislative bodies, not by the decree of some dictator; that an accused person has a right to trial by jury and must be confronted with the witnesses and the evidence against him; that there is freedom of speech, of religion and of the press. In that sense, the United States is a democracy, even though some of our cherished institutions, like trial by jury, are under fire, while sober observers are increasingly concerned over the Supreme Court's assumption of legislative powers.

But our system of government differs greatly from an absolute democracy, like the old Athenian setup, where the governing powers were exercised directly by the assembled people. Ours is a representative democracy, with delegated powers. It embodies safeguards for minority rights; one of the mainstays is the United States Senate, deliberately set up in such a way as to make it possible for a minority of the people of the United States to defeat the will of the majority.

We hear, nowadays, a lot of loose talk about majority rule, as if it were something sacred. The way some people talk, you would think that if 100 men divided 60-40 on an issue, the 60 would be justified in having the 40 shot at sunrise, or at least running rough-shod over them. Wise men, great philosophers, have long recognized that there is no tyranny worse than the tyranny of a majority.

Some of the most odious crimes in all history have been perpetrated with the full support of the majority of the moment. Recognizing and protecting the right to disagree and be different is the mark of an enlightened nation.

WHEN I THINK of the United States Senate and its functions, I am reminded of an incident of more than 30 years ago, when I was reporting a naturalization proceeding in federal court here. On the bench was the late Judge Henry D. Clayton, learned and at times fiery figure whose name was long a byword in these parts. Among the candidates for citizenship was a Negro doctor, a British subject from Jamaica. I don't remember his name, but Judge Clayton said he stood the best examination of any applicant ever to come before him. Some of the other candidates were quite hazy about the nation at whose door they were knocking. One man from a south European country, asked by Judge Clayton to name the President of the United States, replied confidently "Bill Gunter." The Negro doctor knew all the answers; Judge Clayton could not stump him, or at any rate he did not, though he took him out in pretty deep water with questions about our principles of government. The doctor seemed to enjoy it, and used a lot of big words that made his answers even more impressive.

I recall one question and answer in particular. "Tell me, doctor," Judge Clayton asked, "why was it that the framers of our constitution in their wisdom provided that each state, regardless of size or population, should have two senators?" "That was done, Your Honor," the doctor shot back, "in order to obviate the preponderance of the larger states over the smaller ones."

That is what our Southern senators will be doing when the chips are down on the civil rights issue — obviating the preponderance of the bigger states, or, in plainer English, keeping such states as New York, Pennsylvania and Illinois from throwing their weight around and running over medium-sized states like Alabama and Mississippi. This does not indeed work out 100 per cent in practice; senators from some of the smaller Western states are against us on civil rights. But the basic principle, safeguarding the rights of the smaller states, is there. Members of the House of Representatives are elected by districts, on a population basis; U.S. senators are elected by states, each state having two, no more or less. Nevada, with a population of 160,000 at the last federal census, has the same strength in the Senate as New York, with nearly 15,000,000 people.

SENATE USAGE RECOGNIZES another way of obviating the preponderance, the filibuster, talking a measure to death. By unwritten law, that is resorted to only in an extreme case, when senators and the states they represent have their backs to the wall. The Senate can shut off debate, but it is seldom done; to do so takes a two-thirds vote of the total membership, or 64 senators out of 96. When the lines are drawn on applying the gag rule, enough friendly Yankees join us to defeat it. Many of these Northern friends of the South are Republicans.

The Senate's tradition of free and unlimited debate provides an out for our Northern friends, who have to watch their step lest they bring down on their heads the wrath of the South-haters among their people. The test vote commonly comes, not on the measure itself, but on the question of shutting off debate. A friendly Northern senator can tell his radical constituents "sure, I was in favor of your bill and would have voted for it if it had come to a vote, but I also believe in free speech . . ." There are more ways of killing a cat than choking it to death.

Another thing in our favor is that our senators, and representatives, too, are smarter, on the average, than their opponents. We keep them up there long enough for them to learn the ropes, the tricks of the trade, the rules of procedure and parliamentary law. That pays off when the chips are down.

I have one final thought about the U.S. Senate. The United States is the only nation on earth today, certainly the only big nation, where the upper chamber of the lawmaking body has not been stripped of most of its powers if it ever had any, and where it still operates on an equality with the lower house. Take England; her House of Lords is only a shadow of its former self. About all it has left is a limited, delaying veto power over acts of the House of Commons, and that is seldom exercised. France and Italy have Senates, but they do not amount to anything. In the three countries virtually all lawmaking power is vested in the lower house, the House of Commons in England, the Chamber of Deputies in France and Italy, corresponding to our House of Representatives. But the U.S. Senate's wings have not been clipped and it is fully as powerful and important as the House of Representatives. That is the way it was intended to be and we in the South can be thankful for it.

Yielding on Rights Bill By President Denied

Evening Star P.1
Washington, D.C.
Fri. 7-12-57

Knowland Cool to Changes Before Senate Votes to Take Up Measure

By J. A. O'LEARY

Senate Republican Leader Knowland served notice today he will not negotiate on changes in the administration's civil rights bill until the Senate votes to take up the measure.

Before going to the White House for a breakfast chat with the President, Senator Knowland also told reporters that whatever changes are made in the controversial measure will represent decisions by the Senate, not the administration.

This was in answer to implications by liberal Democrats that the President was beginning to yield to Southern demands for basic alterations in the injunction process the bill would apply to the protection of civil rights.

Although the Senate has been debating the merits of the bill since Monday, it has not yet agreed to make it the pending business.

Will Vote on Motion

Senate Democratic Leader Johnson hopes an agreement can be reached today to vote next week on this preliminary motion to make the bill the pending business.

Senator Knowland felt yesterday that one week is long enough to discuss the question of taking up the bill. But Senator Johnson said it might take until next Wednesday to hear all Senators who feel they must make their positions clear on this first motion.

Senator Knowland would not say what other steps he might take if no agreement is possible today. The alternatives open to him are to file a cloture petition, or start around-the-clock sessions.

A third course would be to continue for a few more days on the present 12-hour-day, and see if Southern estimates of a vote by Wednesday are borne out.

If the friends of the bill tried cloture after five days of debate and failed to get the 64 votes required to invoke that debate-curbing rule, it would encourage the opponents to prolong their fight against taking up the bill.

Help in Delay Seen

On the other hand, most observers believe that if cloture is withheld until after the bill has been modified to meet some of the Southern objections, there will be a much better chance of getting the 64 votes required to force a decision.

If cloture could be applied, each Senator would thereafter be limited to one hour of talk on the entire bill.

As soon as the Senate votes to take up the bill, Senator Morse, Democrat of Oregon, will move to send it to the Judiciary Committee for two weeks. When the bill first arrived from the House two weeks ago, the Senate decided not to let it go to the committee, because the committee has failed to report out a similar measure since January.

Meanwhile, Southerners continued their attack on the bill in a session that ran past 10 o'clock last night. Senator Eastland of Mississippi, Bill of Alabama and Thurmand of South Carolina, all denounced it.

10 1957

Sen. Morse Opposed To Rights By-Pass Of Senate Committee

Daily World Thurs. 6-20-57 Atlanta Ga. P.1

BY LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (NNPA) — Senator Wayne Morse, of Oregon, former Republican, now a Democrat, caused an early argument Monday about the procedure that Senator William F. Knowland, of California, the minority leader, and other Senators have said they will follow to bypass the Senate Judiciary Committee on the House-approved civil rights bill.

Morse's name had been included in a statement along with the names of 13 other liberal Democrats announcing their intention to cooperate with Republicans to keep the House-approved civil rights bill on the Senate calendar in an effort to get civil rights up in the Senate.

Knowland had suggested the possibility of using Senate Rule 14 which provides that after a first and second ready of a House-approved bill, if objection is made to further proceedings on it, it shall be placed on the Senate calendar.

An objection by Knowland is intended to get a ruling from Vice President Nixon sustaining the proposed procedure. This would compel southern Democrats to appeal from the ruling of the Vice President.

Knowland would then be in command of the situation because he could shut off debate by simply moving to table the appeal.

At the meeting of liberal Democrats on June 14 when the statement was approved Morse was represented by one of his assistants.

Although he is for civil rights legislation, Morse told the Senate Monday, "it would be wrong for us as liberals, to take any advantage of the rules which we might have procedurally or parliamentarywise under Rule 14."

He added that if the interpretation being given to Rule 14 by liberal Democrats is correct, he thinks it would be "a mistake" to take advantage of it.

He said he would resolve all doubts in favor of letting the House bill go to the Senate Judiciary Committee, of which Senator James O. Eastland, of Mississippi, is the chairman and which has been the graveyard of civil rights legislation.

The Judiciary Committee has delayed too long in reporting a civil rights bill, Morse said. If the House bill is sent to the Judiciary Committee, that committee does not consider it "within a reasonable length of time," Morse said, "I myself will make a motion to discharge the committee from further consideration of the bill.

Daily World

Later Monday afternoon, the original signers of the statement met and decided unanimously that without Morse, they would stand on their announcement of June 14.

Senator Paul Douglas, Democrat, of Illinois, who is fast becoming the leading champion of civil rights in the Senate told the Senate of the group's decision to abide by their statement of June 14.

One of their number, he said, will seek recognition after the second reading of the House-approved bill. But if another Senator is recognized and the presiding officer rules and an appeal is taken from the ruling, "we will support any group which believes that the House bill should be placed upon the calendar."

Knowland told reporters that he will seek recognition to keep the House bill on the Senate calendar. He assumed the southern bloc will delay the second reading for a legislative day.

With respect to Rule 14, Knowland agreed that there would be chaos in the Senate if it were used every day to bypass Senate committee. For that reason, he said, perhaps the Senate Rules Committee should do something about it, "but right now the rule is there. Its use is justified when six months have passed without any action by the Judiciary Committee to bring the bill out.'

Knowland thinks the bill will be brought up on the Senate floor for debate about the first of July. He does not believe that civil rights supporters should wait until all appropriations bills and important legislation is out of the way before moving to bring up civil rights. After the appropriations and other important bills are passed, he said, Senators will begin to leave Washington.

"I am in favor of civil rights," Morse declared. "I am going to fight for civil-rights legislation. But I am going to carry the fight to the opposition within the long-established historic practice of the Senate.'

Long Delayed Debate On Bill To Begin Today

Daily World Atlanta Ga. Thurs. 6-6-57

BY ARTHUR KRANISH

WASHINGTON — (INS) — Southern foes of civil rights legislation lost their first battle Wednesday when the House rejected a move to kill the measure shortly after debate got underway.

P.1

The first test on the administration - endorsed bill came on adoption of a rule providing for full-scale debate and consideration of the issue by the House. The vote was 290 to 117.

Seven Southern opponents launched an angry attack on the controversial legislation before the test vote was taken. Adoption of the rule paves the way for prolonged debate to begin today.

LEADER OF BLOC

In opposition, Rep. William M. Colmer (D) Miss., recognized as a leader of the Southern bloc, bluntly charged the measure would set up a "Gestapo" in the United States which would "destroy the liberty of the man in the street.'

In rebuttal, advocates said the legislation is needed to guarantee the right of all Americans with the right to vote and eliminate injustices.

DELAYING TACTICS

Southerners are expected to use whatever delaying tactics they can to hold up passage of the measure.

They also are ready to offer a series of amendments in the hope of "watering down' the bill.

Chief of these will be a move to provide jury trials for any contempt actions stemming from civil rights injunctions. The administration strongly opposes such an amendment.

Rep. Charles B. Brownson (R) Ind., charged that a jury trial amendment "would deviate the true interest and purposes of this bill."

He was joined by Rep. Hugh Scott (R) Pa., who declared that such an amendment is "probably unconstitutional' and will be favored by those who want "the right to violate the law.'

Rep. Martin dies (D) Texas won applause from opponents by challenging the House to "show confidence' in the Southern States by permitting a jury trial.

RIGHT TO VOTE

Dies charged that the bill is a case of "political expediency" designed to capture the Negro vote in the North.

The Texas Democrat declared that no citizen of his state has ever been deprived of the right to vote.

House approval of the omnibus measure is anticipated after a hard floor battle but Senate action is still problematical.

P.3

The measure would set up a bi-partisan civil rights commission with authority to investigate and make recommendations to Congress.

In addition, a new civil rights division in the Justice Department would be armed with new laws permitting a court order to block civil rights violations before they occur.

Daily World

Opposition attack on the bill, which passed the House last year, is now centered on this provision under it, a judge could find persons guilty of violating a court order, without a jury trial.

A Senate subcommittee voted Monday to include a jury trial guarantee in its version of the measure.

Thurs. 6-6-57

Advocates of the bill contend that it is impossible to bet civil rights convictions from Southern juries.

GOP Senator Plans Motion To Bring Bill Before Senate

Daily World Sat. 7-6-57 Atlanta Ga.

WASHINGTON — Sen. William Knowland (R.-Calif.) said Friday he would offer a motion Monday to get the civil rights bill before the Senate before the end of next week.

P.1

The Senate GOP leader indicated that his motion would start a long fight over the House-passed bill. Filibuster is anticipated from the Southern group headed by Sen. Richard Russell (D-Ga.).

President Eisenhower was considered almost certain Friday to invite Sen. Russell to the White House for a conference on the civil rights bill.

Russell, leader of the Southern Bloc opposing the bill, said only that "I earnestly hope to have an opportunity to discuss this matter with the President before and action is taken on the bill."

He declined to answer directly when asked if southerners would forego their first chance to filibuster against the bill if they could get an agreement watering down provisions they consider most objectionable.

Russell said that strategy will have to be played by ear and he was making no commitments at this time.

Knowland told reporters that he "hopes" for a vote "by the end of next week" on making the legislation the Senate's pending business.

A showdown at that time would mean that opponents would forgo their first filibuster.

Knowland will launch the big civil rights fight Monday with a motion to make the bill the pending business. The Californian said he would not permit the question to be laid aside for other matters before the end of next week.

Paradoxically, plans for next week's Senate schedule on civil rights are to be workedout Saturday at Independence, Mo., during dedication of the Harry S. Truman Memorial Library. Truman, when President, recommended a strong civil rights program that he was never able to get through Congress.

Senate Democratic Leader Lyndon B. Johnson has been taking a vacation-rest in Texas. Knowland said he expects to see Johnson at the Truman Library dedication so it won't be necessary to wait until the Texan returns to Washington to confer on civil rights planning.

But Knowland said that, as he sees it now, the Senate will start out the sessions as the week progresses.

rebuilding

Racial Bills Share Legislative Stage

Segregation And Civil Rights Vie With Truck Tag Proposals

MONTGOMERY, June 12 (AP) — Segregation and civil rights shared attention with less controversial issues as legislative committees worked through a busy schedule today.

Without debate, the House Ways and Means Committee approved a bill aimed at lessening racial tensions where integration is ordered by the federal courts in public transportation.

The measure would make it unlawful for a male passenger to sit beside a woman without first getting her consent. While no mention is made of race or color, the bill is designed to prevent white and Negro men and women from taking seats together on buses or trains.

Committee members voted a favorable report without discussing the recent Supreme Court decision knocking out city and state bus segregation laws in Montgomery.

Today's action will send the measure back to the House Friday and puts it in position for a possible floor vote next Tuesday if the House gets that far on its calendar.

Meanwhile, Sen. Albert Davis of Pickens County charged in a statement that a pending judicial reform bill already passed by the House is in reality an "Alabama civil rights bill." It would drastically revise rules of civil court procedure in this state.

Davis, who at one time led a filibuster to stall consideration of the measure before it could be reported to the Senate from the House, said it would give "too much power" to judges in state courts. Much of the revision is patterned after federal court rules.

The pro-segregation Black Belt senator gave two illustrations to show how, in his opinion, the suggested new rules could work:

A group of Negroes could get an injunction against activities of a White Citizens Council and any council member who defied it could be subject to a contempt citation.

Or, Davis said, if a damage suit were filed against a Board of Registrars charged with racial discrimination, a judge could set aside a verdict for the defendants and enter a judgment against them.

"I don't know any judge we have now who would do that," the senator continued, "but we might have some day, especially if enough Negroes get registered to vote. Why toy with that sort of a chance?"

"It's power, power, power for the judges," he added. "It's these federal rules that are ruining us up in Washington. Why should Alabama adopt them here?"

Senate and House Committees worked through the day on a heavy backlog of bills.

The Ways and Means Committees spent nearly two hours arguing over a measure to repeal Alabama's so-called unfair cigaret sales law, but found itself deadlocked and took no action.

The existing law prohibits merchants from selling cigarets below cost plus 8 per cent. Rep. Roland Faulk of Geneva County, sponsor of the repealer, called the law "socialistic" and contrary to the American tradition of free enterprise.

Opponents, on the other hand, argued that the law should remain unchanged to protect the tobacco industry and prohibit chain stores from using cigarets as "loss leaders" to attract business.

The committee was divided 7-7 on a motion to kill the repealer and another motion to approve it.

Members of the House Health Committee approved legislation to forbid insurance companies' cancelling hospital accident and medical policies except on the anniversary date of the policies.

The committee also endorsed a series of measures to set up a "fair practice" code for all insurance companies.

Down the hall, the House Judiciary Committee reported out a constitutional amendment to raise the corporation income tax rate from a maximum 3 per cent to 5 per cent, and to increase personal exemptions from $300 to $600 for each dependent.

Rep. A. K. Callahan of Tuscaloosa, the author, estimated it would produce an additional $8 million a year in school revenue.

The same committee, meeting in executive session, killed a bill to require railroads to install electric warning lights on cabooses.

Senate Finance Committee members heard opposing arguments on a measure to let truck lines buy their license tags anywhere they do business. Jefferson County, where many of the big freight lines are headquartered, has been getting the bulk of the revenue.

Small county senators generally endorsed the bill; big county members and the League of Municipalities opposed it.

The bill was reported out favorably by a 6-5 vote, but some senators said they were letting the measure reach the Senate floor with plans to oppose it there.

The league's executive director, Ed Reid, said it would encourage cities and counties to hold down property assessments to compete for the tag business. Property taxes must be paid on every vehicle before a tag is issued.

Cities get 63 per cent of the revenue from tags sold to owners living within their corporate limits. Counties get 63 per cent on tags sold to rural owners.

Reid said a truck line—or even a merchant who delivers to neighboring communities—could single out localities which have the lowest property tax and buy their tags there.

He said nearly 100 small towns have no municipal ad valorem taxes and suggested they would deliberately refrain from putting any on in order to attract the truck business.

But larger cities where truck lines are located still would have to provide police and fire protection and other governmental services without benefit of the tag revenue, Reid added.

Sen. Gerald Bradford of Clarke County agreed it would encourage truckers to "shop for cheaper tags" and would force cities and counties to "compete with the others to get our assessments down."

But Probate Judge Kenneth Griffith of Cullman County and other proponents of the bill argued that truckers can buy tags anywhere under the present law. They said the pending bill is merely a means of preventing "lawsuits and intimidation."

GRIFFITH

One such suit is pending. Dixie Highway Express of Birmingham bought some tags in Sumter County and Jefferson County is protesting the transaction, claiming they should have been purchased there.

Griffith disagreed with Reid and Bradford that the bill would invite price-cutting competition. He said there "won't be such difference" between one county and another in the amount of truck assessments.

The House Local Government Committee approved a bill to allow municipalities to impose licenses on small loan companies.

Also reported favorably by this committee was a watered-down version of a bill which proposed to strengthen a municipality's hand in annexing adjacent areas where most of the property owners want it.

This measure, which carried the blessings of the League of Municipalities, was revised in a subcommittee to allow annexation by mutual consent where all the affected property owners are in agreement.

As originally drawn a city could initiate an annexation referendum without requiring a petition signed by at least two qualified voters on each quarter section representing at least 60 per cent of the property to be annexed.

The bill was changed to allow annexation elections, where petitions signed by owners representing 80 per cent of the property or 80 per cent of the assessed valuation of the property requests to be brought into a municipality.

Eliminated was the provision in the present law requiring at least two property owners per quarter section to agree to the annexation.

Representatives of industry who strongly opposed the bill as originally introduced helped work out the compromise which came out of committee today.

They had argued against changing the law to allow cities to expand their boundaries to take in industrial properties and subject them to municipal taxes and regulation.

Rights Bill Starts Rough Senate Trip

Maneuvers May Determine Measure's Fate This Year

WASHINGTON, June 19 (AP)—The Senate today began unusual parliamentary maneuvering which may determine whether it acts this year on civil right legislation, described by President Eisenhower as the "moderate, decent thing to do."

Shortly after Mr. Eisenhower told his news conference the measure did not aim at "persecution of anybody," Sen. Knowland (R., Cal.) made the first move in the Senate to hasten debate on the bill. The showdown on his strategy is expected tomorrow.

Knowland, the Senate Republican leader, announced he would object if any senator requested two readings of the House-passed bill today — since that could lead the way to referring it to the Senate Judiciary Committee.

The aim of Knowland and a group of Republicans and Northern Democrats is to bypass the Judiciary Committee, which has been considering civil rights legislation for six months, and bring the House bill directly to the Senate floor.

Senator Russell (D., Ga.) followed Knowland's announcement by going through the motion of requesting that the bill be routed in the usual fashion to the Judiciary Committee.

Knowland and Senator Douglas (D., Ill.) quickly chimed in with objections, moving Russell to comment:

"Two souls with but a single thought, two hearts that beat as one."

The objections automatically put off a second reading of the bill until tomorrow. The second reading must preecde an expected motion by Knowland to place the bill directly on the Senate calendar.

The GOP leader's strategy is to invoke a little-used rule which Russell argued is out of date. The Southerner said that to use the rule "will set a precedent that will haunt the leadership in this body for years to come."

Russell later made an impassioned address voicing anger over the action of Knowland and Douglas. He accused supporters of the rights bill of using it as "a smoke-screen" to force the South to integrate its schools and "get these infernal Southerners in a hurry."

RUSSELL

Knowland's motion — which Vice President Nixon is expected to rule in order—would require a simple majority vote for approval. Once approved, the civil rights bill could be brought up for debate on the demand of any senator.

A Southern filibuster — prolonged debate—would certainly follow.

Mr. Eisenhower was asked if he would recommend that Senate Republicans seek an extended Senate session in hopes of wearing down a filibuster.

The President replied that he doesn't like to comment on congressional procedures, "because it is their business, and it is not for me to interfere to say how they shall do things."

But he quickly added that he did have a word to say about the civil rights bill. It was, he said, "designed and conceived in the thought of conciliation and moderation, not of persecution of anybody."

He recalled that after the Supreme Court outlawed public school segregation, newsmen asked him whether he planned to send troops into the South to enforce the decision.

"There was a great deal of stir," he said, "and it was time, as I saw it, for moderation and the development of a plan that everybody of good will could support."

That plan has now been developed but "I have been very badly disappointed" with the reaction of some people to it, he said.

He concluded by saying that he views the civil rights bill as "a very moderate, decent thing to do" — something which he hopes will be more widely accepted after "some thinking on the part of all of us."

10 1957

THE EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

Herald P.2-G

States' Rights Entail Responsibilities, Too

Sun. 6-30-57

Miami, Fla.

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S recent speech to the Governors' Conference was a skillfully contrived rebuke to those excellencies who preach the doctrine of states' rights but who like to see federal grants dropped in the collection box.

KNIGHT

The President summed it up in this one paragraph: "I believe deeply in states' rights. I believe that the preservation of our states as vigorous, powerful governmental units is essential to permanent individual freedom and the growth of our national strength. But it is idle to champion states' rights without upholding states' responsibilities as well."

The President might have extended his remarks to include cities, counties, businessmen, labor leaders and all other elements of our society who expect their "rich uncle" in Washington to bail them out of trouble.

Need an airport, an expressway, or a few high school buildings? How much will the federal government put up?

Businessmen and community leaders push projects (many of them nonessential) in which the federal government can participate on the theory that if "we don't get the money, someone else will."

Governors apparently see no inconsistency in being ardent states' righters on the desegregation question at the same time they are accepting handouts derived from federal taxation.

The trend toward federal centralization of power is now such an established part of American life that it is fully accepted by a large majority of our citizens who haven't the faintest understanding of how it works, nor a realization of its dangers.

★ ★ ★

Problem Is Knotty One In Many Areas

HOWEVER, IT IS IDLE to theorize that the full resumption of states' rights would solve the complexities of federal-state relationships.

For instance, a federal highway system built in cooperation with the states is essential in this motorized age.

There is less to commend in federal aid to education. But there would have been no reason for aiding the schools on a national level if some of our less progressive states had fulfilled their own responsibilities.

The danger here is that federal aid to schools might some day amount to federal control of education. This fear is dismissed by the President who points out that the proposed legislation is an emergency measure and "temporary" in character.

Other proponents of federal aid to education say that they are supporting a "brick and mortar" bill designed to provide the facilities that are so badly needed. They disclaim any thought that the schools could be brought under federal regulation.

Still, few "emergency or temporary" powers are ever relinquished. They tend rather to be expanded with the passage of time.

In many other areas, such as transportation and health, the problem of deciding between state and federal responsibility is a knotty one indeed.

★ ★ ★

Task Force For Action May Find The Answers

TO HELP SOLVE these questions, President Eisenhower has urged the creation of a federal-state "Task Force for Action."

This task force would designate the functions "which the states are ready and willing to assume and finance, that are now performed or financed wholly or in part by the federal government."

The task force would also identify functions and responsibilities "likely to require state or federal attention . . . and to recommend the level of state effort, or federal effort, or both, that will be needed to assure effective action."

In this category, the President mentioned school construction, relief for disasters, such as floods, droughts, hurricanes and tornadoes; and federal aid for slum clearance and urban renewal.

Here again, the President was reminding the states which have been dragging their feet that states' rights and states' responsibility must go hand in hand.

ALL IN ALL, the President's summation of the proper relationships between the states and the federal government was excellent, though obviously inconsistent on the school question.

With true political genius, he reminded the American public that considerable savings could have been made by eliminating the "freight charges" on money being hauled from the states to Washington and back again to the states.

In his best non-provocative manner, Ike clearly put the governors on the spot.

★ ★ ★

Response Was Less Than Enthusiastic

PETER LISAGOR of our Washington Bureau reports that the governors listened with polite skepticism. Averell Harriman of New York doubts whether the states are equipped to deal with present-day problems.

The governor of Pennsylvania moaned that "state governments are the least effective and least good of governmental units of the country."

Others questioned that "much can be done in a practical way," or said that "this will take a long and complicated reappraisal."

A few, like Governor Stratton of Illinois, thought the President's suggestion "a challenging proposition."

But, as The Wall Street Journal says, "if there was any governor who suggested he would do something about making his state's government more effective and therefore its citizens less anxious to trot to Washington, his quotation escaped our notice."

Note: At Governor Stratton's invitation, the conference has since authorized him to name a committee of fellow governors to confer with the Eisenhower administration on the President's recommendations.

★ ★ ★

Lausche And Byrd Lay It On The Line

WHILE IKE WAS giving the governors some sound advice at Williamsburg, Va., two former governors, Harry Byrd of Virginia and Frank Lausche of Ohio, were laying it on the line in Washington.

Senator Byrd, longtime foe of big spending, warned Treasury Secretary George Humphrey that the country has "no reserves" to meet even a slight business recession.

He further predicted that if the national income should drop to even the level of two years ago, the loss of tax revenue would result in a budget deficit of $12 billion. Such a deficit, said Byrd, would "shake the financial foundation of the country to a dangerous degree."

★ ★ ★

Inflation Aided By New Programs

THE INDIVIDUALISTIC Senator Lausche told a Washington audience that it's not the people you have to waken to the perils of inflation, it's the politicians.

Lausche criticized both industrialists and labor leaders for contributing to inflation and said that the federal government should avoid all new programs, including "temporary" ones.

The Ohio senator is dead right. As Ohio's five-term governor, Lausche never bowed to pressure groups, always kept a tight rein on expenditures, held taxes within reasonable limits and managed to get elected and reelected.

As the saying goes in Ohio, "Nobody likes Lausche but the people."

★ ★ ★

Spending Causing Financial Woes

EISENHOWER, on the other hand, believes in giving the people "the services which they demand, and which in my judgment, they deserve."

This is the philosophy that is causing many of the administration's financial woes. The services which the people "demand" are usually cooked up by the politicians, not by the people.

In my judgment, the glaring weakness of the Eisenhower administration is its failure to curb the costs of government.

Instead of setting the example for the states by providing strong leadership in the fight against inflation, this administration in recent times has actually contributed to inflation by its big spending policies.

Had the President performed in 1957 as he began in 1953, his message to the governors might have stirred more than one mild round of applause.

—JOHN S. KNIGHT

'Rights' Foes Seek Way To Get Bill Modified

Post + Times Herald P.2-A
Fri. 7-5-57
Washington D.C.

By John Chadwick
Associa

Southern foes indicated yesterday they might pass up one opportunity to filibuster against the civil rights bill if agreement can be reached to modify what they regard as its most objectionable features.

The battle over the legislation, already passed by the House and placed on the Senate calendar by an unusual parliamentary maneuver, will be joined Monday after the holiday weekend.

Senate Republican Leader William F. Knowland of California served notice of this Wednesday after President Eisenhower reiterated that he regards the measure as moderate.

Mr. Eisenhower said his objective in urging enactment of the legislation is to prevent anyone from "illegally interfering" with a citizen's right to vote.

But Southern opponents, led by Sen. Richard B. Russell (D-Ga.), contend the measure goes far beyond this. They say it would enable the Federal Government to force integration in Southern schools and racial mixing in other public places.

Knowland said he would move Monday that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the civil rights bill—a motion that is subject to being filibustered.

However, Russell told him that in the early stages of the discussion of this motion, "the speeches will be of no greater length than those ordinarily made" by Senators to make their position clear.

Sen. Sam J. Ervin (D. N. C.) is expected to lead off for the Southerners with a speech opposing the new authority the bill would give the Attorney General to seek Federal Court injunctions against violations of voting rights or other civil rights.

Russell said: "I hope that as the debate progresses in the Senate chamber, we may arrive at some meeting of the minds, at least as to the portions of the bill which I regard as being most objectionable and most vicious, and that the time may come when, after full and fair debate, the Senate may proceed to vote on amendments to the bill."

QUORUM CALLS DELAY DEBATE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Daily Tribune
Sat. 6-8-57
Chicago Ill. P.3

BY PHILIP DODD
[Chicago Tribune Press Service]

Washington, June 7 — A time consuming quorum call every hour on the hour enabled southern lawmakers to drag out the house debate on the Eisenhower administration's civil rights bill today.

The Dixie motive was not clear. Ordinarily such time consuming tactics are used to prolong debate and delay a final vote. But the house was working under an agreement to limit general debate to three days—yesterday, today, and next Monday—and there was no parliamentary way to prevent reading the bill for amendments next Tuesday.

However, Rep. Smith [D., Va.] told the house yesterday he was anxious to have all members hear arguments on the bill and Representatives Mason [R., Ill.] and Hoffman [R., Mich.], promised G. O. P. help. Representatives Gross [R., Ia.] and Johansen [R., Mich.] were among those instigating today's quorum calls.

Roll Call Takes 30 Minutes

The house was sitting as a committee today in which 100 is a quorum, instead of the 218 quorum when it is sitting as the house. As the absence of a quorum was suggested, the southerners hurried out the doors to force the presiding officer to declare the lack of a quorum and order a roll call, which takes upwards of 30 minutes.

Today's debate was marked by a bitter attack by Rep. Hays [R., O.] on an absent colleague, Rep. Powell [D., N. Y.]. Powell is a Negro minister who collapsed in his New York pulpit Sunday and was under treatment today at the Bethesda, Md., naval hospital.

Yesterday Powell's office circulated a letter from him among members questioning the motives of northern Democrats who support what he called "crippling" amendments to the civil rights bill.

Hays accused Powell of "sharing top billing" with Earl Browder, former communist leader, at a New York rally in 1944, of saying the death of Rep. Dies [D., Tex.] would be "as important as the death of Adolf Hitler," and of making other utterances which Hays described as "trash."

Mason Attacks Bill

Ordinarily a house member would be called to order and forced to take his seat for making such remarks about a colleague. But the nearest anyone came to that today was when Rep. Celler [D., N. Y.] told Hays it would "come with better grace" if Hays would wait until Powell returned to the house.

Rep. Mason attacked the bill as an invasion of state rights. It would authorize the attorney general, in the name of the United States and in behalf of individual complainants, to seek civil federal court actions to prevent violations of voting and other constitutional guarantees.

"To force civil rights laws on 48 states with different customs just can't be done in a democracy," Mason said. "It can be done only under a dictator . . . the cure would be worse than the disease."

Agree on rights test

Afro-American
Sat. 1-19-57

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON (NNPA)— Baltimore Md. P.1
The 85th Congress appears to be moving definitely toward enactment of civil rights legislation with the Democratic leadership having agreed to bring the issue to a head.

Senate sources disclosed Friday that civil rights advocates and Senator Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, the majority leader, have agreed on the calling up of a civil rights bill and the strategy that is to be used to break a southern filibuster if one should develop.

If debate cannot be limited on a bill, efforts to break the filibuster will be made by around-the-clock sessions and strict enforcement of Senate rules.

* * *

THE KEY rules in a physical endurance contest are those which limit a Senator to two speeches upon any one question on the same day and which forbid a Senator who is speaking to yield to another Senator for any purpose other than the asking of a question.

A legislative day may run as long as a majority of the Senate wishes simply by recessing instead of adjourning. But if around-the-clock sessions are held, there would be no recess or adjournment until the filibuster was broken or the leadership decided to withdraw the pending bill.

Under strict enforcement of Senate rules, if a senator who has the floor yields to another senator for any purpose other than the asking of a question, that senator loses the floor and is charged with one of the two speeches he is entitled to make.

* * *

ENFORCEMENT of these rules will be easy since Vice President Nixon, who is on the side of the liberals in the rules change and civil rights fight, will be occupying the chair.

Senator Johnson, it is understood, will not fight the civil rights bill that is called up, although he is opposed to civil rights legislation.

Senator William F. Knowland of California, the minority leader, will seek to put through the Administration's civil rights program. But a Democratic - sponsored civil rights bill is likely to be the one to reach the Senate floor.

* * *

SWIFT ACTION on civil rights is indicated on both the House and Senate sides. The NNPA learned Friday that Representative Emanuel Celler of New York, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, plans to act promptly to have a bill reported out of his committee.

Just how long delaying action can be carried on by Representative Howard W. Smith, of Virginia, chairman of the House Rules Committee, depends upon how determined a majority of the committee is to send a civil rights bill to the House floor.

Last year Smith, aided by Representative William M. Colmer Democrat of Mississippi, held the bill up in the Rules Committee for nearly a month. Their purpose was to keep it from being passed by the House and sent to the Senate in time for that body to act on it before adjournment of the Congress.

* * *

SENATOR Thomas C. Hennings, Democrat of Missouri, told reporters Friday that he plans to proceed immediately with the four civil rights bills he introduced on Jan. 9.

Co-sponsors of the Hennings bills are Senators Joseph C. O'Mahoney, Democrat of Wyoming, and William Langer, Republican of North Dakota.

Hennings, O'Mahoney and Langer constitute the Constitutional Rights Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, which approved the identical bills last year only to have them bottled up in the full committee, of which Senator James O. Eastland, Dixiecrat of Mississippi, is chairman.

Two of the Hennings-O'Mahoney-Langer bills are similar to provisions in the Administration bill, introduced on Jan. 7 by Senator Everett M. Dirksen, Republican of Illinois, for himself and a number of other senators. Dirksen also is a member of the Judiciary Committee.

Since all members of his subcommittee are sponsors of these bills, and since these bills were approved by his subcommittee last year, Senator Hennings said, he will not even bother to hold a meeting of the subcommittee, but will get approval for reporting these bills by telephone to Senators O'Mahoney and Langer.

Another Milestone For Fuller Americanism

Daily World Thurs. 6-20-57
Atlanta, Ga. P.4

The passage of the Civil Rights Bill by the House of Representatives Tuesday marks another milestone in the progressive thinking of this country and its bent upon making this really the America that it was so designed by the Constitution of the United States.

Honestly there is nothing new in the bill when the entire sentiment and policy of the party in power are taken into consideration. It will be recalled that the bill's parent, the 14th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States embodied this same sentiment. It was called into service for the making of certain emancipated subjects bonifide citizens and fortifying the right to vote and giving to the country its "due process of law" clause.

Of the many things brought out, from the first hearing on the measure until its passage in the House, certain allegations and counter threats made by some of our fellow Georgians, will prove most unpalatable to history. Possibly Rep. James J. Flynt, Jr., who quoted Churchill's wartime pronouncement "of fighting in the street" if the bill passed and those of his colleague, Rep. E. L. Forrester's officiating at the funeral of states' rights" contributed to a regretable disservice to our section from whence they came. Their fruitless rambling possibly revived a reference to our state we have striven through the years to outlive.

The President of the United States is in for another citation of praise; he has helped bring to pass by his skill and determined effort what has not happened since the passage of the 15th Amendment. His insistence of legislation bypassing not only entangling committees, but state courts, with non-jury trials in contempt cases will knock many a prop from beneath sundry evasions and circumventions.

The long-talked-about Civil Rights Bill is now before the Senate and we believe that in the light of the united support by both Vice President Nixon and Senator Knowland, two of the other principal leaders of the President's party, there is reasonable expectation that it will pass that body also and thereby becoming law.

10 1957

Southerners Agree to Allow Vote On Civil Rights Bill Issue Tuesday

News + Observer Sat. 7-13-57 Raleigh, N.C. P.1

WASHINGTON, July 12 (AP) — Southern opponents of the civil rights bill agreed in the Senate today to allow a vote about 6 p.m. Tuesday on a motion to bring the measure to the floor for action.

All signs pointed to adoption of the motion, which would constitute a major, though strictly preliminary, victory for Northern supporters of the bill.

Sen. Russell (D-Ga), leader of the Southern opposition, conceded he has no hope of preventing the bill from coming before the Senate.

He said his bloc agreed to let the bill come up because it feels there is a good chance of winning changes that will make it more palatable—even though still objectionable—to the South.

Unanimous Agreement.

Unanimous Senate agreement to vote Tuesday came after five days of debate in which the civil rights bill was defended as progressive legislation and denounced as an attempt to return the South to the Reconstruction days that followed the Civil War.

The legislation would set up a civil rights commission to make a two-year study of civil rights problems. It would also create a civil rights division in the Department of Justice and head it up with an assistant attorney general.

A section which Southerners have attacked repeatedly would permit the attorney general to seek federal court injunctions against any violation or threatened violation of voting rights or other civil rights. Violations of these injunctions would be punishable as contempt of court, without jury trials. Southern senators are expected to fight hard for a jury trial amendment.

There are still 15 or 20 senators who want to make speeches on the issue.

The Senate recessed at 6:55 p.m. tonight. Majority Leader Johnson (D-Tex) announced the Senate would meet at 9:30 a.m. tomorrow, Monday and Tuesday to allow all the senators to be heard. Night sessions will also be held if necessary, he said.

Russell said he expects the Senate to begin considering amendments immediately after Tuesday's vote. He anticipated there might be a vote on one or more amendments next week, since he said he expected no "long speeches" by Southerners.

The threat of a Southern filibuster to prevent passage of the bill still existed. Russell said any decision on a filibuster—an effort to talk the bill to death—may be influenced by how far the Senate goes in softening the terms of the legislation.

Demo Leader Says—

Rights Compromise Talk Premature

Post-Herald Fri. 7-12-57 P.1 B'ham, Ala.

Sen. Johnson Tells Senate It's Too Early To Predict Outcome

WASHINGTON, July 11 (AP)—The Senate's Democratic leader said today it was prematurs to talk of a possible civil rights compromise. Nevertheless, some GOP sponsors of the bill moved toward narrowing its provisions.

Compromise talk at this time, said Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, is "both premature and inaccurate."

He told the Senate meeting an hour and a half earlier than usual to debate the civil rights legislation, that there is no way to predict the outcome at the present time.

"There is quite some distance to go before the end result even begins to take shape," Johnson said.

Sen. Francis Case (R., S. D.) had disclosed earlier that he is drafting an amendment which would confine the enforcement provisions of the bill to the single field of protecting voting rights of Negroes and other minorities.

This would go some distance toward meeting the violent objections of Southern Democrats to the legislation, which has been passed by the House.

Sens. Clifford Case (R., N. J.) and Kuchel (R., Cal.) said in separate interviews they support the principle of Sen. Francis Case's proposal.

Opposition speakers have contended the bill in its present form would empower the federal government to force school integration and other racial changes on the Southern states.

Johnson told the Senate he knew of no compromise efforts "Nor do I consider the study of this bill as being intended for compromise purposes."

"The discussion arises, in my opinion," he said, "because the debate has been conducted on a high plane, free of rancor and bitterness."

Johnson is expected to vote against the bill, at least in its effort to limit debate on it.

Compromise talk increased on Capitol Hill yesterday after Sen. Russell (D., Ga.) had a 50-minute conference with President Eisenhower and reported the President's mind "is open . . . not closed to amendments which would clarify the bill."

While Sen. Clifford Case favors narrowing the bill, in principle, he said in an afternoon statement that he agreed with Johnson that talk of compromises is premature.

"The immediate matter before the Senate is a procedural one—whether to make this bill the pending matter of business in the Senate," Case said. "There will be ample time, once this is voted through, to debate the substance of the bill and to offer and vote on various amendments.

"There has been much talk of agreement, before the bill is taken up, on a jury trial amendment. A good deal of this talk is clearly intended to encourage adoption of such an amendment."

Case said he was "certain" the votes could be mustered to defeat such an amendment. "Anyone who has studied the matter must realize that its effect would be to make it possible to disobey the law," he said.

Several unsuccessful efforts were made in the House to attack a jury trial amendment. Southerners want jury trials for any persons charged with contempt of court for violating civil rights injunctions. Under the bill, these persons would be tried by the judges who issued the restraining orders.

Johnson, in his Senate speech, said debate on the motion to bring up the civil rights bill probably will have to continue into next week (it began last Monday). Johnston noted that the Senate Judiciary Committee had been bypassed in an attempt to bring the House-approved bill directly to the floor.

He said most Senate bills, many of a far less controversial nature, have lengthy and detailed committee reports accompanying them.

Post-Herald P.2

"This bill was naked when it reached the Senate," the Democratic leader said. "It had not a stitch—not even a diaper."

Sen. McNamara (D., Mich.), a supporter of the bill, told the Senate he had sent Eisenhower a telegram protesting reports that the President might consider amendments to the bill.

He said he had urged Eisenhower to issue a public statement "reaffirming your strong support of this moderate legislation in the form so overwhelmingly passed by the House of Representatives." The House vote on passage June 18 was 286-126.

Civil Rights Backers Split On Provisions

Post-Herald Mon. 7-15-57 B'ham, Ala.

Anderson Will Offer Amendment To Cut Section From Bill

BY JACK BELL
Associated Press Staff Writer

WASHINGTON, July 14—Supporters of the administration's Civil Rights Bill split today over the issue of scrapping a section which critics contend is aimed at "punitive" action against the South.

Sen. Anderson (D., N. M.) announced he is drafting an amendment paralleling one offered yesterday by Sen. Russell (D., Ga.), captain of the bill's foes.

Anderson said his proposal would strike from the House-passed bill Part III. This authorizes the attorney general to seek Federal Court injunctions against violations or threatened violations of civil rights in general. Judges who issue the injunctions could enforce their obedience with fines and jail sentences without jury trials.

Anderson's amendment would not disturb another section permitting similar action in cases involving voting rights. President Eisenhower has said the protection of such rights is the primary objective of the legislation.

Other sections of the bill would establish a civil rights commission to make a two-year study of civil rights problems, and create a civil rights division in the Justice Dept. headed by an assistant attorney general.

Sen. Mundt (R., S. D.), describing himself as a "neutral" in the fight announced yesterday he will offer a substitute bill which would strike out Part III and also include a so-called jury trial amendment previously offered by Sen. O'Mahoney (D., Wyo.). This would provide for jury trials in Federal Court contempt cases where the facts are in dispute.

Mundt's plan also would restrict the subpena powers of the proposed civil rights study commission.

Sen. Douglas (D., Ill.), like Anderson a supporter of the House bill, said in a separate interview he will fight any effort to eliminate Part III.

"I shall resist any amendment," Douglas added. "The bill is OK the way it is. It is a moderate bill."

There were no concrete signs that removal of the controversial Section III would ease strong Southern opposition to the bill. Sen. Ervin (D., N. C.) said in a TV roundtable debate he couldn't conceive of any one amendment that would make it a "wise" measure.

"It can't be patched up enough to be palatable," Ervin said, adding that it was "the most monstrous bill ever proposed."

Sen. Eastland (D., Miss), who appeared with Ervin in debating against Sens. Case (R., N. J.) and Carroll (D., Colo), ignored several questions about possible amendments to the bill.

Case said the civil rights bill is "an utterly appropriate measure" and he believes that within a month the Senate would pass a "reasonable" version.

Eastland and Ervin insisted several times during the debate that the basic aim of the measure is to circumvent normal legal processes in the South.

Eastland said it would mean "shotgun government" because the bill would permit the President to send troops into the South to enforce its provisions.

Post-Herald

Anderson, who led an unsuccessful fight last January to eliminate filibusters by changing the Senate's rules, said he has become convinced the House bill is "too stringent." P.3

"When millions of people in the South register opposition to this bill, as they have through their senators, it is time to stop and think about its enforcement," Anderson said. "We should remember prohibition as an example.

"I want the Negroes to vote and I believe that if congress passes a bill guaranteeing them the right to vote it will be respected. But if the South does not then co-operate to let them vote, it will not be difficult to amend the bill to put some enforcement teeth in it."

Russell hailed Anderson's statement as "highly encouraging" in advance of a vote Tuesday by which the Senate is expected to bring the administration bill officially before it.

"Sen. Anderson is an acknowledged leader of the civid rights forces," Russell said. "I am encouraged when he agrees that punitive measures should not be taken against the South.

"Some folks seem to believe that the South needs a guardian in the form of the attorney general, but I don't believe that is the majority sentiment of the country."

The Senate resumes debate tomorrow on a motion by Sen-

ate Republican Leader Knowland of California to take up the bill. Southern opponents, who blasted at the measure during six days of debate last week, seemed likely to consume most of the time until the Senate votes, by unanimous agreement, late Tuesday.

Douglas, who has joined Sen. Javits (R., N. Y.) and others in urging the bill's backers not to talk of compromise, said the primary objectives of the measure is to protect the right of Negroes and others to vote.

Douglas scoffed at Southerners' contentions that these enforcement methods would entail "punitive" action against a whole section of the country. He said desegregation should be gradual.

"No one with any sense is going to try to enforce integration in the common schools of Mississippi now," he said. "But if this bill can be passed as it is, it should help progress in that direction in some of the border states."

Sen. Chavez (D., N. M.), who has not taken any active part in the squabble, said he will not vote for any bill that does not contain a jury trial provision.

Russell hailed Chavez's statements as an indication of increasing support for such an amendment.

'Moderate' On Civil Rights?

The Struggle Thus Far Implies Several Are Thinking Of Election, Want 'Something'

BY JAMES FREE
Washington Correspondent
The Birmingham News

WASHINGTON

THE FIRST WEEK of the civil rights fight in the Senate may not have been decisive, but it has been most revealing. And in many ways remarkable.

To a reporter following the proceedings the dominant atmosphere is more that of the smoke-filled room and the market place than of the combat arena. As at a national political convention, the really significant events take place not on the floor but in small group meetings.

So far the "fight" has been so gentlemanly as to put it on the dull side. And leaders of both sides, and of both political parties in the Senate, want to keep the discussions at this high level. There have been no stinging personal attacks, and none seem in the making until senators get far more weary and short-tempered than they are now.

Much of the backstage manipulation has been in secret, and it is doubtful if anything like all of the vote trading on this and other pending legislation will ever come to light.

But even at this early stage, this reporter finds wide acceptance of these two prospects:

1. There is virtually no chance that supporters of the bill can get it passed in its present form.

2. Contrariwise, there seems scant chance that opponents of the bill can prevent passage of a modified civil rights bill either this year or next. Key party men—and potential candidates for president and vice president on both sides of the aisle—evidently have decided that the time has come for enactment of some kind of civil rights bill. And they want to share in whatever credit is to be had.

All of which points to some kind of compromise bill. A jury trial amendment, and perhaps others softening the enforcement provisions, can be expected. This would remove some of the stronger objections of the Southerners to the bill, but they would still oppose it. Westerners and others not vitally affected by the civil rights issue might well vote for cloture (closing of debate) once a modified bill is assured.

The maneuvering of those ambitious for a place on presidential tickets of 1960 or thereafter is an integral part of the picture. These include Vice President Richard M. Nixon, Republican Leader William F. Knowland, Sen. Clifford Case (R., N. J.), Sen. John Kennedy (D., Mass.), Sen. Lyndon Johnson (D., Tex.), Sens. Estes Kefauver and Albert Gore, Tennessee Democrats, and Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D., Minn.).

Virtually to a man the Democrats prefer Knowland to Nixon. And as they resist the bill, the Southerners if they can will try to make Knowland look better than Nixon. Senate Democratic Leader Johnson obviously feels the same way.

Knowland cannot afford to be outdone by Nixon in pressing for a vote on some kind of bill. But Knowland is taking care not to offend Southern Republicans who will have a say in nominations at the 1960 GOP National Convention.

President Dwight D. Eisenhower appears to accept the view of top GOP planners that the Republicans must push for passage of a civil rights bill if the party is to capitalize on gains it has made among Negro voters in recent years. The President has it within his grasp to make certain that a modified bill is enacted. After his press conference statements and his conference with Sen. Richard Russell (D., Ga.), Mr. Eisenhower is in a strategic position to come forward, directly or indirectly, with compromise proposals that should carry the day.

If for any reason, the President fails to do this, Democratic Leader Johnson can be expected to jump into the breach with "moderate" compromise suggestions. In fact, Johnson may do this no matter what the President does. Already the Texan has insisted on creating an early "climate of reason" in debate. He did this by arranging for recognition of Sens. William Fulbright (D., Ark.) and John Sparkman (D., Ala.) ahead of Sens. James O. Eastland (D., Miss.) and Olin D. Johnston (D., S. C.) in the anti-civil rights lineup of speakers.

"The Great Civil Rights Debate" serial will be continued for several weeks at least. Keep tuned in for further developments.

The Guest Writer

The Civil Rights Bill

(From The Wall Street Journal)

Senator RUSSELL of Georgia, a leading opponent of the Civil Rights Bill, said after a conference with Mr. EISENHOWER that while the President strongly favored passage of the measure, he did not want legislation punitive of the South.

There is no question that the Southerners in the Senate, almost to the man, consider Atty. Gen. BROWNELL's bill punitive. It goes beyond the announced objectives of guaranteeing everyone a right to vote. Within it, such a respected senator as Mr. ERVIN of North Carolina says, are seeds that may grow into the use of Federal troops to enforce the decrees of Federal judges.

Supporters of the measure say this is not at all what the bill means to do and that it is not nearly so broad in its punitive powers as its opponents suggest. Such differences may be widened, or they may be lessened, in the lengthy debate that is sure to take place before the bill's destiny is known.

But it seems that there is one section of this bill that is so plain that it needs no debate at all. As it is now written, Federal judges may issue injunctions where violations seem to threaten, and they may jail anyone who violates the injunction without a trial by a jury.

The Southerners take particular exception to this section, and they are not alone among senators to question the omission of trial by jury. Those who are pressing hard for passage of the bill without amendments say that if they accepted an amendment requiring jury trials the effects of the law would be entirely vitiated because Southern juries will not convict white men for violating civil rights of Negroes.

It strikes us that when the bill's proponents set out to say that they have chosen a rather difficult argument to support.

But even if their contention were proved to be true, it could then be argued with some logic that any law so objectionable that one-fourth of the population of the entire country can be immediately counted on to disobey it is a law that ought to be long looked at before it is enacted anyway.

Whether the civil rights bill as presently worded would actually be administered in a punitive fashion we do not know. But there can be no doubt that, in the actual reasons for omitting the historic right of trial by jury, the measure is an indictment of 40 million people that more than Southerners will find objectionable.

Southern Effort To Cripple Bill Beaten Back Again

BY ARTHUR KRANISH

WASHINGTON — (INS) — The Administration's Civil Rights Bill survived a new flurry of Southern-sponsored crippling amendments Thursday and moved ... tact towards certain House passage.

Through hours of debate, Northern Democrats and most Republicans joined to beat down attacks on the powers and duties of a civil rights investigating commission authorized in the bill.

The House never had a chance to vote on a key Southern move which would have instructed the commission to look into the "right to work" by non-union employes.

BRUTALITY, VIOLENCE

The controversal amendment was sponsored by Rep. Bruce Alger (R) Texas, who cited what he called the "Brutality" and "violence" of union pickets in labor disputes.

House Judisiary chairman Emanuel Celler (D) N. Y., replied that a "union busting measure" had no place in the civil rights bill.

Rep. Aime J. Forante (D) R. I., who was presiding, ended the argument by ruling that the bill dealt with "political" rights and that the proposed amendment dealt with "labor" rights and therefore was out of order.

With this issue out of the way, the House slowly moved toward expected passage of the measure.

A flock of southern amendments were still to come, but civil rights advocates were winning the test votes.

The closest vote today came on a motion by Rep. William M. Tuck (D) Va., to bar the commission from looking into charges that the right to vote has been denied because of religion.

The House rejected the move 114-106 after Rep. Kenneth B. Keating (R) N. Y., said inclusion of religion "can do no harm and might possibly do some good."

Earlier, Rep. Martin Dies (D) Texas lost 139-119 in an effort to remove color, race and national rgin as well as religion from the commission's mandate.

And an attempt by Rep. William S. Colmer (D) Miss., to have the commission study the "rights reserved to the states and the people" went down in a 128-95 vote.

Only a minor change sponsored by Rep. Clare E. Hoffman (R) Mich., to have the committee investigate a citizen's right to have his vote actually "counted" passed in Thursday session. Without debate, the Hous , by a 99-53 vote, gave its approval. Two other moves by Hoffman to weaken the commission were rejected soundly.

Still to be reached by the House are provisions for the establishment of a civil rights division, wth new statutory power in the Justice Department.

Many opponents apparently were saving their key "jury trial" amendment for this section of the bill.

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SKIRMISHES FLARE ON EVE OF CIVIL RIGHTS BATTLE

Both Sides Plan All-Out Fight

Post-Herald p.1 Birmingham, Ala.

WASHINGTON, July 7 (UP)— Friends and foes of President Eisenhower's civil rights bill clashed in preliminary skirmishes today as they maneuvered their forces for the all-out North-South fight due to explode in the Senate tomorrow.

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Both sides were cautious about victory claims. Both publicly ruled out any hope of a compromise at least for the time being. Privately, some leaders hinted a compromise might be the final solution. p.1

All foresaw a determined Southern filibuster that Senate Republican Leader William F. Knowland (Cal.) predicted will tie up the Senate for up to eight weeks. It was expected to be the longest talkathon since the two-month silver bill debate 64 years ago.

Knowland will touch off the battle about 2 p.m., tomorrow when he moves that the Senate take up the civil rights bill passed by the House last month.

That will spark the Southern filibuster, although the Dixie senators may save their big ammunition for a little later.

Sen. John C. Stennis (D., Miss.), meanwhile, charged that the bill was designed primarily "to put bayonets in the backs" of Southerners if necessary to force them to accept the Supreme Court's decision against school segregation.

Sen. Arthur V. Watkins (R., Utah), a co-sponsor of the bill who debated with Stennis on the NBC television show, "American Forum," replied that the legislation was aimed primarily at protecting Negro voting rights. He called it a "very moderate bill."

Stennis served notice, however, that the Southern senators intend to "fight it until we fall in our tracks" to protect the rights of their constituents. If Southern Negroes fully understood the bill, he said, they would also oppose the legislation.

Southern Mothers

In 'Front Line'

WASHINGTON, July 7 (AP) —Sen. Stennis (D., Miss.) said today the "front line of opposition" to civil rights legislation is made up of Southern mothers, not politicians.

Stennis said white mothers are gravely concerned about "questions of morality" which he said would arise from any intermingling of whites and Negroes in Southern public schools.

Sen. Watkins (R., Utah) appearing with Stennis in a television debate (NBC the American Forum), denied that the civil rights bill now on the Senate calendar was designed to promote school desegregation.

Stennis insisted the bill was cleverly drafted to force school integration, "at the point of a bayonet" if necessary.

He indicated he does not believe even some of the bill's proponents understand its implication. He said Eisenhower himself told his news conference last week that there were parts of the measure "I didn't completely understand."

Sen. Sam J. Ervin Jr. (D., N. C.), a foe of the legislation, said there was no possibility of a compromise. But he conceded that the Senate may change the House-approved bill in such a way as to make it difficult for the Southerners to defeat any "gag" attempt.

Among these concessions to the South, he said, would be amendments providing for jury trials in civil rights cases, restricting the authority of the attorney general, and what he called "administrative remedies." But he said he still would oppose the bill.

"They can't patch up the bill enough to get my vote," he said. "It doesn't give anybody in the universe any rights except the attorney general.

"If Congress enacts this bill it will be passing a public law and making it the private possession of one federal bureaucrat. That's not the sort of legislation we should have."

In past years, the Southerners have managed to filibuster to death all civil rights legislation. But the outlook for congressional approval of a bill this year is brighter.

The President's four-point bill would establish a presidential commission on civil rights; set up a civil rights division in the Justice Department; authorize government suits to protect civil rights, and protect Negro voting rights.

On the eve of the battle, senators favoring the legislation issued cautious victory statements. They included:

1. **SEN. JOHN F. KENNEDY** (D., Mass.), who predicted the Senate would pass the bill after a "rather hard fought" struggle. But he said "it's difficult to make any very firm prophesies."

2. **SEN. WILLIAM A. PURTELL** (R., Conn.), who said the bill's supporters "mean business in getting civil rights legislation." He added he hoped a "gag" would be imposed on the filibusterers after a sufficient number of days of debate.

3. **SENS. PAUL DOUGLAS** (D., Ill.) and **JACOB K. JAVITS** (R., N. Y.), who predicted eventual Senate approval of the measure after the Southern filibuster had run at least two weeks.

Sen. Richard B. Russell (D., Ga.), leader of the Southern forces, has demanded a national referendum on the issue. But Eisenhower rejected the idea as unconstitutional.

Post-Herald

It was expected that Russell and other Southerners would fight to include in the bill a provision guaranteeing jury trials for persons accused of contempt for violating court civil rights injunctions. p.2

Both Douglas and Javits opposed this amendment in discussing the civil rights bill on an AFL-CIO radio program over the American Broadcasting network. Douglas said the Southerners fear of federal judges is unjustified.

P.H. 7-8-57

"They are not prejudiced men," he said. "They live in the South. These federal judges were in most cases appointed by Southern senators, and were approved certainly by them."

Douglas said the fact that federal judges hold office for life makes them more capable of judging a contempt case than a jury.

The Sudden Concern With Legalism

Courier Pittsburgh, Pa. Sat. 5-25-57 p.9

As part of the Southern conspiracy to defeat the Administration's civil rights legislation, Dixie spokesmen in Washington have suddenly professed to be greatly concerned over possible denial of jury trials where individuals are accused of violating injunctions started by the Attorney General in alleged civil rights abuses.

It has always been illegal for a person accused of a crime to not be tried by a jury of his peers properly selected, but we cannot recall when any of these same people who are now fighting the pending civil rights bills have fought against this practice.

Thousands of Negroes, fallen afoul of the law, have been convicted by juries from which Negroes were systematically excluded, but none of these sudden champions of legalism objected.

It took action on the part of the Federal courts and the U. S. Supreme Court to end this illegal practice against the violent opposition of Southern politicians.

After the passage of jim-crow laws in the South, which were blessed by the U. S. Supreme Court in 1896, it was illegal to have separate racial accommodations for education, travel and recreation unless they were equal, and yet these laws were honored in the breach.

Not one word or action from Southern leaders opposed this practice and it took Supreme Court action to end it legally, although the Deep South (which now professes a concern for legalism) is still disobeying the decree.

So we are not at all impressed by the arguments of Southern spokesmen suddenly espousing legal processes after all of these years of illegal practices.

AFFAIRS OF STATE

Clarion-Ledger
Jackson, Miss.
Sun. 7-14-57
P. 3

All Has Not Been Well In Washington De-Segregation

By CHARLES M. HILLS
Clarion Ledger Staff Writer

In the face of efforts to push through the Congress the infamous so-called civil rights bill, it must be embarrassing to backers of the minority - superiority act that integration is not well in Washington.

A few days ago, Edgar Davidson, president of the Washington NAACP, took sharp exception to the conduct of de-segregation by the chief of police in the nation's capital.

It took only a day for the police commissioner of the district to shut Davidson up with a demand for substantial proof of charges against the police chief.

Several days ago, there came to our desk from the District of Columbia Public Schools Association, which was founded, incidentally, in 1922, the following article:

EDUCATION BULLETIN

"President O. L. Bell, brought several matters before our meeting that lead to the inescapable conclusion that when the final history of the rise and fall of the American Republic is written, perhaps by future Russian historians, the present era will be shown to market the decline and fall of a once great people.

"Since the school desegregation ruling was brought forth, the bulk of ministers and educators, by now thoroughly psychologically conditioned, lent their misguided support, as did women's organizations, voter leagues, PTA and fellow travelers.

"This propaganda campaign continues with increasing hysteria. Segregation is claimed in the pulpit to be a violation of God's teachings; in schools it is asserted to be harmful to the white children, not to be able to sit with blacks. In politics, however, it is nothing more elevating than political expediency, with politicians trading honor for Negro and allied votes.

MIRACLE????

"In Washington, the school administration is distributing a pamphlet mis-named "A Miracle Of Social Adjustment". This is one of a series called Freedom Pamphlets distributed by Anti - Defamation League and written, we are informed by one Carl F. Hansen, assistand superintendent in charge of senior high schools in the District of Columbia and chairman of the Educational Committee of the National Conference of Christians and Jews in Washington. The "miracle is integration of schools, which is miraculous only in its persistence despite dismal failure.

"United States Information Agency, of the State Department has thrown its support behind this alleged miracle with a film, intended for foreign distribution, of integrated classes in McKinley High Shool. USIA, incidentally, is one of the most widespread and powerful propaganda agencies in the WORLD, under whose machinations not even the United States Congress could successfully withstand when it came to the matter of appropriations.

"The movie industry has taken up cudgels for integrated romance with such films as Edge of the City and Island in the Sun in which, for the first time in motion picture history, Blacks and Whites are placed in romantic situations for the youth of America to vision and emulate. Hollywood, of course, has never known morals — only restraints put upon it by the sensibilities of movie viewers. The film industry apparently now believes these sensibilities have been sufficiently dulled to accept bi-racial entertainment. We must boycott this race mixing now. If there is any pride left in the White Race —we must boycott this race mixing before it is too late. It is up to you and you and you.

AMAZING INCIDENT

We are reprinting the associations complaint to local authorities about the ever increasing racial violence in the Capitol city of our Country. One cannot help but feel that the infamous decision of May 17, 1954 has fostered much of the arrogance shown toward white by Negroes.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

On Easter Monday, April 21st, a particularly revolting incident occurred in the Zoological Park near the Klingle Ford. This particular instance, which is only one of a long list of race incidents, because of the large number of persons involved and the strange inability of park guards and police to interfere with or apprehend any of the attackers.

This inquiry is made only after thorough investigation of the case by one of our members who himself was recently the victim of similar attack. He has interviewed some of the young people who were attacked. They have taken him over the scene of the attack.

These young couples entered the Zoo Park on foot from Porter Street at Beech Drive. Reaching Klingle Ford, they found the level of water too high for crossing. While searching for a spot where they could cross, they noticed two teenage Negroes walk past and join a gang of Negroes some distance away which appeared to be engaged in some altercation among themselves.

150 NEGROES ATTACK

With some 150 Negroes in the gang, the six white youths decided they had better leave and started back the way they had come. However, the two Negro boys apparently drew attention to them. Before they could make their escape, the Negro gang had surrounded them and separated the white boys from their companions. The boys were beaten and the girls indecently handled.

One white boy escaped, swam Rock Creek and asked a passing motorist to call police. He then returned to help his companions. He was met with a barrage of sticks and rocks and thrown bodily back into the creek.

Fighting his way back to his girl companion, he found her on the ground with a mob of Negroes vying with each other to get their hands on her body. During this excitement, the other four whites had escaped. This girl had been rendered semi-conscious by a blow with a rock. Undoubtedly the only thing that saved her from rape was that too many of the Negroes were simultaneously making the attempt. The white youth was then severely beaten with a chain.

POLICE RELUCTANT

At this point the Park Police arrived and the Negro gang fled. When urged by the white youth to arrest some of the Negroes, he was told they could not get away because the Zoo gates were guarded. However, the fact remains that two Negro guards a short distance away had made no effort to stop the attack and no arrests have we direct to you, Mr. Edward J. Kelly, Superintendent Capitol National Parks, appear pertinent in view of the apparent freedom from arrest which this and other Negro gangs enjoy:

Why are arrests so seldom made in such attacks as this?

Are the police under orders not to interfere with Negroes intent upon rape and violence in such attacks as this, which one of your policemen described as "The most vicious thing I've witnessed in 13 years of police work"?

been made up to this time, so far as we know.

Senator Drafts Rights Rider For Jury Trial

Advertiser P.1
Mon. 7-8-57
Montgomery, Ala.

WASHINGTON, July 7 (AP)—Sen. O'Mahoney (D-Wyo) announced today he is drafting a jury-trial amendment he said he hopes the Senate will attach to the civil rights bill passed by the House.

Sen. Knowland of California, the Republican floor leader, has said he will move tomorrow to bring the House bill before the Senate.

Knowland's motion is subject to unlimited debate and he has indicated he will try to hold the Senate in lengthy sessions to wear out Southern speakers before attempting to force a vote on a debate-limitation motion.

TERMS WITHHELD

Pending action by the Senate to bring the bill actually before it, O'Mahoney withheld the terms of his proposed amendment. In general, it was expected to make provision for jury trials in some contempt cases in federal court actions brought by the government to enforce voting and other civil rights.

Sen. Russell (D-Ga) said Southern opponents of the bill will back the O'Mahoney amendment. He made it clear that even if it were adopted, the Southerners will continue to oppose the bill by every means, including a filibuster.

In an interview, O'Mahoney left open the question of whether he would vote for a debate limitation, which can be applied only if 64 senators vote "yes."

DEBATE STRATEGY

"I'll decide on that later," he said. Southerners have been hoping that O'Mahoney would support them in their resistance to a debate limitation. They have about 20 votes from the South. They hope Sens. Hayden (D-Ariz) and Frear (D-Del) will join them in opposing a debate cut-off. They believe they have a chance to get as many as eight Republican votes.

That would put them on the borderline of the 32 votes necessary to defeat a filibuster-ending motion, if all of the present 95 members of the Senate were on hand for the test.

The Southerners delivered surprise support recently for Senate passage of the bill to authorize a high federal dam at Hells Canyon. Subsequently several Northern and Western Democrats voted with the Southerns against placing the House civil rights bill directly on the Senate's calendar.

One of these, Sen. Mansfield (D-Mont, denied this involved any 'deal." Mansfield, a supporter of the Hells Canyon bill afterwards shelved by a House committee, said he will vote to end an expected filibuster against the civil rights measure.

O'Mahoney's jury trial amendment is certain to be fought vigorously by Republican and Democratic supporters of the civil rights bill. They claim it would "emasculate" the measure because they contend, Southern juries won't convict violators of court orders in civil rights cases.

Sen. Douglas (D-Ill), a supporter of the bill, said he thinks Southern judges can be depended upon to do what is right in civil rights cases.

"They are not prejudiced men," he said. "They live in the South. These federal judges were in most cases appointed by Southern senators, and were approved certainly by them. And they have life tenure, so that they are in a sense insulated against the passions and prejudices of the community.

"White jurors, on the other hand, who might wish to see justice, have to go back into and be subject to the pressures of their communities."

RADIO PROGRAM

Douglas appeared with Sen. Javits (R-NY) on an AFL-CIO radio program in support of the civil rights measure.

The two agreed Southern opponents ought to have the opportunity to debate the bill for two weeks before action is taken to end the talk.

Douglas said a filibuster will be difficult to break.

Javits said Sen. Russell (D-Ga) was correct in telling the Senate last week that the terms of the proposed new law could be applied to school integration cases. But he denied there was involved any "threat of force" or "bayonet rule" such as Russell suggested.

10 1957

South Looks to Ike for Softer Civil Rights Bill

Herald P.16-a Thurs. 7-11-57 Miami Fla.

WASHINGTON — (AP) — Southern foes of the civil rights bill were reported Wednesday to be looking to the Eisenhower administration for a compromise offer which might soften the measure.

Their hopes appeared to be aroused by a report from Sen. Richard Russell (D., Ga.) that President Eisenhower's "mind is open . . . not closed to amendments which would clarify the bill."

Russell, leader of the Southern opposition, spent about 50 minutes with the president Wednesday. He said he asked for the appointment to discuss the bill, with particular reference to some provisions he regards as "very extreme."

Eisenhower was understood to have made no commitments and to have mentioned no specific compromise proposals.

Meanwhile, Senate debate on a motion to bring the bill to the floor entered its third day, with Sen. John Sparkman (D., Ala.) attacking what he said were the bill's grants of authority to federal judges to penalize persons for contempt of court without jury trials.

Sparkman contended the legislation's attempt to improve voting rights would strike down a fundamental American right that had been won during centuries of struggle in this country and England.

Under the bill, he said, judges could issue injunctions against local voting and school officials and then impose penalties without jury trials. "This represents bad law," he declared.

In the course of private compromise talk on Capitol Hill it was pointed out that the administration could proposed changes in the language of the bill passed by the House June 18.

It was said the changes might be proposed at the proper time by Sen. William F. Knowland of California, the Republican leader, as a result of conferences with Attorney General Herbert Brownell and others.

There seemed little likelihood that any proposals would be brought forward publicly until there is a vote on Knowland's motion to bring the bill actually before the Senate.

Anderson Airs 'Rights' Amendment

Post + Times Herald P.1 Mon. 7-15-57

Plan Would Permit U. S. Injunctions In Vote Cases Only

Washington D.C.

By Jack Bell
Associated Press

Supporters of the Administration's civil rights bill split yesterday over the issue of scrapping a section which critics contend is aimed at "punitive" action against the South.

Sen. Clinton P. Anderson (D-N. M.) announced he was drafting an amendment paralleling one offered Saturday by Sen. Richard B. Russell (D-Ga.), captain of the bil's opponents.

Anderson said his proposal would strike from the House-passed bill Part III. This authorizes the Attorney General to seek Federal Court injunctions against violations or threatened violations of civil rights in general. Judges who issue the injunctions could enforce their obedience with fines and jail sentences without jury trials.

Anderson's amendment would not disturb another section permitting similar action in cases involving voting rights. President Eisenhower has said the protection of such rights is the primary objective of the legislation.

Other Features

Other sections of the bill would establish a civil rights commission to make a two-year study of civil rights problems, and create a Civil Rights Division in the Justice Department headed by an Assistant Attorney General.

Sen. Karl E. Mundt (R-S. D.), describing himself as a "neutral" in the fight, announced Saturday he would offer a substitute bill which would strike out Part III and also include a so-called jury trial amendment previously offered by Sen. Joseph C. O'Mahoney (D-Wyo.). This would provide for jury trials in Federal Court contempt cases where the facts are in dispute.

Mundt's plan also would restrict the subpoena powers of the proposed civil rights study commission.

Post + Times Herald P.2-A

Sen. Paul H. Douglas (D-Ill.), like Anderson a supporter of the House bill, said in a separate interview he would fight any effort to eliminate Part III.

"I shall resist any amendment," he added. "The bill is OK the way it is. It is a moderate bill."

Anderson, who led an unsuccessful fight last January to eliminate filibusters by changing the Senate's rules, said he has become convinced the House bill is "too stringent."

"When millions of people in the South register opposition to this bill, as they have through their Senators, it is time to stop and think about its enforcement," Anderson said. "We should remember prohibition as an example.

"I want the Negroes to vote and I believe that if Congress passes a bill guaranteeing them the right to vote it will be respected. But if the South does not then cooperate to let them vote, it will not be difficult to amend the bill to put some enforcement teeth in it."

Russell hailed Anderson's statement as "highly encouraging" in advance of a vote Tuesday by which the Senate is expected to bring the Administration bill officially before it.

"Sen. Anderson is an acknowledged leader of the civil rights forces," Russell said. "I am encouraged when he agrees that punitive measures should not be taken against the South.

"Some folks seem to believe that the South needs a guardian in the form of the Attorney General, but I don't believe that is the majority sentiment of the country.

The Senate resumes debate today on a motion by Senate Republican Leader William F. Knowland of California to take up the bill. Southern opponents, who blasted at the measure during six days of debate last week, seemed likely to consume most of the time until the Senate votes, by unanimous agreement, late Tuesday.

Douglas, who has joined Sen. Jacob K. Javits (R-N. Y.) and others in urging the bill's backers not to talk of compromise, said the primary objective of the measure is to protect the right of Negroes and others to vote.

Dixie's Hour of Trial

Post-Herald P.12 Tues. 7-16-57 B'ham Ala.

Southern senators, going all-out to defeat the Administration's civil rights bill, are winning some support from Northern liberals.

From Sen. Clinton Anderson of New Mexico, a former secretary of agriculture, has come a move to eliminate a section which would authorize the attorney general to seek Federal injunctions against violations or threatened violations of civil rights.

Said Sen. Anderson, "When millions of people in the South register opposition to this bill, as they have through their senators, it is time to stop and think about its enforcement. We should remember prohibition as an example."

Such a change should encourage those senators who have set themselves to stop this measure.

Backing the bill whole-heartedly are those law-makers from Northern states who are hoping to win Negro votes in future elections.

A vital part of the measure involves voting rights and this is the portion which could have most far-reaching effects in parts of the South.

Consider the effect of wholesale enfranchisement in Alabama counties where the Negro population far outnumbers the whites.

This is indeed another hour of trial for crisis-plagued Dixie.

We look to our senators to stand firmly to the end.

Civil Rights Meeting

Post-Herald Mon. 7-8-57 B'ham Ala. P.10

(From Washington Daily News)

A crisis in orderly self government could result from a filibuster over the civil rights bill now pending in the Senate.

Bitter debate would deepen sectional wounds. It would fix minds in stubborn patterns and thus delay progress in adjustment of racial problems. It would stifle essential legislative processes, perhaps for the rest of the Summer.

It is the obvious duty of good and patriotic citizens to avert this tragedy if it can be done without sacrificing principle. Two widely contrasting statements, in the last few days, suggest at least an approach.

The statements were by Sen. Richard B. Russell of Georgia and by President Eisenhower—statements so different in interpretation that they seem not to concern the same piece of legislation.

The bill is proclaimed as a protector of voting rights. Sen. Russell said plenty of existing laws protect such rights.

He charged the legislation is cunningly drawn to conceal a devious purpose which is "to authorize the use of the military forces of the United States against the white people of the South to compel them, if necessary at bayonet point, to do away with the separation of the races in any phase of public life."

He added he doubts "whether the full implications of this bill have been explained" to the President by its authors.

These remarks brought prompt notice from Mr. Eisenhower who admitted there were phrases in the bill he "didn't completely understand" but said the objective he was seeking was to "prevent anybody illegally from interfering with any individual's right to vote." He stated the steps proposed were, in his mind, "a very moderate move." He considered the criticism "rather incomprehensible" but added he was "always ready to listen to anybody's presentation . . . of his views."

Informed of this, Sen. Russell said he would be glad to meet with the President. But neither has publicly made the direct move and we respectfully suggest Mr. Eisenhower should take the initiative.

A meeting of the minds may be too much to expect, but a meeting of these two men might at least shed some light on what the bill actually means. It could narrow the field of conflict, bring some reassurance as to motives and take some of the rancor out of the fight.

Any accomplishment along this line, even though small, would be to the obvious benefit of the country.

Pat on back for exposing liberal Dems' rights deal

Afro-American P. 13
Baltimore Md.

WASHINGTON (NNPA) — Meade Alcorn, chairman of the Republican National Committee, has been congratulated by L. Judson Morhouse, chairman of the New York Republican State Committee, on his statement charging that and liberal Democrats had made a deal to scuttle civil rights.

Mr. Alcorn said six northern liberal Democrats had voted with the Dixiecrats to send the House - approved civil rights bill to the Senate Judiciary Committee, headed by Senator James O. Eastland (Dixiecrat, of Miss.).

Sat. 7-6-57

Next day, he added, they were joined by more than a dozen anti - civil rights southern senators in support of a bill to build the Hells Canyon Dam. "Obviously, there was a deal to swap off civil rights for Hells Canyon," Mr. Alcorn said.

In a telegram to Mr. Alcorn, which the chairman of the Republican National Committee made public Thursday, Mr. Morhouse said:

"LET ME congratulate you on helping expose the sellout by six so - called Democrat liberals in the Senate on the civil rights bill.

"I refer to the obvious trade between Sens. Kenney (Massachusetts), Magnuson (Washington), Mansfield (Montana), Murray (Montana), O'Mahoney (Wyoming) and Morse (Oregon) whereby they voted to bottle up in the Eastland controlled Senate Judiciary Committee the House - passed civil rights bill in exchange for five southern votes for the Hells Canyon project, all of which had been cast against Hells Canyon heretofore.

* * *

"THIS IS one of the shabbiest political tricks in the history of the Democrat party and already we are receiving calls from leaders throughout New York State assuring us that voters in their areas who looked to the Democrats for civil rights action are through with them forever.

"Not only has this exposed the civil rights sham of the so - called Democrat liberals but it has made it perfectly clear that the Republican party is the only political instrument today which honestly and sincerely and with its votes backs civil rights."

Public Defenders

Journal and Guide

THE assignment of defense counsel by the courts is not the best way to assist moneyless defendants in criminal cases, says ATTORNEY GENERAL HERBERT BROWNELL, JR. Instead, he says, there should be public defenders, an office equal in importance to that of public prosecutor. This would insure more competent defense than the present system of appointing anyone whom the judge happens to bear in mind. Some states already have public defenders.

Sat. 3-23-57

There is a special reason for making the change. While in the states defense lawyers appointed by the court are paid a prescribed fee, there is no such provision for the federal courts.

Recently a trial of Communist leaders in an Ohio federal court lasted several months. A lawyer assigned by the court to defense work would have had to serve for this length of time without pay, a sacrfice which should not be required. In this instance the federal judge persuaded the leading law firms of Cleveland to assign members of their staffs to defend the Communists, and pay them for the task.

Norfolk, Va. P. 8

The authorization of compensation for lawyers defending prisoners in federal court would remedy this injustice. A better way, however, would be to have regularly chosen public defenders.

Rights Bout Opens Today In Senate

Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.
Mon. 7-8-57

Talkathon May Last 2 Months

P. 7

By ALLEN DREWRY

(Copyright 1957 by The New York Times Co.)

WASHINGTON, July 7 — The Senate plunges tomorrow into a civil rights fight that may call forth the granddaddy of all filibusters.

The possibility of a compromise that could bring a speedy windup of debate has all but vanished in the face of adamant southern rejection. Instead, it seems likely that the Senate will settle down for an "extended discussion" that could run for two months or more.

Sen. Knowland (Calif), the Republican leader, is expected to touch off the fireworks about 2 p.m. tomorrow when he makes a motion to take the House-passed administration civil rights bill off the Senate calendar and make it the pending business.

EQUALLY DETERMINED

At that point, barring some last-minute bargain to delay a full-scale debate until next January—a prospect considered remote at best—there will begin a parliamentary struggle in which two opposing camps, equally determined, will attempt to wear each other down through sheer exhaustion.

At issue is a bill, passed 286-126 by the House on June 18, that contains these main features:

1. It would permit the Department of Justice to intervene, in the name of the United States, against actual or threatened civil rights violations, either with or without the consent of the victim. This would be done by obtaining an injunction from a federal judge against the violation or threatened violation of any civil right, such as voting or the right to attend a racially integrated school. Persons violating the injunction could be tried by the judge, without benefit of jury, and could be fined or imprisoned for contempt.

2. It would create an assistant attorney general to head a new civil rights division in the Justice department.

3. It would create a temporary civil rights commission.

Sen. Stennis (D-Mass) summed up the southern attitude today when he declared on the NBC-TV program, "The American Forum," that "we will fight it until we fall in our tracks, if necessary." Some supporters of the legislation, however, expressed cautious optimism.

Sen. Douglas (D-Ill) and Javits (R-NY) were already talking about the possibility of allowing the southerners two weeks to discuss the matter, and then forcing the imposition of closure, or limited debate. Appearing on an AFL-CIO radio program in favor of the bill, they agreed the measure could muster at least 49 votes on a straight test. Douglas admitted, however, that a closure limitation, requiring 64 votes, would make a filibuster "hard to break."

Constitution

KENNEDY PREDICTS

Sen. Kennedy (D-Mass) appearing with Rep. Keating (R-NY) on a television program for New York stations, predicted the Senate would pass the bill after a "rather hard fought struggle."

P. 6

Sen. Purtell (R-Conn) said the bill's supporters "mean business in getting civil rights legislation." He said he was hopeful proponents could muster enough votes to invoke closure after a reasonable period of debate.

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Stennis, who appeared with one of the bill's authors, Sen. Watkins (R-Utah) charged that the bill "is aimed primarily at the South. It is directed primarily to the school problem."

Watkins replied that the measure was "very moderate" in that it did not include "F.E.P.C., anti-lynching, the poll tax" and other issues. He said it had been "farthest from my thoughts" that the bill might be used to enforce racial integration in the schools.

"NEVER SURRENDER"

Stennis said he and his fellow Southerners would "never surrender on the Senate floor" on the jury-trial issue that they have made their principal argument against the bill. Support for their stand on this point came today from Sen. O'Mahoney (D-Wyo), who said he was readying a jury-trial amendment to the bill.

Stennis colleague, Sen. Eastland (D-Miss), chairman of the Senate judiciary committee that delayed civil rights action earlier in the session, issued a separate statement in which he said the administration bill would deprive newspapers of "one of their most stoutly defended rights—the right to conceal their sources of information."

Eastland said the bill would have the effect of revising and reactivating a law enacted in "the inflamed reconstruction era" known as the "compulsory informer act."

"UNLIMITED DANGERS"

"It provides unlimited damages against anyone who neglects or refuses to reveal information relative to any interference or violation of the so-called civil rights of others," Eastland said. "In its revised and easily enforceable form this law not only would apply to newspapers and all other media of the press, but also to individuals."

He said the law had been dormant because it required that violations be tried before juries.

"The administration's civil rights bill," he said, "would circumvent this trial-by-jury obstacle by authorizing purported violations of the compulsory informer act to be tried before a judge without a jury."

Sen. Ervin D-NC), another opponent of the bill, said there was no possibility of a compromise. He conceded, however, that the addition of amendments including jury trial, restrictions on the attorney general's authority and "administrative remedies" might make it hard to beat an attempt to impose cloture.

Even so, he said, "they can't patch up the bill enough to get my vote"—a sentiment echoed by the leader of the Southern bloc, Sen. Russell of Georgia, who said in a separate interview that the Southerners would support the O'Mahoney amendment but would still vote against the bill.

Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.
Sun 7-14-57

Statewide Protest Convention Urged If Congress Passes Civil Rights Bill

By KEN FLYNN

A joint resolution was introduced in the House Friday calling for a statewide protest convention if the U.S. Congress passes a pro-integration civil rights measure.

Rep. T. K. Selman of Jasper, author of the resolution, said the convention would be called by the governor "to unite the people of Alabama in the effort to maintain segregation" if Congress passes the civil rights legislation now before it.

SELMAN

In an impassioned plea to the House, Selman called his resolution "a liberty resolution, not merely for or against segregation."

Selman proposed the governor call a convention and all counties in the state elect representatives to express a protest to Congressional integration measures. The governor would be empowered to invite other Southern states to take part in the protest.

"The poeple of the North are stirring up trouble among the Negroes in the South to place us at an economic disadvantage," Selman said.

"Big industry is shying away from the South because of the segregation problem and that's the way it's always been," he said. "I have never believed the War Between the States was fought on the Slavery question. We were exploited by the North for economic reasons."

Selman said his convention would "decide what action to take against Congressional civil rights measures."

"This is a liberty resolution," Selman said. "and liberty is not something you get without fighting."

Committee To Wrangle Over Highway Bonds

The House Ways and Means Committee will take up the State Highway Department's request for a $20 million road construction bond issue at its meeting next Tuesday, July 16, Chairman George C. Hawkins of Gadsden announced Friday.

HAWKINS

Discussion of the controversial measure will begin at 10 a.m. in the House chamber. Anti-administration members on the committee are expected to amend it beyond recognition.

Other House committees scheduled to meet next week are:

Agriculture, 11:30 a.m., July 16, Lounge; Constitution and Elections, 9 a.m., July 17, Room 332; Local Government, 10 a.m., July 17, House Chamber; Judiciary, 9 a.m., July 17, Room 334; Joint meeting House and Senate Judiciary Committee, 10 a.m., July 16, Senate Chamber.

Constitutional Rewrite Proposed By Davis

A bill calling for a constitutional convention was introduced in the House Friday, the second such measure attempted by administration leaders in a year and a half.

DAVIS

The measure was introduced by Rep. Bryce C. Davis of Cullman and backed by Gov. James E. Folsom. The bill provides for the calling of a convention to assemble Dec. 10, 1957, to revamp the Alabama Constitution.

The last concerted effort by Folsom to call a convention was at a special meeting of the legislature in January, 1956. The bill was defeated soundly. Folsom has frequently referred to the need for revision of the State Constitution.

Davis' bill sets Nov. 5, 1957, as the date for a statewide referendum on the convention proposal and election of delegates.

The delegates—who would be paid the same as legislators — would frame and adopt a revised constitution to be submitted to the voters in another election for their ratification or rejection.

The administration bill was sent to the House Constitution and Elections Committee headed by Rep. James A. Branyon II of Fayette. The bill is expected to get a favorable report.

8-Hour Day Urged For Mill Operators

A labor bill, designating an eight-hour day for licensed mill operators, passed the House Friday.

Reps. Bryce C. Davis of Cullman and Ralph Windle of Carrollton sponsored the measure, which prescribes the license tax for operators of saw mills, heading mills and stave mills.

WINDLE

Davis said the bill was aimed at eliminating ten-hour days among mill operators. Licensed operators would have to work an eight-hour day.

Law Gets Law Degree At Montgomery School

Rep. Carol Jack Law of Wetumpka was a busy man Friday. After the regular session of the Legislature he attended his last night at Jones Law School here.

Law received his Bachelor of Law degree along with 12 other gradutes of the school. Atty. Gen. John Patterson delivered the commencement address.

Folsom's Water Bills Given House Approval

Two waterways development bills sponsored by Rep. E. B. Haltom and others, passed the House Friday, a major administration achievement.

The bills had the full support of Gov. James E. Folsom, who gladhanded his way through the Lower Chamber during an unexpected visit to urge passage of the legislation.

The bills set up a $20 million program for construction of inland docks and waterways on major Alabama rivers.

Under the bills, lobbyists would be established in Washington to promote water development projects in Alabama.

Folsom has been an ardent advocate of improving the state's water transportation system, stating it would "bring more industry to Alabama."

House Defeats Last-Ditch Efforts By South To Amend Rights Bill

Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.
Tues. 6-18-57

By ALBERT RILEY
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, June 17 — The House today beat down all major Southern amendments to the civil rights bill and concluded debate on the controversial proposal, but will wait until tomorrow for a final vote.

Passage of the bill is assured and it will then go to the Senate where Northern Liberals may seek to by-pass established Senate committee procedures and get a quick vote on it there.

Under House rules, no more amendments may be offered to the bill tomorrow. But there could be one last ditch and seemingly hopeless motion by the Southerners to send it back to committee.

When the debate ended late today, Majority Leader McCormack (Mass) asked and received unanimous consent that further action on the bill be postponed until 11 a.m. tomorrow. This was done to get an engrossed copy of the bill, a procedure the Southerners could have demanded if McCormack hadn't made this move.

It simply postponed the final House vote by one day.

The Dixie congressmen were defeated last Friday on a key vote in an attempt to write a jury trial proviso into the bill. The vote then was 199 to 167.

They tried again today with a similar amendment to guarantee trial by jury to defendants accused of violating a civil rights injunction, but failed, 163 to 141.

Rep. E. L. (Tic) Forrester of Georgia spoke in vain for adoption of this amendment.

Then the Southerners lost, 146 to 127, on an amendment that would have provided that administrative and state judicial remedies would have to be exhausted before the U.S. attorney general entered into prosecution of a civil rights case.

The Northern liberals then even refused to adopt an amendment that would have prohibited a defendant in a civil rights injunction case from being tried before a judge outside the judicial circuit in which the alleged offense was committed. The vote on this was 118 to 108.

One of the handful of Republican allies of the South, Rep. Hoffman (Mich), then offered a substitute to the bill which would do away with the proposed civil rights commission. It was rejected by voice vote.

Hoffman warned the House that "the ADA, the NAACP and four or five other groups that don't like our government and never have," will control the commission.

The Southerners finally managed to win by voice vote one minor amendment, put forward by Rep. Whitener (D-NC). It

would require the judge in a civil rights case to appoint legal counsel for a defendant if the defendant was not financially able to hire a lawyer.

Forrester made another impassioned speech against the bill from the floor of the House in arguing for one of the amendments.

The little Georgian attacked the bill as one espoused by "a centralized government intoxicated with power" and said its passage will mean that the entire Communist party platform of 1928 will have been carried out as far as racial objectives in America are concerned.

"You are doing everything the Communists asked for," Forrester warned, "and still we are faced with an all-out threat of war by the Communists. You cannot apease them.

"You have maligned my people of the South," he continued, "and I am ashamed of the contempt demonstrated on the floor of this House for my people. I resent it. You have branded my people as felons.

"You may whip us, but our heads are unbowed. My people will march through the fiery furnace unafraid and unashamed," he added as he accused the House Democrats and Republicans alike of officiating at "the funeral of states' rights and constitutional rights."

after the Republicans undercut the Negro in the South to save the election of Rutherford B. Hayes.

The Republicans have lived to rue that day long ago when they agreed to pull the reconstruction troops out of the South in exchange for Hayes' election. That, for all practical purposes, ended the two-party system south of the Mason-Dixon line.

By 1960 the Republicans will need all the votes they can get. And the party's future in many industrial communities of the North depends on what it does about the Negro in the South.

The pending civil rights bill involves many areas of Negro-white friction, but chief among them is the right to vote.

This week the real battle will start, with the Southerners trying to add every variety of crippling amendment, hoping to so water it down or make it obnoxious with side issues that even the mother of the child will turn away.

The bill sanctions use of federal court injunctions against anyone who tries to interfere with a Negro's exercise of his "civil rights," including the right to vote.

If the court injunction were ignored, the court could punish the violators for contempt

ence between the two bodies to reconcile differences, and final action in both houses.

When congressional wordage on civil rights for 1957 is totaled it will probably double the content of the New Testament — but the impact will be somewhat less.

What Happened On The Legal Front

RALEIGH, N.C.—The House Thursday approved and sent to the Senate a revival of the old common law offense of "barratry" in an effort to rob the NAACP of its right to assist in integration cases. Six young legislators opposed its passage as "unnecessary" and "unconstitutional."

* * *

WASHINGTON — House Speaker Sam Rayburn Thursday rejected a Southern move to send the Eisenhower civil rights bill back to the Judiciary Committee. He overruled the contention of Rep. Howard Smith (D., Va.) that the bill should be reconsidered because it violated a minor technicality.

* * *

WASHINGTON — The action of Sen. Eastland's Judiciary Committee in tacking a jury trial amendment to the Eisenhower civil rights bill is not "too significant," Senate Republican Leader William Knowland believes, because in the end the issue will have to be fought out in the Senate itself. The amendment renders the

week in letters addressed to several officials. The record showed 27 homicides in the city during the past 22 weeks.

* * *

CHARLOTTE, N.C. — In what is obviously the beginning of a court test of this state's pupil assignment law, parents of several colored children will ask their assignment to white schools this week, NAACP state president, Key Aexander predicted Friday.

Hennings Ired Over 'No Action'

Missourian Fights To Get Judiciary Committee Approval

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (INS) — Senator Thomas C. Hennings (D) of Missouri, leading backer of the civil rights bill now bottled up in the Senate Judiciary committee said Monday that "It is the same old hocus pocus, the same old clap trap. Nobody does anything about it."

He declared that Republicans blame the Democrats and Democrats blame Republicans in the failure of Congress over the past 20 years to enact legislation in the field.

Johnson told Knowland that the house is making considerably more progress on civil rights than when Republicans controlled Congress in 1953 and 1954.

Sen. Sam Ervin (D) N. C., called the rights bill the "most damnable, most indefensible bill ever laid before a legislative body in America."

It was Ervin who stalled off any action on the measure in the judiciary committee Monday.

He presented and discussed at length a proposal which would kill a major part of the legislation. Chairman James O. Eastland (D) Miss., told newsmen after the closed session that Ervin held the floor throughout the 90-minute meeting but yielded at times for questions and observations.

Sen. Hennings said Saturday that a move was underway whereby he would try to initiate a move to force the Judiciary committee to meet "mornings, afternoons and evenings" until a civil rights bill is reported to the Senate.

Hennings, although "reluctant to use the ugly word 'filibuster,'" said lengthy hearings were essential because of "inordinately protracted discussion in the committee."

But, Sens. Olin D. Johnston (D) S.C., and Sam J. Ervin (D) N. C., vowed to do "anything we can to kill the bill" which they described as unconstitutional, insulting and indefensible.

ing rights of Negroes. It would also establish a presidential commission to investigate offenses.

The two southern senators maintained the bill is based on the "strange thesis that the best way to promote the civil rights of some Americans is to rob other Americans of civil rights equally precious."

They said the legislation would "inevitably give rise to the charge that it is being used — for political purposes" because it is being offered "when never-ending agitation on racial subjects by both designing and sincere men impairs our national sanity."

Negro Vote Essential to 1960 Victory

Monday, June 10, 1957 THE MIAMI HERALD

Civil Rights Stand May Decide GOP's Future

By ROBERT E. HOYT
Of Our Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — After 80 years of struggling with its conscience, the Republican Party is once again determined to rehabilitate the South.

HOYT

That's the reason Congress is debating the conflicts involved in two historic "rights" that churn up superpatriotic phrases — the right to vote and the right to a jury trial.

This is the big civil rights bill debate of 1957 — 80 years

of court.

The Dixiecrat legal eagles — and they've been joined by some liberals — say a federal judge should not have such power. They say no one should be punished without a jury trial.

Attorney Gen. Herbert Brownell says jury trial should be an absolute guarantee only in a criminal case.

He says, too, that a jury trial would drag out such cases so long, that the election would be over and the right to vote merely an academic question.

Presuming that Republicans and Yankee Democrats can muster enough votes this week to pass some sort of civil rights bill, enforceable law still must await Senate action, a confer-

bill "meaningless" said Sen. Arthur Watkins (R., Utah) who voted against it in committee.

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — Ignoring the Supreme Court's ruling that such segregation was unconstitutional, the City Commission last week passed an ordinance making it "unlawful for white and colored persons to enter, visit or use in any way a public park except those assigned to their respective races." There are 15 public parks for the city's 70,000 white persons and two for the 50,000 colored residents.

* * *

MOBILE, Ala. — Increased use of colored members on Mobile County juries and a plea for juries to give stiffer sentences to colored persons who kill other colored persons were asked by the Inter-Denominational Ministerial Alliance last

stale-mate.

Hennings has been fighting for weeks to get the Judiciary committee to approve the civil rights bill and send it on to the Senate floor. So far he has been unsuccessful.

Senate Democratic Leader Lyndon B. Johnson said Monday, however, that he still expects action at this session of Congress on civil rights even though opponents continue to bottle up the bill in committee.

The Texan said he has been informed by members of the Senate Judiciary committee that they expect "some action of some kind" on the legislation before the end of May.

Johnson made the statement on the floor in response to a question by Senate Minority Leader William F. Knowland (R) Calif., which touched off a considerable discussion of political blame for

The legislation still languishes in committee in both house and Senate and a vote this session is now questionable despite earlier contentions by Congressional leaders that some action would be taken.

Hennings said Saturday he would ask the committee Monday to meet "mornings, afternoons and evenings except Sundays—until a Senate."

civil rights bill is reported to the

Johnston and Ervin promised unyielding opposition to the bill during a news conference in which they contended the administration's proposals were "an insulting and insupportable indictment of a whole people."

They said a provision which would permit civil rights cases to be heard without a jury implied that southern jurors would authorize the federal courts to issue injunctions to protect the vot-

Ballot Key Weapon In Fight For Rights

Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

Sat 7-6-57

By SAM LACY

DETROIT—Use of the ballot was pinpointed as the most important weapon in the fight for civil rights, throughout the weeklong convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

p.13

Not only was this the theme of most of the major speeches, but it was the one subject hammered into the consciousness of listeners at each of the daily workshop conferences.

Twice daily the delegates attending the "politics and civil rights" regional meetings were reminded that they have an obligation to themselves and to the nation as a whole.

* * *

CLARENCE MITCHELL, the association's "Capitol watchdog," told a Thursday gathering: "It does no good for people to just wander into a congressman's office and tell him they are for or against something.

"The visitor must know what he's talking about. He must be able to tell him how the folks back home feel about the matter in question and, most of all, he must impress upon the congressman the fact that those folks back home have their eyes on him."

The previous day, Charles J. Francis, a workshop leader from Dayton, Ohio, had declared: "We are missing the boat when we sit idly by and let politicians think that we can stand to be ignored.

* * *

"IT IS up to the delegates and all their associates to let the members of the American Congress know we intend to give them no rest, in season, out of season, all year round."

That was the essence of admonitions, repeated over and over by the Rev. Denzil Carty, a workshop chairman from St. Paul, Minn.

It was Mr. Mitchell, however, who attracted the main attention in this phase of the convention.

In an exhaustive analysis of the political situation as it pertains to the colored citizen today, the head of the Washington bureau told how a legislator's vote can be influenced by the presence of his constituents in the Capitol gallery.

He pointed out why it is important for the NAACP to get people to the right place at the right time.

* * *

HE TOLD how the 1952 and 1956 departures from traditional Democratic party allegiance had impressed the nation with the colored man's newly found political strength.

Mr. Mitchell stressed the importance to getting across to both parties that the tan vote is not hopelessly lost, unless one or the other of the major political parties "pulls the trigger that commits suicide."

Democrats have lost some close contests, Mr. Mitchell asserted, because colored voters were convinced that a ballot for a Democratic senatorial candidate was a vote for Senator Eastland and his like.

South Can Beat Rights, Coleman Says

Post-Herald Thurs. 7-4-57

JACKSON, July 3 (UP)—Gov J. P. Coleman expressed confidence today that the South will be able to overcome any civil rights measure passed by Congress this session.

p.3

Coleman said he believes if the bill now before the Senate passes it will be with an amendment providing trial by jury but even in its present form "we will be able to meet it."

In a press conference, Coleman also said he:

1. Fears high interest rates may force a delay in construction of schools under the state's equalization program and the state may have to rely on its $550,000 a month income for buildings.

2. Is opposed to outlawing the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People as proposed by Lt. Gov. Carroll Gartin unless the organization starts "fomenting litigation."

3. Fears a crop disaster in Mississipi which would worsen an already bleak agricultural outlook if current rains continue.

4. Sees no chance for salary increases for state employes.

5. Thinks public opposition to a constitutional convention has been "swamped."

6. Has not made up his mind about keeping part of the 14 per cent surtax but believes the best way to save the taxpayer money is through reorganization of county government at a constitutional convention.

Coleman said the civil rights bill before the Senate is "just a new propaganda weapon that can be turned on the South . . . It is designed to conduct a war of nerves and break the will of the South to resist infringment on the rights of states. But I don't think anybody in Mississippi will be frightened."

He predicted Southern senators will be successful in defeating it. He said its passage would leave Congress free to pass similar measures invading states rights in other fields.

Labor Answers Queries:

AFL-CIO News Washington, D.C.

Carey Asks Civil Rights Guides

LABOR calls upon Congress "to set certain standards" in civil rights "from which voluntary organizations can build," James B. Carey, AFL-CIO vice president, declared on the new AFL-CIO public service program, Labor Answers Your Questions, heard by recording on 150 radio stations.

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"We ask Congress to establish a floor of human conduct, below which no individual can transgress," said Carey. "We do not think the present proposed legislation goes far enough, but it is at least a start in honoring the pledges made by both parties."

Appearing with Carey was a panel of three persons, Julius Thomas, director of industrial relations of the National Urban League; Herman Edelsberg, director of the Washington office of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, and Irving Ferman, director of the Washington office of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Thomas brought up the fact that, "It has often been said that no laws of themselves can wipe out prejudice and bigotry."

"I would be inclined to agree that we cannot, by law, legislate fairness, brotherhood and equality," Carey commented. "There must be personal readjustments in the hearts and minds of men before all traces of bigotry can be eliminated. However, there is much which can and should be done by government and by voluntary organizations to make that personal adjustment as rapid and as meaningful as possible.

"Prejudice and bigotry are personal and subjective attitudes. But discrimination, segregation, lawlessness and inequality are social acts—and this society has a right and duty to eliminate them as soon as possible. Otherwise we will not be true to our democratic ideals.

"We only ask Congress and state legislative bodies to fulfill their responsibilities in accordance with the promise of our Declaration of Independence and our Constitution—in accordance with our Christian tradition."

Civil Rights Are Indivisible

Something for those to consider who are proposing short cuts to civil rights is that the whole Constitution and ideal of this country are our civil rights.

When you sacrifice one right to achieve another you endanger—and decrease—the total. Senator Russell made it plain in his speech Tuesday.

If the right to a jury trial is impeached in order to safeguard the right to vote, there is this net loss. And the same loss occurs all along the constitutional line.

In ultimate sense all rights are civil rights. States' rights are civil. The rights of Congress against the Supreme Court are civil, and of the Executive against each, and vice versa. And when the federal government (or the state either) undertakes action in areas never intended or authorized, there is violation of the most American civil right of all—the right to be let alone by the government.

If the founding fathers made a mistake, if they failed to look ahead enough, if they should have anticipated a future so social and interrelated that nothing short of a totalitarian central government and law would serve, we should face it and get a new Constitution. Certainly we should not undertake to cover the situation by ignoring the Constitution in one place and insisting on it in another, by sacrificing one civil right to make safe another. Most of us believe, or are supposed to believe, that no mistake was made, that liberty and justice for all can still be had in the great terms of the original Constitution and amendments.

When the South holds up a so-called civil rights bill in the Senate next week with a so-called filibuster, many a Southerner will be of good conscience about it for these reasons. We will rest assured that the way of the Constitution needs no short cuts—and can endure none.

Both Sides Plan All-Out Fight

WASHINGTON, July 7 (UP)— Friends and foes of President Eisenhower's civil rights bill clashed in preliminary skirmishes today as they maneuvered their forces for the all-out North-South fight due to explode in the Senate tomorrow.

Both sides were cautious about victory claims. Both publicly ruled out any hope of a compromise at least for the time being. Privately, some leaders hinted a compromise might be the final solution.

All foresaw a determined Southern filibuster that Senate Republican Leader William F. Knowland (Cal.) predicted will tie up the Senate for up to eight weeks. It was expected to be the longest talkathon since the two-month silver bill debate 64 years ago.

Knowland will touch off the battle about 2 p.m., tomorrow when he moves that the Senate take up the civil rights bill passed by the House last month.

That will spark the Southern filibuster, although the Dixie senators may save their big ammunition for a little later.

Sen. John C. Stennis (D., Miss.), meanwhile, charged that the bill was designed primarily "to put bayonets in the backs" of Southerners if necessary to force them to accept the Supreme Court's decision against school segregation.

Sen. Arthur V. Watkins (R., Utah), a co-sponsor of the bill who debated with Stennis on the NBC television show, "American Forum," replied that the legislation was aimed primarily at protecting Negro voting rights. He called it a "very moderate bill."

Stennis served notice, however, that the Southern senators intend to "fight it until we fall in our tracks" to protect the rights of their constituents. If Southern Negroes fully understood the bill, he said, they would also oppose the legislation.

He indicated he does not believe even some of the bill's proponents understand its implication. He said Eisenhower himself told his news conference last week that there were parts of the measure "I didn't completely understand."

Sen. Sam J. Ervin Jr. (D., N. C.), a foe of the legislation, said there was no possibility of a compromise. But he conceded that the Senate may change the House-approved bill in such a way as to make it difficult for the Southerners to defeat any "gag" attempt.

Among these concessions to the South, he said, would be amendments providing for jury trials in civil rights cases, restricting the authority of the attorney general, and what he called "administrative remedies." But he said he still would oppose the bill.

"They can't patch up the bill enough to get my vote," he said. "It doesn't give anybody in the universe any rights except the attorney general.

"If Congress enacts this bill it will be passing a public law and making it the private possession of one federal bureaucrat. That's not the sort of legislation we should have."

In past years, the Southerners have managed to filibuster to death all civil rights legislation. But the outlook for congressional approval of a bill this year is brighter.

The President's four-point bill would establish a presidential commission on civil rights; set up a civil rights division in the Justice Department; authorize government suits to protect civil rights, and protect Negro voting rights.

On the eve of the battle, senators favoring the legislation issued cautious victory statements. They included:

1. SEN. JOHN F. KENNEDY (D., Mass.), who predicted the Senate would pass the bill after a "rather hard fought" struggle. But he said "it's difficult to make any very firm prophesies."

2. SEN. WILLIAM A. PURTELL (R., Conn.), who said the bill's supporters "mean business in getting civil rights legislation." He added he hoped a "gag" would be imposed on the filibusterers after a sufficient number of days of debate.

3. SENS. PAUL DOUGLAS (D., Ill.) and **JACOB K. JAVITS** (R., N. Y.), who predicted eventual Senate approval of the measure after the Southern filibuster had run at least two weeks.

Sen. Richard B. Russell (D., Ga.), leader of the Southern forces, has demanded a national referendum on the issue. But Eisenhower rejected the idea as unconstitutional.

It was expected that Russell and other Southerners would fight to include in the bill a provision guaranteeing jury trials for persons accused of contempt for violating court civil rights injunctions.

Both Douglas and Javits opposed this amendment in discussing the civil rights bill on an AFL-CIO radio program over the American Broadcasting network. Douglas said the Southerners fear of federal judges is unjustified.

"They are not prejudiced men," he said. "They live in the South. These federal judges were in most cases appointed by Southern senators, and were approved certainly by them."

Douglas said the fact that federal judges hold office for life makes them more capable of judging a contempt case than a jury.

Southern Mothers In 'Front Line'

WASHINGTON, July 7 (AP) —Sen. Stennis (D., Miss.) said today the "front line of opposition" to civil rights legislation is made up of Southern mothers, not politicians.

Stennis said white mothers are gravely concerned about "questions of morality" which he said would arise from any intermingling of whites and Negroes in Southern public schools.

Sen. Watkins (R., Utah) appearing with Stennis in a television debate (NBC the American Forum), denied that the civil rights bill now on the Senate calendar was designed to promote school desegregation.

Stennis insisted the bill was cleverly drafted to force school integration, "at the point of a bayonet" if necessary.

DEBATE CLOSING ON RIGHTS BILL

House May Start Voting on Measure Today

WASHINGTON, June 10 (AP)—The House droned through its third and final round of general debate on civil rights legislation today, opening the way for voting on the highly controversial measure.

In the Senate, Sen. Dirksen (R-Ill) accused Southern foes of the legislation of filibustering in the Judiciary Committee. Sen. Eastland (D - Miss), the committee chairman, denied the charge after a closed-door session at which no action was taken on the disputed proposal.

"There is no filibuster," Eastland told reporters. "I think we have made progress and are effectively considering the bill."

Initial voting on the administration-backed proposal to protect voting rights of citizens may start in the House tomorrow if Southern opponents decide not to filibuster there. A final vote is scheduled for Thursday.

Poll Is Conducted

Whether foes of the bill will resort to delaying tactics or drive for a quick showdown depends on results of an informal opinion poll on a jury trial amendment. Southerners are backing such an amendment, which would guarantee a jury trial to any person cited for contempt arising from the proposed new law.

The Senate Judiciary Committee has approved the jury trial amendment, but it is not in the bill being considered by the House.

The House measure would permit federal courts to jail individuals for contempt if they violate injunctions provided for in the bill.

The administration and Northern Democrats insist that a jury trial provision would thwart the aim of the bill because juries in the South would be reluctant to convict defendants.

Southerners countered that failure to provide for jury trials would violate the Constitution and permit imprisonment without due process of law.

Uphill Fight Faced

Supporters of the amendment faced an uphill fight in the House. To win, they figure they must pick up 70 or more Republican votes and 10 or more Northern Democrat backers. They charged privately that Republicans were being "pressured" by the White House to oppose the amendment.

Southerners figure that if they can make a good showing on the amendment, even though losing, they will have won their fight. They reason that the Senate will include such an amendment—if it gets a chance to vote—and send the bill to a Senate-House conference.

Conferees would be reluctant to eliminate the provision in a compromise measure in the face of a strong House vote for it.

It was far from certain, however, that the Senate will ever get a chance to vote.

With adjournment of Congress set for early August, the bill's chances for final action this year lessen with each passing day of inaction.

10 1957

Albert Riley

Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.
Wed. 6-26-57

Will the Westerners Stand With South?

WASHINGTON—Power politics are warming up here these days as the first half of the 85th Congress nears home stretch and the sultry heat of summer begins to grip the nation's capital. President Eisenhower seems to reassert his leadership of the Republican Party. And the GOP lawmakers, with an eye on pivotal states in next year's congressional elections, push hard for civil rights action.

Southern Democrats, their long-standing coalition with conservative Republicans shattered by the GOP, retaliate by voting for a high-level public power dam at Hell's Canyon in the Northwest.

There was much talk in the Senate of horse-trading between the Southerners and the public power advocates on the civil rights and Hell's Canyon issues. The Western help was not quite enough for the Southerners to keep the House civil rights bill off the Senate calendar. But the Dixie lawmakers delivered the votes that decided the Hell's Canyon fight.

It could well be that the Westerners in return may vote with the Southerners against any move to cut off debate when the Dixie filibuster begins next month on civil rights.

Deep South lawmakers believe that two statements on the floor of the Senate last week stripped the civil rights bill of all its fancy trimmings and laid bare its objectives and its motives.

They believe Georgia's Sen. Russell put his finger on the real objective of the bill when he said:

"They (the civil rights advocates) talk about the right to vote, but what they are really thinking about is the schools and the provisions of the bill that would enable the attorney general of the United States to invade every Southern community and jail or imprison the trustees of the schools unless they agreed to strike down the separate school system. . . .

"Senators should not be deceived by the smoke screen about voting. That is one of our minor problems in the South. . . . The purpose is to enable the attorney general to invade the South and deal with the question of enforcement of the Supreme Court's decision in the school cases . . . in their determination to make the white people of the South conform."

And the Southerners believe that one of the leading Northern Democratic advocates of the civil rights bill, Sen. Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota, perhaps inadvertently put his finger on the motive of the bill—appeasement of the NAACP—when he made this comment:

"I say to the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People that if their patience has run out I can well understand why. Many of their fine people have suffered indignities which no American citizen should have to suffer. If the NAACP thinks Rule 14 ought to be applied, I can understand why. That organization has been under severe attack and that organization says the time is at hand for action!"

Civil Rights and NAACP Put Into Heated Alabama Debate

Black Dispatch
Oklahoma City
Fri. 6-28-57

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — Civil rights and the NAACP have been injected into the debate over the controversial judicial reform bill which is currently being bottled up in the state legislature by a filibuster.

State Senator Sam Engelhardt of Macon county and Representative Charles W. McKay of Talladega county, have stated their opposition to the judicial reforms bill on grounds that it would pattern after federal court procedure which would make it easier to breach segregation. The lawmakers said on June 14, "If these rules are adopted we consider this to be just another step along the road to complete and total integration. Our able Alabama attorneys have demonstrated that they are well founded in the present procedures."

"The adoption of these proposed rules might possibly shift the advantage to attorneys for the NAACP who have made a life study of the federal rules."

Sen. Engelhardt who is executive secretary of the Alabama Association of White Citizens Councils, has piloted through the senate a bill that would redictrict the city of Tuskegee in such a way that nearly all Negro citizens would be outside of the city boundary. He is also advocating a plan to abolish Macon county and distribute it over five different counties so that Negro strength would be so weakened that it would be ineffective.

Rep. McKay is National Democratic Committeeman from Alabama, and also author of an interposition resolution. He is also the former head of the White Citizens Council.

Republicans Now Holding Control in Rights Battle

Herald Tribune
New York
Sun. 6-23-57

By Rowland Evans Jr.

WASHINGTON, June 22.—The Republican party emerged today as the undisputed leader in the fight for civil rights, a political fact that will have immediate bearing on the traditional voting habits in Congress and perhaps important impact on the 1958 and 1960 elections.

For the first time since 1938, the informal coalition of Southern Democrats and conservative Republicans in Congress is about to collapse. That alliance has stood since the late days of the Roosevelt New Deal to defeat innumerable economic proposals by liberal Democrats and Republicans and to prevent passage of any significant civil rights legislation. It has suffered severe strain the last four years under the policies and programs of Eisenhower Republicanism.

Now the Republicans, at President Eisenhower's insistence, have made the Administration's civil rights bill a matter of highest party policy. The Southern Democrats consider the alliance broken. Angry and resentful, they have so informed the Republicans in both the Senate and the House.

The first evidence came in yesterday's Senate vote on authorizing the Federal high dam at Hells Canyon. Five conservative Southern Democrats who had opposed that proposition last year switched their votes and the measure carried.

That regrouping or realignment of historic voting patterns is just one of the signficant results of the Senate vote Thursday night placing the civil rights bill directly on the Senate's legislative calendar. Only five Republicans opposed the effort of the Republican leadership, both conservative and liberal, and the Democratic liberals to by-pass the Judiciary Committee. All the others voted against the point of order made by the Southerners against putting the bill on the Senate calendar.

Case's New Prominence

A second important result of the Thursday vote is the sudden new prominence of Sen. Clifford P. Case, N. J., a leader of the Eisenhower Republicans in the Senate. It was Sen. Case, not Sen. William F. Knowland, Calif., the Republican leader, who sponsored Vice-President Richard M. Nixon's ruling on the disputed point over putting the House-passed bill on the Senate calendar.

After the Vice-President read his ruling, he became temporarily confused by a series of questions from Sen. Richard B. Russell, D., Ga., the Southern leader and the most artful parliamentarian in the Senate. Sen. Russell, in fact, seemed on the point of turning Mr. Nixon's ruling to the South's own advantage and upsetting the whole strategy of the civil rights forces. At that point, Sen. Case stepped in with a clear, concise explanation of what the Vice-President had intended to say. At the end of the colloquy, Sen. Russell remarked with heavy emphasis:

Bill Given Even Chance

"The Senator from New Jersey has refreshed the chair's recollection on the subject."

The third practical effect of the Senate maneuvering gives the Administration's right-to-vote bill a better than even chance of becoming law in this Congress, either late this summer or next year.

The civil rights forces contend that the great solidarity of the Republicans, on overruling Sen. Russell's point of order, assures enough votes to end the Southern filibuster that is certain to start July 8. On that day a motion will be made to take the bill from the calendar and place it before the Senate. To end debate on that motion, an affirmative vote of two-thirds of the entire Senate, or sixty-four votes, is required. The liberals say the sixty-four votes will be available.

They are far less certain whether the same sixty-four votes can be mustered to end debate on the bill itself later in the summer. The feeling today was that much will depend on whether the bill is amended to provide jury trials for civil rights offenders.

The Southerners are bitter at what they consider the Republican's "expediency" in driving toward enactment of civil rights legislation. They contend, too, that a major purpose of the civil rights bill is to enforce school integration, not the right to vote.

But the Republicans, eyeing their phenomenal voting gains among Negroes last fall, are resolved to win this fight and make the further electoral gains they glimpsed for 1958 and 1960. The way the battle is now proceeding in Congress, the Republicans are likely to take short-term losses in their campaign to organize a healthy party in the South. In the long run, however, the effort to guarantee voting rights for Negroes could bring spectacular advantage for the Republicans in the South.

Herald Tribune—Warman

Sen. Clifford P. Case

The Main Provisions Of the Civil Rights Bill

New York

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, July 12—The Administration's civil rights bill would provide in substance for the following:

¶Establishment of a special Civil Rights Division within the Department of Justice.

¶Creation of a Federal Civil Rights Commission armed with subpoena powers to compel witnesses to testify and to produce records. It would attempt to rectify instances of illegal racial discrimination.

¶Authority for the Department of Justice to intervene, in the name of the United States, in behalf of individuals in instances of actual or threatened violations of civil rights—such as the right to vote or to attend an integrated school. This could be done with or without the consent of the victims.

Federal prosecutors could obtain injunctions from Federal district judges against such real or threatened violations. Persons disobeying these injunctions could be fined or imprisoned for contempt by Federal judges, without jury trial.

Dixie Stifles Civil Liberties--NAACP

Afro-American Sat. 6-29-57 P.3
Baltimore Md.

DETROIT — The South's attempts to resist desegregation and civil rights entered "dangerously" into the field of civil liberties in 1956. This is one of the main conclusions of the annual report of the National Association for tre Advancement of Colored People.

The report was made public here Sunday and simultaneously in NYC on the eve of the association's 48th annual convention, which opened here on Tuesday (June 25).

The document cites southern restrictions of "freedom of speech, assembly, petition, redress of grievances in the courts and even freedom of thought."

It says that in 1956 "southern white people of moderate views who did not subscribe to the extreme segregationist position were intimidated and denied their fundamental liberliberties as Americans" by legislative and administrative actions and by "the extra-legal activities of pressure groups."

Among association accomplishments described in the account are a Supreme Court decision affirming a judgment which had held state and local laws requiring racial segregation on intrastate carriers to be unconstitutional (the Montgomery, Ala., bus case);

The admission of some colored people for the first time into apprenticeship training programs in industry and the adoption of nondiscrimination policies by additional public housing authorities.

The Montgomery bus case ruling is termed "the one outstanding substantive gain" in NAACP legal work during the year and "the coup de grace to the 'separate but equal' doctrine laid down threescore years ago in the Plessy v. Ferguson case."

* * *

NOTING THAT almost all civil rights litigation in 1956 originated in the South, the legal department says that although "all the grosser segregation practices—in public schools, public recreation and transportation — had been outlawed," nevertheless "more sophisticated or subtle devices were being developed to preserve the color line."

The section on legal work also points out that "cases involving efforts to secure implementation of the rights declared by the Supreme Court presented complex problems in procedure and relief."

"Although the substantive rights asserted were generally recognized, there remained the hurdle of when and how they were to be enjoyed."

* * *

"THE SITUATION should receive the attention of all persons who wish America to remain free," the report declares.

Another aspect of the South's resistance to desegregation is related in a chapter on the NAACP's legal work, in which various southern assaults upon the NAACP are described.

"For the first time in the history of the organization, the legal department was compelled, in 1956, to devote a considerable share of its time, energy and skills to litigation directly involving the right of the NAACP to continue operating in certain states," the chapter notes.

Despite being banned in three states and attacked by various other legal and legislative devices in the South, the NAACP continued to grow in 1956, the report reveals.

* * *

THE ORGANIZATION had 350,424 members in 1956, compared with 305,589 members in 1955. New units chartered in 13 states consisted of 46 branches, 42 youth councils and 13 college chapters. This brought all NAACP units to a total of 1,467 in 44 states, the Territory of Alaska and the District of Columbia.

Senate's Right to Vote

Post + Times Herald
Tues. 6-25-57
Washington, D.C.
P.14-A

Despite the notable victory of the civil rights forces last week, some sponsors of the right-to-vote bill are openly predicting its failure at the present session. The reason, of course, is the assumption that it will encounter a Southern filibuster and that the sponsors will not be able to muster the 64 votes required to cut off debate. In our opinion, the fight must be made in spite of these handicaps. It is by no means clear that this fight cannot be won if all the resources at the command of the Administration and the liberal Democrats in the Senate are skillfully employed.

The Senate's unpreparedness to cope with the forthcoming filibuster seems especially unfortunate in the light of the agreement between the majority and minority leaders last January that the present cloture rule should be changed. Senator Johnson was successful in beating down an effort to make new rules for the Senate at the beginning of the present session, but he freely acknowledged that Rule 22 is outmoded as it now stands. In a notable compromise he joined Minority Leader Knowland in sponsoring a resolution that would substantially modify the present license for unlimited talk.

The most important provision of this resolution is that reducing the number of votes necessary to limit debate from two thirds of the entire Senate (64) to two thirds of those who might be present and voting. This would still leave a formidable hurdle to the employment of cloture, but it would be a substantial gain. Many Senators who favor tighter reins on Senate talkathons joined in sponsoring this proposal as the best reform that had any chance of being adopted at present.

Another provision of the resolution would make it possible to cut off debate on changes in the rules as well as on bills and resolutions. At present there is no means of halting a filibuster against proposed changes in the rules—a situation which, as Vice President Nixon pointed out last January, virtually deprives the Senate of its constitutional right to function under rules of its own choice.

The most deplorable fact about the resolution is that so little has been done to bring about its adoption. One hearing was held last week and hearings are continuing this week, but even if this urgent reform is reported out it will now be caught in the fight over the right-to-vote bill itself.

Last January Senator Johnson offered a cogent argument for the resolution, saying:

> I have always believed there are orderly ways of solving problems before the Senate. I also believe that unless the Senate takes advantage of the orderly procedures that are available, disorderly procedures will eventually prevail to the harm of the Nation.

How can the "disorderly procedures" now be avoided? Good intentions will not restrain the tornado of talk soon to begin blowing on Capitol Hill. Long before now the Senate should have awakened to the fact that the right to vote in its own chamber, when all the arguments pro and con have been made, is almost as vital as the right to vote at the polls.

Next The Senate

From The New York Times

Advocate P.4
Jackson Miss
Sat 6-29-57

Now that the House has approved the Administration's civil rights bill by a better than two-to-one vote, the responsibility for passage or defeat of this measure rests squarely in the Senate, which in fact has been the crucial testing-ground all along.

Inasmuch as a companion-measure to the House bill has been bottled up in the Senate Judiciary Committee ever since the opening of Congress, new and drastic tactics are now being tried by proponents of civil rights to bring the debate out to the Senate floor—where in any event it is sure to run into a Southern filibuster. One method that might be used would be to discharge the committee. The alternative method, perhaps easier to accomplish but more far-reaching in its implications, is the one chosen by the Republicans under leadership of Senator Knowland. It is to bypass the Judiciary Committee altogether by placing the House-approved bill directly on the Senate calendar. All that is needed to do this is a majority vote of the Senate sustaining the move.

For a House bill to be put on the Senate calendar without referral to committee is an action not to be undertaken lightly, as Mr. Knowland himself freely admits. It is strictly an emergency measure, justified by the five-month recalcitrance of the Judiciary Committee. Senator Russell and other enemies of civil rights legislation are issuing dire warnings as to the effect of this move on orderly Senate procedure. What about the effect on democratic government of the stubborn refusal of Senator Russell's colleagues to permit a bill of this importance from even reaching the Senate floor?

Of course it would be naive to assume that political implications were absent from the Republicans' determination to get action on civil rights. The Negro vote in the great cities of the North is strong bait, doubtless stronger at the moment than any Republican fear of alienating those Southerners who are hankering to leave the Democratic party. Some Democrats who genuinely dislike the idea of by-passing a committee are doubtless willing to go along with the Knowland maneuver in order to prevent the G. O. P. from getting all the credit among Northern Negroes.

But quite apart from these political currents, there is a basic morality in this matter. It lies in the fact that the civil rights bill as passed by the House is, as President Eisenhower said, a "moderate, decent" measure, directed not against the South, but to freedom of the ballot for all Americans.

Senate Seems To Be Ripe For Civil Rights Compromise

Post-Herald Fri. 7-12-57 P. 11
B'ham, Ala.

BY MARSHALL McNEIL
Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

WASHINGTON, July 11—The Senate seems ripe for a civil rights compromise.

If it comes, it won't be soon. Some insiders think it's a certainty. Maybe even with White House help.

On the other hand, Vice President Nixon and Sen. Everett Dirksen (R., Ill.), first defender of the pending bill in the Senate debate, have taken stands against major modification of the House-passed measure. Even the Democrat who sponsored the bill in the House says "no compromise" while admitting there's "strong talk" to this end.

But compromise conferences go on.

Meanwhile, the Senate debate proceeds. The end of the talking is not in sight.

Today or by week-end the time will be tacitly fixed for the first showdown—the vote on whether to take up the bill. This could come by the middle of next week.

Thereafter, Sen. Wayne Morse (D., Ore.), will move to send the bill to the Senate Judiciary Committee, which only a few weeks ago was denied by a Senate vote a chance to study it. This move will appeal to some who want an easier way out of the present predicament. But as of now Morse's motion is not expected to prevail.

When it is defeated, the long debate on the bill itself will begin, offering the actual opportunity for modification of the measure.

Some Senate leaders think it could take this form:

1. **ELIMINATION** of the hotly controversial Section III, which Southerners say can be used to force school desegregation if need be, with military help.

2. **PROVISION FOR** trial-by-jury for those held in contempt for violating a court order protecting an individual's right to vote.

This would scale the measure down to cover voting rights only, and give the government the right to enter civil suits to protect these rights.

Southerners won't favor such a bill.

They don't want the Civil Rights Investigating Commission the pending measure creates. They oppose the idea of a new assistant attorney general presiding over an enlarged civil rights division in the Justice Department.

Many of them don't want any bill bearing the name civil rights.

But the bulk of them won't fight as bitterly against the suggested compromises as against the pending bill.

The proposed modification would, moreover, be palatable to some border state and mid-Western senators.

There are heavy pressures at work to bring about compromise.

First, there is a growing sense in the Senate that the country and the world are watching as it struggles with this loaded issue. That's one reason debate so far has been high-level. Speeches have been carefully tailored. Though forthright and hot, there's been no name-calling. Every speaker shows he's done a lot of homework.

Second, many are convinced the White House and the Senate GOP leaders won't give up trying to get some sort of civil rights bill. But from both the White House and the Republican floor leader, Sen. William Knowland of California, come hints that "clarification" would be acceptable. How far they'd be willing to go doubtless would depend upon how insistent is Senate pressure. Sen. Richard Russell (D., Ga.), the Southerners' leader, yesterday conferred with the President and later said Ike had an open mind and wanted no punitive legislation.

Third, the demands for getting other "emergency" bills through the Senate will mount.

Foes To Allow Tuesday Vote On Rights Bill

Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky.
Sat. 7-13-57 P. 1

But Southern Filibuster Still Strong Possibility

© New York Times News Service

Washington, July 12.—The Southern opposition staged a tactical retreat today, and the Senate unanimously agreed to vote Tuesday on a motion to call up the Administration's civil-rights bill.

Technically, the Senate has been debating since Monday merely the question of whether the measure should be made the officially pending business.

This usually routine parliamentary move—calling up a bill—was assured of success by today's development, since a majority of senators are known to favor passage of the civil-rights measure.

Can Alter Text

The real question had been whether southern opponents would attempt to delay or block a vote at this stage by prolonged debate.

The agreement also assured the Senate of an opportunity—once the bill is officially before it—to alter the text, possibly to a point where it would not be

Robert L. Riggs, reporting from Washington in The Passing Show tomorrow, says Southerners have been so successful with flank attacks on civil-rights legislation that some supporters are predicting only a bare right-to-vote guarantee will be passed.

wholly distasteful to the South. erners would engage in a filibuster remained strong.

Compromise Possible

Some signs indicated a compromise might be found and a filibuster averted or at least forced to a conclusion by closure, the Senate procedure for limiting debate. A two thirds majority of the Senate, or 64 votes, is required to invoke closure.

Senate Republican Leader Knowland of California seemed to lend weight to prospects of concessions to the Southern point of view after a breakfast conference this morning with President Eisenhower.

He told reporters that the Administration had "never taken the position that there should be no clarifying amendments."

The Senate agreement to vote Tuesday on calling up the bill followed days of loakroom negotiations that culminated in acceptance of the idea by Southern opponents at a caucus this morning.

Conserving Their Fire

The leader of the Southern bloc, Senator Russell (D., Ga.), told reporters that his group realized there was no hope of preventin gthe bill from eventually coming before the Senate.

In addition, he explained, he and his colleagues felt there was a good chance of winning changes that would make the measure more palatable—though still objectionable—to the South.

Although the preliminary vote could have been delayed far beyond the Tuesday deadline by filibuster, the Southerners thus chose to conserve their fire for the next phase of the battle.

SCOTT FIRE HITS GOP RIGHTS BILL

News & Observer
Raleigh, N.C.

Tar Heel Solon Says Proponents Motivated By Virus of Carpetbagism

Sun. 7-14-57

WASHINGTON, July 13—Sen. W. Kerr Scott of North Carolina on the Senate floor today lambasted the Eisenhower administration's civil rights bill as "steeped in hypocrisy and cloaked in intellectual dishonesty." P. 1

The Tar Heel Senator spoke in opposition to a motion to take up the bill for consideration.

Candidly, Scott told the Senate, "in a Southern state you cannot be elected for office if you don't support the Southern position."

Can Help More.

Adlibbing before he delivered his prepared speech, he said "I think I can help the white race . . . I can help the colored man far more in the years to come by being re-elected to the United States Senate."

He inferred that re-election can be made difficult in Southern States. Then the Senator mentioned that North Carolina now has an organization called the Patriots of North Carolina which he said "is an offspring of the Ku Klux Klan though not the same thing."

Scott said he had long supported the colored race and he had accepted their contributions to his campaign.

He attacked proponents as "worshippers at the shrine of carpetbaggers" and demanded why they had not written in a provision "reaffirming the age-old Anglo-Saxon principle that every man, whether he be white or black, is entitled to the inalienable rights of being confronted by his accuser and of a trial by jury?"

Asks Question.

"Why didn't they write into the bill a prohibition against sending into the homes, market places and churches of 40 million people, soldiers armed to the teeth to enforce upon a peaceable people of two races a way of life which a majority of neither wants?" he continued.

Scott declared that the answer is obvious.

"It is inescapable and as immutable as the laws of the Medes and Persians. They care not for the welfare of the white race, and they care not for the welfare of the Negro race. A new generation of carpetbaggers, feeling insecure in their political positions, have their eye upon the election returns.

"Political expediency means more to those who have been bitten by the virus of carpetbagism than does trial by jury." He went on. "It means more to them than does the considered judgment of the general of the armies who led the free world to victory against the evil forces of Nazi Germany."

News & Observer

Proponents, according to the North Carolinian, in their blindness and in their eagerness, would substitute for government of the people, for the people and by the people the counterfeit coin of government by contempt procedures and without the benefit of trial by jury. Sat. 7-14-57

He told the Senate "the two races—the white and the Negro races—in the Southland, of which I am a part, for generations have lived in friendship side by side. We—the white and the Negro people of the South—will continue to live side by side, as friend and as neighbor, each helping the other, if left alone, and not pitted against each other by hypocritical and intellectually dishonest interests—modern day carpetbaggers, if you please, not interested in the welfare of either the white or the Negro people of the South, but interested only in the political advantages they can gain on election day."

DRIVE TO TAKE TEETH FROM CIVIL RIGHTS BILL

WASHINGTON, July 13 (AP)—Sen. Mundt (R-SD) joined Sen. Russell (D-Ga) today in a bipartisan move to take some of the enforcement teeth out of the administration's civil rights bill.

With supporters of the measure fighting against "compromise" moves, Mundt announced he will offer a substitute which would delete enforcement authority for civil rights other than those involved in voting.

The Senate meanwhile ended its sixth day of debate, at 6:50 p.m., on a motion to take up the bill.

Mundt said he is in "a neutral corner" in the civil rights battle because South Dakota has few Negro or minority voters or problems.

"Emotion has displaced reason in many parts of the North and South," Mundt said, adding that his proposed amendments would remove most controversy from the bill.

Previously Russell, commander of the bill's opponents, had offered a series of amendments. One of these would strike out Part III of the bill.

It authorizes the attorney general to bring civil suits to prevent infringement or threatened infringement of civil rights in general. He could seek injunctions in federal court and anyone violating the injunction could be fined or jailed for contempt without jury trial.

Russell has contended this portion of the measure is aimed at enforcing the Supreme Court's school desegregation opinion and at bringing about integration in the South. He has said it makes possible the use of troops to reach these objectives.

Mundt told a reporter his substitute proposal is designed to place before the Senate "a measure the Southerners can't vote for, but one with which they can live."

In addition to striking out Part III, Mundt said his substitute would incorporate a so-called jury-trial amendment offered previously by Sen. O'Mahoney (D-Wyo). Thi would provide for jury trials in federal court contempt cases where the facts are in dispute.

Mundt also moved to cut down the authority of a proposed six-member commission which would be set up under the bill to investigate and report on civil rights developments.

Preliminary Ballot Slated On Rights Bill

Times-Union
Jacksonville, Fla.
Sat 7-13-57

Dixie Solons Agree to Tuesday Vote On Taking Up Measure

p.1

WASHINGTON, July 12 (UP)—Senate leaders won an agreement from Southerners today to hold a showdown vote next Tuesday on the preliminary motion to formally take up President Eisenhower's civil rights bill.

After a day of cloakroom huddles, Senate Democratic Leader Lyndon B. Johnson sought and obtained unanimous Senate consent for the voting time on the motion of GOP Leader William F. Knowland (Calif) to make the measure the pending Senate business.

Sen. Richard B. Russell (D-Ga), leader of the Southern bloc, had said in advance that Tuesday was the earliest possible day acceptable to the Southerners for the first-round vote.

Knowland's motion appeared certain of approval. After that the Senate officially will begin debate on the legislation, which has been the target of marathon floor attacks by its Southern foes for the past week.

Notice Served

Southerners have served notice they intend to wage a full-scale floor filibuster against the House-approved bill, which has the support of President Eisenhower and his administration. In an effort to accommodate the 15 to 20 senators who still want to speak on Knowland's motion, Johnson ordered the Senate to meet at 9:30 a.m., tomorrow Monday and Tuesday. He said the session will run late tomorrow and Monday.

In announcing the voting schedule, Johnson praised the Senate for its high level of debate so far on the issue. He said the Senate's behavior "may disappoint those who were looking for a bitter and bloody brawl."

Russell replied that the Southerners have tried to "comport themselves as responsible men." He appealed to all senators to consider the bill on its merits and "to deal with this issue as they would be dealt by."

'Justly, Fairly'

That's all we ask," he said "to be dealt with justly and fairly."

As passed by the House, the administration bill would establish a presidential commission on civil rights; establish a civil rights division in the Justice Department; authorize government court suits to protect civil rights and provide greater protection for the voting rights of Negroes and other minorities.

Southerners have leveled their most vigorous attacks on the bill's failure to provide for jury trials for Southerners accused of violating civil rights injunctions.

Some influential senators have predicted that the bitter fight will be resolved some weeks hence by passage of a compromise bill which would not include the controversial authorization for injunctions.

No Compromise

Leaders of both sides thus far have ruled out any compromise. But some GOP sources have said the President would agree to clarifying amendments to allay Southern fears that he will not use the bill to impose school integration on the South.

After a morning conference with Eisenhower, Knowland said there was no justification for charges by some Northern Democrats that the President and his aides are wavering in support of the legislation.

"Their recommendations are still their recommendations," he said. But he added that White House officials "have never taken the position that there should be no clarifying amendments."

Johnson, also told the Senate "there have been no deals, no compromises, no trading of principles of which I am aware."

Keep Up Attacks

Both before and after he announced the voting schedule, Southern foes kept up their running attacks on the legislation.

Sen. Herman E. Talmadge (D-Ga) said the bill threatens "the rights of every American citizen, whatever his color." He said the proposed presidential commission "will jeopardize, encroach upon and actually take away existing rights."

Sen. John C. Stennis (D-Miss) told the Senate the legislation was drafted "by a crafty and designing lawyer." He said the bill would revitalize long-dormant anti-South laws enacted during the reconstruction period following the Civil War.

Stennis said he was "amazed" that labor leaders would support a bill to deny jury trials to persons accused of violating court injunctions. He said they should know through experience "the evil of government by injunction."

FIGHT ON RIGHTS BILL EXTENDED

Times-Picayune
Fri. 7-12-57

Round-the-Clock Sessions May Start Saturday

New Orleans, La.

(Detailed story on Sen. Eastland's speech on Page 3.)

By WILMOT HERCHER

WASHINGTON, July 11 (AP)—By unanimous agreement, the Senate decided late Thursday it will not start round-the-clock sessions on the civil rights bill at least until Saturday.

Democratic leader Johnson of Texas, who engineered the agreement, said he hoped the senators could get together later on a definite time to vote on a motion to bring the controversial legislation to the floor.

The Senate has been debating the motion in overtime sessions since Monday.

Johnson said he favored a vote next Wednesday. Others sought a vote Monday and some wanted one Thursday.

Many Still Want to Speak

The fact that "some 18 or 20 senators" still want to make speeches on the motion, the Democratic leader said, made it impossible to fix a voting time now. The time must be fixed by unanimous agreement.

Johnson said that after Thursday night's session the Senate would meet at 9:30 a. m. (CST) Friday and Saturday.

"I am unable to say how late the Senate will continue on Saturday," Johnson reported after a series of conferences with Republican leader Knowland of California and other chieftains of opposing camps in the civil rights battle.

Earlier in Thursday's long session Johnson announced he would support a proposal by Sen. Morse (D-Ore.) to refer the civil rights bill to the judiciary committee with orders to report it back in two weeks. The move would probably save time, he said.

Asks Decision Reversed

In efefct, Morse and Johnson were asking the Senate to reverse its decision of June 20 which bypassed the judiciary committee and placed the House-passed bill directly on the Senate calendar.

Morse supports the civil rights legislation but objects to short-circuiting the committee system. He conceded Thursday that the judiciary committee has been holding up the senate's version of the civil rights bill for more than six months, but he said the senate could instruct the committee when the report back the House version.

Morse's motion probably would not be voted on until the motion to bring the House bill to the floor is disposed of.

Knowland told reporters he felt there was a good chance of getting a unanimous consent agreement Friday to vote on his motion early next week.

Denounced by Eastland

He said President Eisenhower has made it clear that he intends to leave any "clarifying" changes in the bill to his legislative leaders. The Californian said he had no changes in mind "at the moment"—that he was concentrating on getting the bill before the Senate.

Until that is done, he said, there will be no agreements or negotiations with respect to any amendments.

Sens. Olin D. Johnston (D-S.C.) and Sen. Eastland (D-speeches againSHRDLUNUNUN Miss.) delivered blistering speeches against the civil rights measure Friday.

Eastland denounced it as a "sly, scheming, slick attempt to circumvent our constitution."

He told the Senate the purpose of the administration-backed bill was "to use all federal power for the destruction of the social order in the Southern states and to bring about racial intermarriage and amalgamation."

'American Gestapo State'

Johnston asserted enactment of the bill would "destroy the bill of rights and create a modern American gestapo state."

"At the proper time, if it ever arises," he said, he will offer an amendment that would strip from the bill the sections which Southern opponents contend would empower the President to use troops to enforce racial integration of the schools and other social changes in the South. Backers of the bill say there is no thought of using troops.

Thursday's session began with a statement by majority leader Johnston that it was premature to talk of a possible civil rights compromise. Nevertheless, some GOP sponsors of the bill moved toward narrowing its provisions.

Compromise talk at this time, said Majority Leader Johnson, is "both premature and inaccurate."

He told the Senate, meeting an hour and a half earlier than usual to debate the civil rights legislation, that there is no way ot predict the outcome at the present time.

Johnson Sees Delay

"There is quite some distance to go before the end result even begins to take shape," Johnson said.

Sen. Francis Case (R-SD) had disclosed earlier that he is drafting an amendment which would confine the enforcement provisions of the bill in the single field of protecting voting rights of Negroes and other minorities.

This would go some distance toward meeting the violent objections of Southern Democrats to the legislation, which has been passed by the House.

Sens. Clifford Case (R-NJ) and Kuchel (R-Calif) said in separate interviews they support the principle of Sen. Francis Case's proposal.

Opposition speakers have contended the bill in its present form would empower the federal government to force school integration and other racial changes on the Southern states.

SENATE BATTLE LINES FORM ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Republicans May Force the Fight to A Conclusion or Let It Go Over

By WILLIAM S. WHITE

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, July 6—The Senate proceeds next week to a great struggle, testing at length whether there is to be action on civil rights at this or the next session of Congress—and, if so, what kind of a bill there shall be.

In the seven decades since the end of the Reconstruction a resolute and skillful Southern minority—sometimes by the use of the filibuster, or deliberate time-killing to prevent a vote, and sometimes by the bare implied threat of a filibuster—has beaten off every effort to legislate fundamentally in this field.

But the old power structure is now in process of great change: The Southern opposition is not now in a position to defeat civil rights measures, granted an implacable determination of the Eisenhower Administration and of the bipartisan pro-civil rights majority in the Senate.

This matter of sustained determination lies at the heart of the business: No truly implacable effort to break through the Southern resistance has been made within many years—certainly not within the last ten, in the experience of this observer.

What is coming next week is the mere beginning of what may be a series of harsh and interrelated contests, one set having to do with procedure and another set having to do with principle. Method here must be determined before substance can be directly and finally engaged.

So, at issue at the moment is procedural method—specifically an attempt to bring up the Administration's civil rights bill on Monday and to make it formally the Senate's pending business.

Motion by Knowland

This will be done in a motion by Senator William F. Knowland of California, the Senate Republican leader and in this instance the floor leader for the bipartisan civil rights coalition as well.

The Southerners, led by Senator Richard B. Russell, Democrat of Georgia, will resist the motion. They will open a general discussion that will go beyond the question of procedure to the merits of the bill.

This will not, for some time, be a filibuster. It will be, for some days at least, a normal exercise of the right of debate in the Senate. Such a discussion becomes a filibuster only if it becomes plain that those conducting it have abandoned hope of persuading the minds of other men.

Senator Knowland's strategy, for the moment at least, is as blunt and as readable as is the characteristic speech of this politician. It is simply, to press on doggedly until the Southerners have to yield ground. The only issue here is not in Mr. Knowland's obvious purposes; the issue lies in how long and how faithfully his bipartisan troops will support him in what will be, if he has his way, a contest to the end.

The strategy of the Southerners will be fluid, under the subtle leadership of their generalissimo, Senator Russell, perhaps the ablest parliamentary man in the Senate.

Civil War Resemblance

This contest has more than one resemblance to the Civil War—one of them being that each combatant can readily read the papers amidst "the fog of war," and thus is understandably not too keen about giving advance notice of his intentions.

All present prospects suggest, however, that Mr. Russell may settle, at this stage, upon a tactic of limited resistance, and that he may not give the signal for a full-blown filibuster in this early phase of the battle.

Because the Southern position is inherently weaker than in many years the Russell forces are under extraordinary pressure to proceed with wariness and to avoid, almost at any cost, intransigent actions that might fatally alienate a small but possibly decisive middle Senate bloc that might be won to their side.

The Southerners are thus more likely than not to reserve for later their ultimate force of resistance. They are aware that some men who might never be prepared to vote for a bill are hard to convince that it should not even be brought up—and bringing this bill up, it will be recalled, is all that the Knowland forces are presently concerned about. The Southerners hope not to lose their credit with such men.

Indeed, though Senator Knowland is ready to fight a filibuster and then, after perhaps ten days or two weeks, to move to halt it by the process called closure, he may not be required at this phase to bring up the final reserve strength that such a move would necessitate. Closure requires the consent of sixty-four Senators.

Probable Course

In short, there is at least a fifty-fifty chance for a march of events something like this:

Senator Knowland moves to bring up. The Southerners go up into the firing line, not in full battle array but prepared instead for a series of harsh skirmishes and probing actions. A week or ten days of reasoned debate on both sides—nominally on the motion—and actually more upon what is in the bill. Then, a decision to make the bill the pending business; thus, an opening victory for the civil rights people, but without a test of their power to bring off closure and without any deep attrition upon the Southern ranks.

At this point—assuming that this point will be reached—fundamental policy decisions must be made on both sides. Mr. Knowland and his people must then decide, having got the bill up as pending business, whether to go on to the end, whether to open the final and major assault and try to push it through before Congress quits, this summer or this autumn. This is not an easy question. On the one side, there is the fact that the pro-civil rights public has waited a very long time for action and is not going to look kindly upon inaction now, for any reason. On the other side, there is the fact that an all-out filibuster fight at this session unquestionably could endanger much—and conceivably all—of the general legislation still awaiting action.

Election-Year Value

If Senator Knowland has his way there is every sign that the verdict will be to go on. Other Republicans, however, would be content to see the issue simply made the pending business, to be engaged next January in an election year when, among other things, they would have opportunity to get the maximum political value from the drama of a Democratic party split right down the Mason-Dixon line.

Delay is, of course, clearly on the side of the Russell people. If they can present themselves as "reasonable" men in the fight over taking up the bill—if in the end they yield gracefully here—they have much to gain in the future when it comes to the struggle over the bill's merits.

They have already made some headway among the uncommitted—even among some of the Senate liberals—in their strictures upon the non-jury-trial aspect of the program. They have already prompted President Eisenhower to re-examine the text offered by his Administration. They foresee the distinct possibility—and independent inquiry establishes that there is such a possibility—of finally exacting important compromises from the civil rights people. They are genuinely convinced, and not merely ostensibly convinced for purposes of propaganda, that the longer the bill is examined in debate the greater will be the possibility of turning at least a small number of Senators—but possibly a critical number of Senators—against it.

'SHOULD BE A LULU'

Ficklen in The Dallas News

Voting Issue Split From Segregation

By JAMES RESTON

(Copyright 1957 by The New York Times Co.)

WASHINGTON, July 11 — The South has won the first phase of the civil rights debate in the Senate.

It has not moved the coalition of administration supporters and Northern Democrats on the "right-to-vote" section of the bill, but it has separated this from the racial segregation issue and probably picked up enough support in the North to deny the administration new powers of injunction to implement the Supreme Court's school segregation decision.

DEBATE FOR WEEKS

Consequently, while the argument will drone on for weeks over the whole field of civil liberties, the central issue from now on will be over the South's efforts to insist that all persons charged by the government with violating a citizen's right to vote shall be guaranteed a jury trial.

Neither the administration nor the northern Democrats will concede publicly that the South has succeeded to this extent in the first week of the debate. They will go on fighting for the whole bill, including the controversial Section III that contains the segregation features. But this will in large measure be a tactical move to induce southern acquiescence in the administration "right-to-vote" plan.

This plan would permit the attorney general to seek civil injunctions in the federal courts against any person charged with seeking to violate a qualified citizen's right to vote.

INJUNCTION POWER

If a federal district judge granted an injunction against such action, and it were defied, the judge would have the power to fine or jail the defendant for contempt of the court's order without a jury trial.

The administration asserts that this is a fair, moderate and effective plan to carry out the constitutional guarantees of equal voting rights and equal protection under the law for all citizens.

In contrast, the Southerners insist that it is a cunning plan to destroy one civil liberty, the right of trial by jury, in order to guarantee another, the right to vote. And there is perhaps no better way to convey the magnitude of the issue here joined, or the depth of feeling on both sides, than to quote from the leaders in the controversy.

The administration bill, says Sen. Ervin (D-NC) "is based on the strange thesis that the best way to promote the civil liberties of some Americans is to rob other Americans of civil liberties equally as precious.

SOUTHERN JURORS

"They (the supporters of the bill) say Southern officials and Southern people are generally faithless to their oaths as public officers and jurors, and for that reason can be justifiably denied the right to invoke for their protection in courts of justice constitutional and legal safeguards erected in times past by the founding fathers and the Congress to protect all Americans from government tyranny."

Not at all, says Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell Jr. "The proposed legislation seeks merely to apply long-established civil procedures for enforcing federal laws to civil rights.

"It is true that wherever the government is authorized to sue for preventive relief the de

fendant is not entitled to a jury trial in contempt proceedings.

"The constitution recognizes the traditional differences between the procedures in courts of law and courts of equity, and does not require jury trial in equitable proceedings.

1890 DECISION

"As long ago as 1890 the Supreme Court said, 'It has always been one of the attributes—one of the powers necessarily incident to a court of justice—that it should have this power (the contempt power) of vindicating its dignity, of enforcing its orders, of protecting itself from insult, without the necessity of calling upon a jury to assist it in the exercise of this power'."

"Trial by jury," replied Sen. Robertson (D-Va) "never was intended as a quick and easy way to obtain convictions. Trials by ordeal or by torture used to be much more effective from that point of view.

"The introduction of the principle of trial by jury into Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence was not for the purpose of simplifying the work of prosecutors but was for the protection of the accused."

"A great deal of noise," observed Sen. Dirksen (R-Ill.), "has been made about jury trials. Only a few states specifically grant the defendant a right to a jury trial in contempt proceedings, even if they be proceedings in criminal contempt. That is the law. I did not get that up."

So the debate rages, with a strange coalition of Northern liberals and conservatives opposing an eloquent bloc of Southerners, who have prepared for the debate with care.

Many of the Northern liberals are clearly troubled by relying on the injunctive procedure and arguing against trial by jury, just as many Southerners are troubled by the record of Southern juries in civil rights cases involving Negroes.

There is, however, general agreement on both sides that the effectiveness of the legislation sought by the administration will depend in large measure on what happens to the jury trial issue.

'CIVIL RIGHTS A COMIN''

Judicial Legislation

Post & Times Herald
Nov 5-22-57
Washington D.C.
p.4A

Congress has made astonishingly little progress in considering the important bills affecting the courts. Probably the foremost of these is the legislation to create 39 new district judgeships and three new circuit judgeships. The additional judge power has been urgently requested by the Judicial Conference of the United States and the Department of Justice. But the responsible House subcommittee has held no hearings. On the Senate side the measure is also still in subcommittee, although some hearings have been held.

The House has passed a bill that may keep some retired judges in harness at least part time. This measure would change the designation of "retired judges" to "senior judges" and create a "roster of senior judges" who are willing and able to take special assignments at the request of the Chief Justice. Judges who have taken advantage of the retirement privilege would thus be in a position to make substantial contributions to the clearing of congested dockets. This measure merits prompt consideration on the Senate side.

Two other bills designed to speed up the judicial process await action. H.R. 985 would require a chief judge of a Federal circuit or district court to relinquish his administrative duties on reaching the age 75, although he would not need to retire. H.R. 110, which has passed the House, would permit the President to appoint an additional temporary judge to any of the above-mentioned courts if a judge eligible to retire and certified by the appropriate judicial council to be disabled should fail to step down. The President could act only if he should find additional judge power necessary to the efficient dispatch of the business of the court. Both these measures appear to be sufficiently safeguarded to prevent abuse and to merit support as means of minimizing injustice through delays.

Outlook Seems Brighter For Rights Bill Action

Evening Star p.13-A
Washington D.C.
Tues. 5-14-57

The outlook for action on civil rights at this session appeared somewhat brighter today in view of developments at both ends of the Capitol yesterday. But the bill still faces high hurdles in the Senate.

In the House the Rules Committee agreed to vote a week from today on a special rule to send the administration's right-to-vote bill to the floor. The decision to end current hearings May 21 was reported to have been reached by vote of eight to four.

In the Senate, Democratic Leader Johnson said he expects the issue to be voted on before this session ends, although he implied he would not take the initiative to get the subject up in the Senate.

Vote Depends on Bill's Strength

Once the Rules Committee sends the measure to the House floor, there is little doubt that body will pass it. But whether the Senate ever reaches a final vote may depend on how strong the bill is worded when it finally clears the Senate Judiciary Committee.

The measure being considered in both Houses follows the administration plan to empower the Attorney General to seek injunctions in the civil courts to restrain State officials from interfering with the voting rights of citizens.

The Southerners are centering their attack on the denial of trial by jury to individuals who may be cited for contempt for alleged violation of such injunctions. If they fail to get a jury trial amendment in the bill in the Senate they could probably delay final action in the closing weeks of the session. At that time the civil rights bill would be competing for attention with other major legislation, including foreign aid and the big defense budget.

See Advantage in Action

Most political observers believe it would be better for the Democrats, who control this Congress, to dispose of the civil rights issue this year than to have it come up for action in 1958 on the eve of a Congressional election campaign.

But the Senate rules permitting unlimited debate will make it difficult to get a final vote late in this session if the opposition is determined.

In other words, if the bill is to be disposed of this year, it probably would have to be in mild form when it passes.

The Senate Judiciary Committee, which got the bill from a subcommittee on March 20, failed again yesterday to make any headway toward reporting it to the Senate.

Senator Hennings, Democrat of Missouri, leading advocate of the bill, was prevented yesterday from getting action on a move to complete committee work on the bill by Thursday. Senator Hennings said later that when the meeting began Chairman Eastland, of Mississippi, recognized Senator Ervin, Democrat of North Carolina, "who held the floor and would not relinquish it to Senator Hennings or anyone else for the purpose of making any motion."

Later in the day Senate Republican Leader Knowland raised the question on the Senate floor, expressing concern that if the bill is delayed until June or July "it will be seriously endangered."

Democratic Leader Johnson said he had just learned that a substantial number of Judiciary Committee members hope for some action by the committee by the end of this month.

Predicts House Action First

Senator Johnson said the House apparently is making more progress on the bill than was made during the entire 83rd Congress, when the Republicans were in control, and repeated his prediction that the House will act first.

Senator Johnson also made it clear that he does not "agree with all the proposals made — and indeed does not agree with many of them." But he said he realizes a substantial part of the membership of both Houses "wish to vote on some so-called civil rights legislation because to fail to do so would permit those who have no hesitancy in exploiting this political issue to continue to do so in the months ahead."

He then said he expects a vote at this session and added that he would take no offense if Senator Hennings or Senator Knowland moves to take up the civil rights bill after the committee acts.

Ordinarily, the Senate Judiciary Committee would not meet again until next Monday. But Chairman Eastland said he will poll the committee to find out if the members want to meet earlier.

Why O'Mahoney's With South

News Sun. 7-14-57 B'ham, Ala. P. 16-A

Not Necessarily On Race Issue, But Power Angle In 'Rights' Bill Bothers Him Much

BY MARTIN S. HAYDEN

WASHINGTON

A PROVEN WESTERN liberal—Sen. Joseph C. O'Mahoney of Wyoming—has told why he defends Southern filibusters, and why he opposes President Eisenhower's civil rights program as it is now written.

O'Mahoney and a handful of other Western Democrats, including Hayden of Arizona and Murray and Mansfield of Montana, may be the power balance in the present rights fight. Their votes could give civil rightists the 64 they need to apply cloture.

O'Mahoney insisted that he wants a rights bill to help Southern Negroes and that, in due course, he may support cloture to make Southerners stop talking and permit a vote. But he added more positively that he always will oppose basic Senate rule changes that would prevent filibusters and that he will fight the Eisenhower right-to-vote bill in its present form.

He Points Out Danger Of 'Arbitrary Power'

THE SENATOR points to a sentence in the Declaration of Rights of the Wyoming Constitution to explain his disagreement with those calling it morally wrong for a handful of senators to talk endlessly and block all legislative business. It reads: "Absolute, arbitrary power over the lives, liberty and property of free men exists nowhere in a republic, not even in the largest majority."

"And," O'Mahoney adds, "the same thing applies in the U. S. Senate."

"The founders of our system," he says, "recognized that in their day the economy was localized and varied in the states. That no longer is true. But it's still true that problems affecting sparsely settled Western states cannot be settled properly by the teeming multitudes from the big Eastern cities. The right to stop action by filibuster helps insure that the majority won't trample over us."

On the current row over the Eisenhower rights bill, O'Mahoney comments tartly: "Too many of the senators debating it, and of the people urging passage of the program, and of the editors commenting on it, have never even read the Administration bill."

O'Mahoney lists objections to the bill, some of which he says he is "willing to live with" and others he will oppose forever. He starts with the proposed rights commission the bill would establish to check on violations of civil rights.

"That commission could go anywhere, inquire into everything, call any witness and force him to testify," says O'Mahoney.

O'Mahoney similarly "dislikes," because of the precedent it sets, the provision that the U. S. attorney general should be allowed to institute civil suits whenever he finds a suspected rights violation and without the permission of the person offended.

"It gives the attorney general the right to sue in behalf of Joe Doakes whether Joe Doakes wants it or not," he says, "let's admit that may be necessary in civil rights cases in Mississippi where Joe Doakes is afraid to sue in his own behalf. But let's also be sure this doesn't become a precedent for other laws giving the attorney general power to go anywhere and start legal actions not connected with civil rights."

O'Mahoney shares the view of outraged Southerners protesting the proposed bill's short-cutting of "trial by jury"; it specifies that, if the attorney general wins a court order against an alleged civil rights violation, the judge can jail for contempt any person subsequently violating that order.

Sen. O'Mahoney would restrict the sentences without jury trial to cases where there is "no material question of fact."

While giving them welcome support, O'Mahoney believes Southern senators basically are fighting a losing battle.

He Thinks Racial Equality Is Definitely Coming

News P. 16-A Sun. 7-14-57 B'ham, Ala.

"RACIAL EQUALITY is coming and the South cannot stop it," he says. "Already Kentucky, Maryland and parts of Texas have abolished segregated schools. Others will follow surely and gradually. It is obvious that the big problem, and the slowest progress, will be in the areas where the Negro is in the majority. But even there the inevitable cannot be stopped."

The senator adds that he favors a civil rights bill to "push the process along in accordance with the Supreme Court's proviso as to gradualism."

"But," he repeats, "we do not want a civil rights statute destructive of other rights." (NANA)

O'Mahoney Compromise

Post & Times Herald, Washington, D.C.

Senator O'Mahoney offered his proposal for jury trials in some contempt cases arising under the civil rights bill before the Senate had even agreed to take up the bill so that the proposal could be carefully studied. That action was wise, for the subject is extremely complex and the need to find the right answers is great. We hope that it will be scrutinized apart from the passions that are coloring the Senate's debate.

The O'Mahoney amendment would instruct judges sitting in civil rights cases arising under the bill to order a jury trial for any person accused of violating an injunction or restraining order of the court "if it appears that there are one or more facts to be determined." The idea behind the amendment came from a recent article by Telford Taylor in the New York *Times* Magazine. Some question arises, however, as to whether the amendment reflects what Mr. Taylor had in mind. He suggested jury trials in cases of this kind "where guilt or innocence of contempt involves substantial factual questions." Certainly this reference to "substantial factual questions" is a different criterion than "one or more facts."

What Senator O'Mahoney is trying to do, however, is to separate those cases in which the facts are clear—such as the refusal of a registrar to register a qualified voter—from those cases in which there may be a substantial dispute as to the facts. These latter may include charges that members of a masked mob had intimidated voters. There the question would be whether the persons restrained by the injunction or those taken before the court were actually the ones guilty of the offense. In our opinion, this is a valid and sensible distinction to make. There is a question as to whether a dividing line can be clearly drawn between the two types of cases. But no harm would be done by requiring juries in those contempt cases in which substantial issues of fact must be determined—with the judge deciding what is substantial.

Along with a study of this amendment should go scrutiny of the proposal made recently by Prof. Carl A. Auerbach of the University of Wisconsin. He thinks the bill should authorize the Government to bring civil contempt actions against alleged violators of civil rights injunctions. Under civil contempt proceedings, a court could put any defiant registrar in jail until he complied with the court's order—but the defendant himself would hold the key. In other words, the contempt power would be used for a purely remedial purpose instead of a punitive purpose, as under criminal contempt proceedings. Civil contempt cases are always handled by the judge without a jury.

Here is another area in which it may be possible to soften the present bill without sacrificing its vital objectives. In our view, the Senate should weigh every compromise of this sort in the interest of devising a bill that will give minimum offense to the South even if Southern legislators cannot bring themselves to vote for it.

TRADING CONSIDERED ON CIVIL RIGHTS BILL

Commercial Appeal Thurs. 6-13-57

No Agreement Reported Yet Among Senators—House May Act Today

Memphis, Tenn. P. 1

By MORRIS CUNNINGHAM
From The Commercial Appeal Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, June 12. — Trades that could stymie the Civil Rights Bill in the Senate for the remainder of this year were being discussed Wednesday.

Southern senators canceled all out-of-town engagements and are to caucus Thursday afternoon in the office of Senator Richard B. Russell (D., Ga.).

Both Parties Involved

Republicans and Democrats alike were reported participating in the informal talks. They were said to involve the Hell's Canyon power project, revisions to immigration laws and other controversial issues before the Senate.

It was indicated no agreements have been reached and the Senate yet may join in battle over the Civil Rights Bill this year.

House leaders were reported, meanwhile, to have agreed to seek a final vote on the bill in the House by Thursday night. The House was in recess Wednesday but will resume consideration of the bill at noon Thursday.

Hopes for House approval of a jury trial amendment appeared to be fading. Representative Leslie C. Arends (R., Ill.), House GOP whip, said a poll of Republicans showed "far more" against the amendment than for it.

House Republicans will decide the fate of the jury trial amendment in that chamber because the Democrats are split almost evenly between the Southern and Northern wings.

House Passage Conceded

House passage of the bill is conceded by its opponents. The chief issue is the amendment to guarantee jury trials in contempt cases arising from the Federal Court injunctions the bill would authorize.

When the measure reaches the Senate, Senator Paul H. Douglas (D., Ill.) has served notice he will move that it be taken up immediately instead of being sent to the Judiciary Committee, the customary procedure.

The fate of this motion, if it is made, may determine whether the Senate considers the bill this year.

A similar motion failed last year after the House passed a Civil Rights Bill. The House-passed bill went to the Senate Judiciary Committee and died there.

However, if the same thing happens this year—the first year of the two-year congressional session — the House-passed bill would remain alive and could be acted upon by the Senate any time next year.

Clarence Mitchell Concurs In Minn. Senator's View

Daily World Sun. 5-26-57

WASHINGTON — The "log jam" on civil rights action is apparently "beginning to break," Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D., Minn.) declared Saturday following a series of conferences with other leaders in the fight for civil rights legislation arranged immediately upon his return from a tour of the Middle East.

'I am highly gratified both by favorite action of the House Rules Committee, and action of the Senate Judiciary Committee in voting 6 to 4 against a crippling amendment," Senator Humphrey declared. "The Senate committee's action is an advantage that should be followed by a prompt move to report the civil rights bill out for floor action during the present session of Congress. If present obstruction continues supporters of civil rights legislation may feel compelled to either move to discharge the committee or to take action on the House bill without referral to the Senate Judiciary Committee."

Senator Humphrey's view was concurred in by Clarence Mitchell director of the NAACP's Washington Bureau, following conference on civil rights developments.

DELAY CAN BE OVERCOME

They agreed that the delaying tactics of opponents "can be overcome if the majority of the Judiciary Committee will firmly insist on its right to vote on the measure."

Both said that Senator Hennings, as chairman of the subcommittee handling the bill, "has been fair to all sides in this matter, and no one could take offense if he and his pro-civil rights colleagues insist that there has been enough talk to satisfy even the most learned and eloquent."

BI-PARTISAN SUPPORT

"The issue of civil rights requires bi-partisan support," Senator Humphrey emphasized. "There need be no concern as to who will receive the major share of the credit if and when civil rights legislation is enacted. The concern and worry of every member of both political parties should be who will bear the responsibility for failure if obstructionist tactics, indifference or inaction prevent enactment of the civil rights program."

Mitchell said that a number of Senators have expressed a view that there should be no adjournment until effective civil rights legislation is passed.

"The basic issue here is the question of whether the right to vote can be proteced in our own country," Senator Humphrey added. "If we who believe in civil rights act with determination, we can achieve this goal in 1957."

Souvenirs Bind Segregationists

Post & Times Herald Tues. 5-21-57 Washington, D.C.

Associated Press

Nineteen Democratic Senators have new souvenir coins to remind them of the Southerners' fight against the civil rights bills.

The souvenirs were given by Sen. A. Willis Robertson (D-Va.) "as a symbol of my belief that you stand, as I do, on the side of liberty against tyranny."

"So long as there are two of us left in the United States Senate capable of matching these coins, Robertson wrote. "I am confident there will be no unchallenged acceptance of the base counterfeit which is circulated under the label of 'civil rights.'"

The coin, not minted by the Federal Government, was issued in connection with the celebration of the Jamestown settlement.

One inscription on the coin reads: "The Constitution or the Supreme Court." The other reads "Liberty or Tyranny."

New Yorker Asks Rights Bill Recognize State Sovereignty

Advertiser Wed. 5-15-57 P. 1 Montgomery, Ala. P. 10

WASHINGTON, May 14 (AP)—Rep. Ray (R-NY) suggested today that the administration's civil rights legislation be amended to recognize the sovereignty of the states."

Ray, a Minnesota-born lawyer who once was general counsel of American Telphone and Telegraph Co., made his proposal at a meeting of the House Rules Committee.

Ray proposed that the U.S. attorney general be forbidden to prosecute civil rights cases in a federal court, if adequate and speedy remedies are available in state courts.

The Rules Committee, which is to vote next Tuesday on clearing the legislation to the House floor, also head from Sen. Ervin (D-NC), who has been carrying the ball for the bill's opposition in the Senate.

The bill would authorize the attorney general to seek injunctions against alleged violations of civil rights, and those who defied the injunctions would become liable to punishment for contempt of court.

Since a judge could sentence a man for contempt, without a jury passing on the case, Ervin said the legislation is "incompatible with the American Constitution and legal system."

Ervin said Atty. Gen. Brownell wants to by-pass trial by jury, and added:

"He asks Congress to give the (justice) department some loaded legal dice. They are afraid they will lose some civil rights cases... if they have to convince juries. The motive behind this bill is a desire to avoid jury trials."

Move Against 'Rights' Bill Rejected

Courier-Journal

House Group To Vote Today

Louisville, Ky.

Wasington, May 20 (AP)—The Senate Judiciary Committee today rejected a Southern proposal to knock out key parts of the Administration's civil-rights bill.

Tues. 5-21-57

The six-man majority was made up of Senator Kefauver (D., Tenn.) and five Republican senators: Wiley (Wis.), Watkins (Utah), Dirksen (Ill.), Butler (Md.), and Hruska (Neb.).

Voting for the proposal, by Senator Ervin (D., N. C.), were Ervin and three other Southern democrats: Chairman Eastland (Miss.), McClellan (Ark.), and Johnston (S. C.).

It was some sort of a surprise that the committee took any action today. This was the first voting test of strength recorded in the committee since a subcommittee approved the bill, 4 to 2, March 19.

Ervin's proposal aimed at dropping provisions that would:

Create a special division in the Justice Department to enforce civil-rights laws.

Create a special commission with power to examine complaints of violation of civil rights.

Set up a system permitting injunction suits to protect a variety of civil rights.

If these provisions were dropped, the only thing left in the bill would be a section designed especially to protect the voting rights of Negroes.

The House Rules Committee has a vote set for tomorrow on clearing the bill for a vote in the House. Assuming it is cleared, a House vote could be expected by the end of this month, or early June.

The ACLU Report

Afro-American Sat. 4-6-57 Baltimore, Md. P. 4

There was good news for all lovers of freedom in the 36th annual report issued last week by the American Civil Liberties Union.

Entitled "Liberty is always unfinished business," the report, prepared by the ACLU executive director, Patrick Murphy Malin, finds the current struggle for racial equality presents the "most crucial situation since the nation was divided in 1861."

Disturbed by the assault on the free speech guarantees of the Constitution, as represented by the eight-state attack on the NAACP, the ACLU pledges itself in 1957 to "provide new support for the national campaign against discrimination."

Although recognizing definite advances in the area of equal citizenship brought about by the unanimous decisions of the Supreme Court, the organization finds an increased need for missionary work at the community level.

To fill this need, the ACLU announces its intention to "build a larger corps of volunteer lawyers to handle all kinds of civil liberties cases for all groups in the community."

That certainly should be welcome news to the NAACP's Thurgood Marshall and his hard-pressed corps of lawyers.

And to thousands of freedom fighters manning the ramparts on bitter Dixie battlefronts, the announcement will be greeted with renewed hope, matched with a determination never to surrender.

Reinforcements are on the way.

Civil Rights Bureau Bill Draws Veto

Herald Tribune Fri. 4-26-57 New York P. 7

Harriman Bars Lefkowitz Unit

From the Herald Tribune Bureau

ALBANY, Apr. 25.—Gov. Harriman today vetoed a Republican-sponsored bill that would have set up a special civil-rights bureau under the guidance of Attorney General Louis J. Lefkowitz, a Republican appointee.

The Republican-controlled legislature passed the measure after Charles Abrams, chairman of the State Commission Against Discrimination, made an appeal during the recent session for additional funds.

In his veto message Gov. Harriman said the bill had been opposed by twenty-six organizations which said its enactment would invite a "distinct setback" in civil rights practices throughout the state. He said he was convinced that the bill, appropriating $100,000 for the special agency, was designed to enable the bureau to take over "some of SCAD's principal duties."

Lefkowitz "Shocked"

Informed of the Governor's veto message last night, Attorney General Lefkowitz said, "I am shocked at the action taken by the Governor."

Mr. Lefkowitz, who was instrumental in drafting the Republican-sponsored legislation, said he wished to remind Mr. Harrima that "the purpose of this legislation was to make more effective the present laws against discrimination in this state and in no way to interfere with the power of SCAD." He added his opinion that the Southern wing of the Democratic party in Congress has been responsible for blocking passage of pending civil-rights legislation on the Federal level.

In his veto message, Gov. Harriman noted that more than 4,200 complaints have been filed with SCAD since its establishment and that the number of complaints received in 1956 has doubled, those filed in previous periods.

Morhouse Attacks Veto

Gov. Harriman's veto was immediately attacked by State Republican Chairman L. Judson Morhouse who said, "Mr. Harriman's statement shows that he continues to play politics with human dignity and does a great disservice to the fight against discrimination and intolerance."

Mr. Morhouse said establishment of the proposed civil rights bureau in the Attorney General's office would have increased the "influence and prestige of SCAD" rather than diminish its jurisdiction as the Governor contended.

In his statement delivered here tonight, Mr. Morhouse said Mr. Harriman "could have made a constructive contribution to the fight against bias by addressing a personal appeal to the Democratic leaders of the Democratic-controlled Congress to stop stalling and to approve President Eisenhower's civil-rights program."

Wallace Offers Passive Attack On 'Harassment'

Post-Herald Tues. 7-2-57
B'ham, Ala.

CLAYTON, July 1 (AP)—Circuit Judge George Wallace offered a passive resistance formula today for combatting civil rights laws in the South.

If President Eisenhower's program now pending in the Senate is enacted, Wallace said Southern law enforcement officers should refuse to co-operate with federal authorities in any investigations.

In a charge to the Barbour County grand jury, the judge said the FBI and other federal agencies have been successful in the past only because of "the co-operation of local law enforcement agencies and local people."

Without that co-operation, he said, "The federal authorities would not know where to turn."

Wallace, who once threatened **to jail any federal agent caught investigating "our courts," predicted that "999 out of 1000" in**vestigations resulting from passage of civil rights legislation would be "spurious and inspired either for political reasons or spite."

"The local law enforcement officials should use their offices to defend the local citizen instead of harassing him," the judge continued. "No local law enforcement officer should even discuss civil rights investigations with federal authorities except in defense of the local citizen and state sovereignty."

Wallace told the grand jury "there is no law which says we must co-operate with federal authorities in the harassment of local citizens," and said, "I hope that no local law enforcement official will aid in any investigation under these pending bills."

But he said Southerners should continue to co-operate with federal authorities "in the field of legitimate law enforcement problems."

Rights Blocking Grand Jury Backs

Post-Herald
Wed. 7-3-57

CLAYTON, July 2 (AP)—A judge's call for passive resistance in the face of civil rights investigations was echoed today by the Barbour County Grand Jury.

B'ham, Ala.

The jury, making its formal report after a two-day session, said "we are heartily in accord with" Circuit Judge George Wallace, who had urged local law enforcement officers to refuse to co-operate with federal authorities under the civil rights program pending in Congress.

Wallace made his observations in charging the grand jury yesterday. The jury report today said Circuit Solicitor Seymore Trammel had expressed the same views to the jurors.

The report said:

"We will continue to co-operate with all agencies in the field of legitimate law enforcement endeavors.

"But if the pending civil rights bills pass at this session of Congress we recommend that the citizens of this county and the law enforcement officials of this county refuse to aid in the politically and spitefully inspired civil rights investigations of our citizens."

Continuing, the grand jury declared:

"Our enemies respect only resistance and we recommend to the officialdom of Barbour County . . . total and absolute resistance within the law to the federal government's taking over this county if and when the civil rights measures pass Congress.

The Senate Can Act

Daily World P. 6
Wed. 7-3-57 Atlanta, Ga.

(From The Christian Science Monitor)

Hopes for civil rights legislation at this session of Congress are definitely looking up. The House of Representatives gave a thorough airing to objections to the program put forward by the Eisenhower administration and then adopted it. In the process it cleared up much confusion about the question of jury trials. And now the Senate has taken dramatic action to place the House bill on its calendar, bypassing its own Judiciary Committee.

This unusual step is justified by that committee's own departure from orderly processes. It has bottled up the legislation for six months and has shown no intention of giving the Senate an opportunity to consider it on its merits. But a majority has now placed it in position where any member can call it out for floor debate.

That move is expected by early July for the legislation still faces a battle — which could be prolonged and rough. Opponents have by no means exhausted their weapons — especially those of diversion and delay. The most likely prospect is a major filibuster. There will be maneuvers now to prevent other measures getting caught behind a filibuster. These may affect the vote on civil rights. For a talkathon can only be limited by a vote of 64 senators — which is very difficult to obtain.

The legislation includes proposals for a non-partisan commission to study abuses and for a plan to permit the attorney general to obtain injunctions to prevent such things as denial of voting rights to Negroes. The President appears to have enlisted general Republican support for it and northern Democrats favor it. But while hopes for congressional action on civil rights are brighter than for 70 years, this moderate program is going to need all the help it can find.

Senate Takes Up the Fight

Courier Sat. 7-6-57
Pittsburgh, Pa. P. 9

The House of Representatives has passed and sent to the Senate the controversial civil rights bill where the last-ditch fight is now going on with the prospect of passage none too bright.

As was to be expected, the Southern solons are unanimously opposed to a civil rights law and can be counted upon, as in the past, to use every parliamentary device to defeat it, despite the President's assurance that the bill "was designed and conceived in the thought of conciliation and moderation, not of persecution of anybody."

Most Southern Senators cannot conceive of any legislation that would end the one-party dictatorship upon which their power is based as not being "persecution," and the vehemence with which they fight it is an admission of their fears.

The final decision in the Senate will be the most accurate indication imaginable of just how far this country has progressed in making a living reality of our vaunted constitutional rights.

Second Looks At The Civil Rights Bill

Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.
Sun. 7-14-57

WHILE the civil rights bill moves toward a floor test, President Eisenhower's confession that he isn't sure what some of the ambiguous language means has prompted others to wonder also.

While still calling the bill a "right to vote" bill, *The New York Times*, for instance, grudgingly concedes that Senator Russell's analysis, which prompted the President's confession of confusion, was a revelation:

[Senator Russell] has discovered in the pending bill terminology that may indeed be fairly interpreted in the way he chooses to interpret it. In previous discussion of the civil rights measure there has been almost total neglect of this one point [that, as Russell disclosed, it is more than a right to vote bill, for hidden in one section is "a force law designed to compel the intermingling of the race in the public schools" by the use of troops].

The Administration bill in something very much like its present form was debated and passed by the House a year ago, the current one was debated and passed by the House again last month; there have been extensive hearings and reports and innumerable speeches on the subject; yet in all this time was made no real issue of the possibility pointed to by Senator Russell that the bill might be used to enforce school intregation . . . Until the last few days it has been generally overlooked—so much so that some of the bill's leading proponents now admit privately that they had never even thought of it.

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INCREDIBLE as this sounds, that a a major proposal of so far-reaching domestic impact could have deluded so many people by its obscure passages and deliberate ambiguity, it can be explained if not excused. "Liberals" are supposed to be for civil rights and this was a civil rights bill. So why bother to study it?

Had it not been for Russell's calm analysis, the civil rights bill, which might be used by some future President to bayonet the South into social chaos, could have become law.

The Wall Street Journal, which despite its reputed economic conservatism has been vigorous in its defense of civil liberties in America, comments on the Russell disclosures and the arguments against the trial by jury amendment:

. . . Even if their contention [the contention of supporters of the measure] were proved to be true [that Southern juries would not convict] it could then be argued with some logic that any law so objectionable that one-fourth of the population of the entire country can be immediately counted on to disobey it is a law that ought to be long looked at before it is enacted anyway.

Whether the civil rights bill as presently worded would actually be administered in a punitive fashion we do not know. But there can be no doubt that, in the actual reasons for omitting the historic right of trial by jury the measure is an indictment of 40,000,000 people that more than Southerners will find objectionable.

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THE contention of Northern liberals,

which boils down merely to "the end justifies the mean," has frequently been the invitation to tyranny, as history has shown time and again.

Even if it is argued, as some seem to, that the "second-class citizen" status of Negroes can only be corrected by making second-class citizens of Southern whites, it is not possible to impose this status by legislative fiat on a fourth of the nation without weakening the entire nation.

Compromise On Rights Bill Is Opposed

Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky.
Tues 7-16-57

3 Northerners Fight To Halt Softening Proposal; Senate To Vote on Motion Today

By The Associated Press

Washington, July 15.—A cold north wind began to blow today against Senate efforts to compromise the civil-rights bill.

Senator McNamara (D., Mich.) said it is obvious to him "that the principal motive of the compromise seekers is to gut this bill of any effectiveness."

Senator Potter (R., Mich.) declared: "I think the bill is a good one as it stands," while Senator Douglas (D., Ill.) announced he will resist any efforts to amend it.

This Northern offensive against a compromise on the Administration-backed legislation came in debate on the eve of a Senate vote that will decide whether the civil-rights bill is to be brought to the Senate floor for action.

Southerners Agree To Vote

Southern senators fighting the bill have agreed to a vote tomorrow on a motion to bring the measure formally before the Senate. They bank on getting a series of amendments to soften its terms.

Senator Russell (D., Ga.), leader of the Southern opposition, has conceded he can't prevent the House-passed bill from being taken up. Senator Johnson (D., Tex.), the Senate majority leader, has predicted the vote in favor of Senate consideration will be about 2 to 1.

Southern resignation to a full-dress debate on the bill itself may have been the signal Northern supporters were waiting for to begin their drive for passage.

The motion of Senator Knowland of California, the G.O.P. leader, to take up the bill has been argued for seven days. Most of the speeches, however, have been made by Southerners bitterly opposed to the legislation. For the most part, Northerners have withheld their fire.

McNamara's Speech Fiery

McNamara changed this picture today with a fiery speech for Senate approval of the legislation.

"If Congress can enact the first civil-rights bill in almost 90 years—and the Senate filibuster can be broken—the power of civil-rights obstructionists will be on the way out," he declared.

The bill would create a civil-rights commission with broad subpoena powers to conduct a two-year investigation of the problem of civil rights. It would set up a civil-rights division in the Justice Department and provide an assistant attorney general to head it.

Additionally, it would empower the attorney general to seek Federal Court injunctions against any real or threatened violations of civil rights. Persons disobeying the injunctions could be charged with contempt of court and punished without a jury trial. Southerners are particularly opposed to this section.

'Presented With Ultimatum'

McNamara counseled those who speak of compromise that "the die-hard opponents of this legislation will vote against it" no matter what compromises are accepted.

"Their compromise feelers amount to proposals of appeasement," he asserted, "of surrender even before parliamentary debate begins—exacted by the threat that debate will never end.

"We are presented in effect with an ultimatum. The ultimatum is that the terms of surrender must be written into amendments and agreed to now.

"We know that they have cunningly planned every step—that while this debate continues we are permitted an occasional peek at their ultimate weapon, the filibuster.

"This is a weapon that the Senate must bury forever."

Predicts No Changes In Bill

Southern Democrats can filibuster against a vote on the bill; it takes the affirmative vote of 64 of the 96 senators to limit debate. Russell has indicated the filibuster question will be decided by the extent to which the bill is modified by amendments.

Potter said the changes proposed by the bill's opponents would make a "travesty" of the measure. He predicted none would be adopted.

"All the so-called compromises are coming from people against the legislation in the first place," Potter said. "I won't have any part of that."

Javits Favors Injunction

Douglas, a leader of the Northern Democrats who favor the bill, said the section providing for federal injunctions should be preserved to provide additional means to enforce what he called the "good" decisions of the Supreme Court with respect to public-school desegregation and other civil-rights questions.

Senator Javits (R., N. Y.) also spoke in favor of the injunction section.

Knowland said he was not prepared to discuss any changes in the legislation until the Senate votes tomorrow on his motion to make it the pending order of business.

But he said the Administration would oppose striking out Section 3, the injunction section, altogether.

Russell has proposed eliminating the entire section from the bill. Other senators have suggested limiting it to the protection of voting rights.

Filibuster Threatens

Senate Fight Opens On Civil Rights Bill

Herald
Miami Fla.
Tues 7-9-57

WASHINGTON—(AP)—A Senate battle of historic proportions began Monday when Republican Leader William F. Knowland, of California, moved to call up the administration's civil rights bill.

The bill was immediately attacked by Sen. Samuel J. Ervin Jr., (D., N.C.) as the "most drastic and indefensible" legislation ever submitted to Congress.

KNOWLAND **ERVIN**

Southern senators are determined to try to kill it — as they have all other civil rights legislation in recent years. A filibuster may develop from this effort. In that event congress may have to stay in session until mid-September.

Sen. Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, Democratic leader, said he had been informed by Knowland and other supporters of the bill that no other business will be allowed before the Senate until the civil rights issue is settled.

The only exceptions, Johnson said he was advised, will be measures of "extreme urgency" or bills that can be handled by unanimous consent.

Sen. Richard B. Russell (D., Ga.), leader of Southern opposition, jumped quickly into the fray with an assertion that backers of the civil rights bill have tried to "make the South the whipping boy of the nation."

"They are trying to make us a bear, being poked at all of the time to make it dance!" he cried.

"We will resist — we will resist."

Russell has asked for a conference with President Eisenhower on the civil rights bill and will get an appointment, the White House announced.

Knowland told the Senate he hoped for a vote on his motion before the end of the week. He had said previously he would force the Senate into round-the-clock sessions if it became apparent that Southerners were trying to talk the bill to death.

Both Knowland's motion to bring the House-passed bill before the Senate and discussion of the bill itself are subject to unlimited debate. The vote of two-thirds of the Senate membership — 64 of the 98 senators — will be necessary to impose a limit on the debate.

Vice President Richard Nixon, president of the Senate, was not present for the opening of the battle but he told reporters in Rochester, N. Y.:

"I believe there is a good chance the Senate will pass a civil rights bill at this session."

10 1957

UNANIMOUS AGREEMENT

Senate Agrees To Delay 24-Hour Rights Session

WASHINGTON, July 11 (AP)—By unanimous agreement, the Senate decided late today it will not start round-the-clock sessions on the civil rights bill at least until Saturday.

Democratic Leader Johnson of Texas, who engineered the agreement, said he hoped the senators could get together later on a definite time to vote on a motion to bring the controversial legislation to the floor.

The Senate has been debating the motion in overtime sessions since Monday.

Johnson said he favored a vote next Wednesday. Others sought a vote Monday and some wanted one today.

The fact that "some 18 or 20 senators" still want to make speeches on the motion, the Democratic leader said, made it impossible to fix a voting time now. The time must be fixed by unanimous agreement.

Johnson said that after tonight's session the Senate would meet at 9:30 a.m. tomorrow and Saturday.

"I am unable to say now how late the Senate will continue on Saturday," Johnson reported after a series of conferences with Republican Leader Knowland of California and other chieftains of opposing camps in the civil rights battle.

Earlier in today's long session Johnson announced he would support a proposal by Sen. Morse (D-Ore) to refer the civil rights bill to the Judiciary Committee with orders to report it back in two weeks. The move would probably save time, he said.

In effect, Morse and Johnson were asking the Senate to reverse its decision of June 20 which bypassed the Judiciary Committee and placed the House-passed bill directly on the Senate calendar.

Morse supports the civil rights legislation but objects to short-circuiting the committee system. He conceded today that the Judiciary Committee has been holding up the Senate's version of the civil rights bill for more than six months, but he said the Senate could instruct the committee when to report back the House version.

Morse's motion probably would not be voted on until the motion to bring the House bill to the floor is disposed of.

Knowland told reporters he felt there was a good chance of getting a unanimous consent agreement tomorrow to vote on his motion early next week.

He said President Eisenhower has made it clear that he intends to leave any "clarifying" changes in the bill to his legislative leaders. The Californian said he had no changes in mind "at the moment"—that he was concentrating on getting the bill before the Senate.

Sens. Olin D. Johnston (D-SC) and Eastland (D-Miss) delivered blistering speeches against the civil rights measure today.

Eastland denounced it as a "sly, scheming, slick attempt to circumvent our Constitution."

He told the Senate the purpose of the administration-backed bill was "to use all federal power for the destruction of the social order in the Southern states and to bring about racial intermarriage and amalgamation."

Johnston asserted enactment of the bill would "destroy the Bill of Rights and create a modern American Gestapo state."

Today's session began with a statement by the majorty leader, Johnson, that it was premature to talk of a possible civil rights compromise. Nevertheless, some GOP sponsors of the bill moved toward narrowing its provisions.

Sen. Hill (D-Ala) denounced the bill as "a grave threat . . . to liberties sought to be held forever sacrosanct in the bill of rights."

Through its injunction provisions, he said, it would permit "despotic judges to decree the law," sit in judgement on those accused of "violating their judge-made law" and then mete our punishment.

DANGEROUS PROPOSALS

Hill said the bill is full of dangerous proposals, and that "the people of the United States are singularly unaware of the evils" he contended are inherent in its terms.

He told the Senate, at a thinly attended night session, "its most dangerous parts are parts three and four, dealing with powers of the attorney general supposedly to protect voting rights and civil rights."

If it becomes law, Hill predicted, it will subject citizens to the 'whim and caprice" of attorneys general.

Hill wound up his speech by saying that he believes the bill would give attorneys general power that in the future could be turned 'to harass labor and harass management." He denounced what he termed its "artful cunning, sly draftsmanship:"

He appealed to the Senate to "send this measure down to the toneless silence of dreamless dust."

Early Vote On 'Rights' Is Sought

Senate Leaders Aim for Action By Wednesday

By Robert C. Albright
Staff Reporter

The Administration drive to pass a civil rights bill neared the close of its first week last night, with Senate leaders pressing for a vote on a motion to call up the measure.

Senate Democratic Leader Lyndon B. Johnson (Tex.) told the Senate he hopes for a vote on the initial motion by Wednesday of next week.

A round of across-the-aisle leadership negotiations failed to produce a unanimous consent agreement, however, and Administration leaders showed the first signs of impatience.

Early Vote Sought

Senate Republican Leader William F. Knowland (Calif.) told reporters he, too, hopes for a vote early next week. In fact, Knowland said he thought a week is a long time to spend simply discussing a motion to take up a bill—that a vote Saturday wouldn't be rushing matters.

Knowland indicated concurrence in Johnson's proposal to move in the Senate today for a unanimous consent agreement on a fixed time for voting next week. Failing such an agreement today, Knowland announced he would have to "take other steps."

Knowland did not say what the "other steps" would be, but in past he has suggested "prolonged" meetings and even "round the clock" sessions.

The California Republican, in control of enough GOP and liberal Democratic votes to take over the leadership on the civil rights issue, appeared content for the time being to let Johnson do the talking on procedure.

Johnson announced a sharply stepped-up schedule, with the Senate meeting at 10:30 a. m. beginning today. He called on Senate committees to meet as early as 8:30-9 a. m., to avoid conflict with Senate sessions.

Knowland, invited to breakfast with President Eisenhower at 8 a. m. today, joined Johnson in rejecting talk of a compromise as "premature" at this stage.

He said he will dicsuss the civil rights bill with the President this morning, but hat Mr. Eisenhower already has made it quite clear he will leave any "clarifications" of the bill to the Senate.

The Republican leader predicted flatly that a Johnson-endorsed move by Sen. Wayne Morse (D-Ore.) to send the bill to the Senate Judiciary Committee for a two-week study, while the Senate catches up with other work, will be "overwhelmingly" defeated.

Chief obstacle to a fixed day for voting on a motion to call up the bill appeared to be Sen. Richard B. Russell (Ga.), leader of the Southern Democratic Caucus. Russell told reporters that as of yesterday, he was not prepared to agree in advance on a set time for voting. That did not mean he would finally object to a vote by next Wednesday, he stressed.

Extreme Southern opponents of the Administration bill, Sens. Olin D. Johnston (D-S. C.) and James O. Eastland (D-Miss.), held the floor for most of the time as the Senate waded through its fourth day or debate.

Troops Issue

Olin Johnston called on the Senate to amend the civil rights bill to deny the Administration authority to "use Federal troops and Naval forces to enforce the bill."

Sponsors of the bill have consistently denied that the Administration has any idea of using force, even though Part III of the measure is grafted on an old reconstruction statute authorizing use of troops in certain cases.

Reports spread at the Capitol that this is oine "clarification" the White House is willing to write into the measure, in the form of some specific assurance that Federal troops would not be used in the South.

Eastland, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, which sat on the civil rights bill for five months before the Senate by-passed it, later took the floor to deliver a 50-page prepared speech blasting the measure as a "sly, scheming attempt to circumvent our Constitution."

Eastland charged at one point that "the purpose of the bill is to use all Federal power for the destruction of the social order in the Southern states and to bring about racial intermarriage and amalgamation."

Debate Is First, Filibuster Later

Filibuster fliers:

Southern strategy calls for debating motion to take up civil rights, saving real filibuster for later. Encouraged by Eisenhower admission he doesn't completely understand the bill, Southerners hope debate will persuade some senators that the bill should be drastically amended.

There's a change compromise may be worked out securing voting rights for all; nothing else. (That's what Ike said he wanted.) Democratic Leader Johnson is good at such agreements. Republican Leader Knowland has implied Senate may want to modify House bill.

It takes 64 of the 95 senators to impose cloture, shut off debate. But two senators are ailing, probably won't appear to vote. Two others are temporarily hospitalized. So Southerners may be able to block cloture by getting 28 to 30 votes.

We still think there's a good chance final vote may go over till next year.

Civil Rights Compromise Now Appears Certain

Constitution P.A.
Tues. 7-16-57
Atlanta Ga.

Sen. Flanders, of the rock-ribbed Republican State of Vermont, has told his constituents there will be a Senate compromise, to which he has no objection, on the civil rights bill.

Sen. Ervin, of North Carolina, one of the Southern Senate leaders, along with Sen. Russell, of Georgia, is quoted as saying he now believes the rights bill which will be passed will be truly a right-to-vote bill.

The right-to-vote section of the bill really is not an introduction of the right to vote. That already exists. The real objective of the legislation is to provide for action against those who interfere with that right. Hence it is popularly called a right-to-vote bill.

The right of ballot is the heart of any civil rights measure. Certainly no American can deny that every citizen has the right to vote for those who will govern him.

The compromise, therefore, will be wise for all concerned, including the Negro minority.

Section III, which gives the U.S. Department of Justice the right to use injunctions, is ambiguous, even as President Eisenhower himself has said. If passed it could be used to coerce in matters not at all related to the present issues.

The right of trial by jury in contempt cases also is expected to be added to the bill as a part of the compromise. While few states provide for jury trials in contempt cases, the judge holding complete power, the right of such trial is one to which Americans hold. To include it in a rights bill is not inconsistent.

The compromise, which will be regarded as a Southern victory, will not be that at all. True enough, Southerners first proposed the amendments. But they now have the support of many staunch Republicans because of the ambiguous and dangerous loopholes in them which could, in the wrong hands, suppress rights rather than protect them.

But the right to vote is a sacred one and is the heart of all civil rights. As Sen. Ervin says, that is what the bill finally will become.

Big Debate Begins

Post + Times Herald
7-10-57

The Senate has begun what may become its most momentous filibuster. In proclaiming that they will fight the right-to-vote bill until they "fall in their tracks, if necessary," the Southern Senators have laid down a challenge which the Senate as a whole must meet. The bill sailed through the House by a vote of 286 to 126. It seems to have the approval of an overwhelming majority of the American people. Every consideration of logic and of democratic principle demands that at long last it be brought to a vote in the Senate.

Washington D.C.
Tues 7-9-57

Of course, the measure ought to be thoroughly debated, and this may require a couple of weeks. Despite the basic purpose of the bill, some of its provisions are controversial among legislators who thoroughly accept the principle behind it. The Senate must satisfy itself not only that the measure has a worthy purpose but also that its specific provisions are well adapted to the accomplishment of this purpose. Insofar as the debate is aimed at the elimination of defects and a tightening up of language, it should be welcomed.

At the outset, therefore, sponsors of the bill would do well to clear up any misconceptions as to its meaning or intent. It has been repeatedly denounced as an instrument through which the Federal Government could enforce racial integration in the schools of the South. Undoubtedly this will be the focal point of the assault against it, although Attorney General Brownell has denied that it would have any bearing on the liquidation of segregation in the schools.

Senator Watkins also has said that, in contributing to the drafting of the bill, the idea it might be used to enforce integration in the schools was farthest from his thought. The fact remains that one provision of the bill as it now stands can be reasonably interpreted as authorizing the Attorney General to bring suits for the enforcement of equal rights in the schools. If that was not the intention of its authors, the matter should certainly be clarified before several weeks of debate are wasted on mere semantics.

The Senators who are trying to avoid this inflammatory issue are not saying that the Supreme Court's ruling against segregation in the schools should not be enforced. Rather, they are saying that compliance with the high court's ruling is being worked out by normal judicial processes and that that issue should not be injected unnecessarily into the new contest which centers in the right to vote. Something more than oral assurances will be needed, however, if the school issue is to be kept out of the controversy now before the Senate.

The debate may show that other changes in the bill are also desirable. The important thing is not to force acceptance of the letter of the measure as it now stands but, in the end, to pass a bill that will make the right to vote an actuality. To this end, we think the Senate should be prepared to hold night sessions, to remain in continuous session if necessary to break the filibuster and to modify its outmoded rule which requires 64 votes to limit debate.

The Senate ought to be mindful that the eyes of the world are upon it. Now that the showdown is at hand it cannot fail to meet this issue without gravely undercutting American prestige in all other countries. The spectacle of our Senate locked in futile combat for several months or indefinitely paralyzed in regard to so fundamental an issue as the right to vote would be a blow to the whole free world. The debate should be conducted in the light of these potential repercussions and the issue should then be courageously faced with full understanding of the impact the Senate's action will have on the processes of government as well as on the rights of individual citizens.

Thomas L. Stokes

Constitution P.A.

Texas' Johnson Is On Rights Hot Seat

Wed. 7-17-57
Atlanta Ga.

WASHINGTON—The one man in the Senate who is on the spot more than anybody else in the current civil rights fight and yet who perhaps is enjoying it the most is the Democratic Party's Senate leader, Lyndon Johnson of Texas. His position is ticklish for several reasons.

He is a Southerner and wants to do the best he can for his Southern colleagues, almost all of whom are really dead-set against any civil rights bill at all. He is a candidate for the 1960 Democratic presidential nomination. Consequently he does not want to get a sectional brand.

He is the party's floor leader in the Senate. In that powerful and responsible post he shares, with his fellow Texan — Speaker of the House Sam Rayburn — the management of this Congress which his party controls. In the absence of a president in the White House, it is in Congress where Democrats make the record that will stand for the party in the coming congressional elections next year and the 1960 presidential election. That imposes upon him and Speaker Rayburn the obligation to avoid getting the party stamped as a sectional party and, at the same time, to avoid widening the rift that exists on civil rights between North and South wings.

It is clear that he looks upon what would ordinarily be a thankless task, considering all the emotions involved in this issue, as a great opportunity to display his talents. If a compromise can eventually be worked out, he intends to get credit for it.

The Texan assumes command at the opening of every session, outlining the program for civil rights debate for the day. He identifies himself as a leader bent on moderation by uttering little homilies about how everybody should be considerate of everybody else and remember that they are members of a great institution.

However, he holds up his hand against any talk of compromise, which is part of his strategy. This is so that his Southerners may, in the end, get what they hope for. What they really want, of course, would be no bill at all — but what they hope for is one that means as little as possible.

What really sticks with them is the right-to-vote part of the measure. For, as pointed out here previously, an extension of voting in the South among Negroes may endanger the senators' futures.

Southerners raised a literal riot call through their leader — Sen. Russell of Georgia —against Section III, which could be used in the school integration process. They believe they can get that eliminated from the Eisenhower measure eventually. Then their other objective is to require jury trial in cases of violation of injunctions issued by federal judges to stop restrictions on Negro voting.

If Sen. Johnson can be helpful in arranging such a "compromise" for his Southern colleagues, it would indeed endear him to them.

It is not seen, however, how that would help his chances for the party's presidential nomination, though those never have been too good.

10 1957

Associated Press Wirephoto

THE DIE IS CAST: Senate leaders on the civil rights issue meet to work out details for Tuesday's vote to make civil rights bill pending business. From left: Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia, leader of Southern opposition; Senator Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, who introduced the motion, passed by the Senate, calling for Tuesday's vote, and Senator William F. Knowland of California, who is the Senate sponsor of the Administration's bill.

SENATE TO VOTE TUESDAY IN TEST ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Times P.1 New York Sat. 7-13-57

Unanimous Accord Allows Ballot on Taking Up Bill, Which Is Now Assured

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TEXT CHANGES INDICATED

Knowland, After White House Conference, Says He Might Offer Some Amendments

By JOHN D. MORRIS

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, July 12—The Southern opposition staged a tactical retreat today as the Senate unanimously agreed to vote next Tuesday on a motion to call up the Administration's civil rights bill.

The Senate has been debating since Monday merely the question whether the measure should be made the officially pending business.

This usually routine parliamentary move of calling up a bill was assured of success by today's development, because a majority of Senators are known to favor passage of the civil rights measure. The real question had been whether Southern opponents would attempt to delay or block a vote at this stage by prolonged debate.

The agreement also assured the Senate of an opportunity, once the bill is officially before it, to alter the text, possibly to a point where it would not be wholly distasteful to the South.

But there still was no certainty that a vote on the measure itself could be held. The possibility that Southerners would engage in a filibuster—the tactic of dilatory debate to prevent action—remained very much in the picture.

Compromise Is Indicated

Some signs indicated a compromise might be found and a filibuster averted or at least forced to a conclusion by cosure, the Senate procedure for limiting debate. A two-thirds majority of the entire membership, or sixty-four, is required to invoke closure.

Senator William F. Knowland of California seemed to lend weight to prospects of concessions to the Southern point of view, if not outright compromise, after a breakfast conference ths morning with President Eisenhower.

Mr. Knowland, Republican leader of the Senate and unofficial floor manager of the civil rights bill, told reporters that the Admnistration had "never taken the postion that there should be no clarifying amendments."

While he said he did not expect any such proposals to come from the White House, he stated that it was possible that he would offer some amendments himself. He declined to specify their possible nature.

The Senator insisted, however, that there was no justification for charges by some Northern Democrats that the President was wavering in his support of the bill. The Administration has not changed its position on the measure, he told questioners.

"Their recommendations are still their recommendations," he declared.

The Senate agreement to vote Tuesday on calling up the bill followed days of cloakroom negotiations that culminated in acceptance of the idea by Southern opponents at a caucus this morning.

The leader of the Southern bloc, Senator Richard B. Russell, Democrat of Georgia, told reporters that his group realized that there was no hope of preventing the bill from eventually coming before the Senate.

In addition, he explained, he and his colleagues felt that there was a good chance of winning changes that would make the measure more palatable, though still objectionable, to the South.

Although the preliminary vote could have been delayed far beyond the Tuesday deadline by a filibuster, the Southerners thus chose to conserve their fire for the next phase of the battle.

Hope For Changes

By doing so, they hoped to maintain a posture of reasonableness, salve public opinion and create an atmosphere conducive to Senate acceptance of proposals to modify the bill.

"We have endeavored and shall continue to endeavor to comport ourselves as responsible men," Mr. Russell told the Senate in accepting the unanimous consent agreement.

He appealed to Senators on the other side to do likewise, to "consider this issue on its merits as responsible men" and to investigate various amendments with open minds.

"That is all we ask, Mr. President," he asserted, "that we be dealt with justly and fairly as each member of this Senate would wish to be dealt with if he were in our position."

Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, the Senate Democratic leader, proposed the agreement for himself and Senator Knowland.

It provides for a quorum call at 4 P. M. Tuesday, followed by two hours of debate and than a vote calling up the bill. A quorum call, in which Senators answer "present," usually takes ten or fifteen minutes. So the vote will come shortly after 6 P. M.

Senator Johnson, in a brief speech following the agreement, said he believed the Senate was proving by the debate that "it can meet any issue with dignity and thoroughness."

"This may disappoint those who were looking for a bitter and bloody brawl, but it will not disappoint the American people," he remarked.

'Senate Is on Trial'

"I think we all realize that in a very real sense the Senate is on trial, and the American people want us to win. Winning means that we will deliberate the issues, search our consciences and come to the conclusions to which we are impelled by conviction.

"The debate will necessarily be lengthy, because we must face the fact that this issue is complex and there are no simple answers. To the partisan, thre may be simple 'yes' and 'no' solutions.

"But the American people expect us to put the national interest above partisan interest, and I have every confidence that we will do precisely that."

Senator Herman E. Talmage, Democrat of Georgia, then took the floor to deliver an item-by-item denunciation of the bill. He said the measure threatened "the rights of every American citizen, whatever his color." Declaring that he spoke for Georgians of every color, he added:

"Georgia is giving her people the real and important civil rights — not table pounding, empty words and false, unresulting hopes."

Southerners Map Battle To Balk Bill

Advertiser P.1 Sat 7-13-57 Montgomery, Ala.

WASHINGTON, July 12 (AP)—The Senate agreed unanimously today to vote at about 6 p.m. Tuesday on a motion to bring the House-passed civil rights bill before it for action.

Adoption of the motion in the Tuesday vote is a foregone conclusion. Bringing a bill of that nature before the Senate would in itself be a major victory for civil rights supporters.

What may happen thereafter remains uncertain.

Southern senators have bitterly denounced the bill, backed by the Eisenhower administration. They have given every indication they will use their traditional weapon—the filibuster—to try to talk it to death in its present form.

OPPOSITION LEADER

Sen. Russell (D-Ga), leader of the Southern opposition, said he had been authorized to work out arrangements for a vote in the neighborhood of Wednesday.

The Senate's majority leader, Sen. Johnson (D-Tex), expressed hope there might be a roll call as early as Tuesday. He estimated there were a score of senators, including himsIf, who still wanted to talk on the North-South issue.

The vote will be on a motion by Sen. Knowland of California, the Republican leader, to bring the disputed civil rights legislation to the floor.

Russell conceded today that Knowland's motion will probably be adopted.

VOTING STRENGTH

"Very frankly," he said, opponents of the bill won't be able to muster their full voting strength against a motion to take up. "Many who are likely to vote against the bill will support a motion to take it up," he added.

But once the legislation is before the Senate the Southern Democrats will fire a new verbal barrage against it. The debate may develop into a filibuster.

Knowland reported after a

HUDDLE OVER RIGHTS BILL

Sen. Richard Russell (D-Ga), left, leader of the Southern forces opposed to the controversial civil rights bill, met yesterday with Sen. William Knowland (R-Calif) and Senate majority leader Lyndon Johnson (D-Tex), center, to work out details to bring a vote on a motion calling the rights bill before the Senate. Southern Democratic leaders tentatively have agreed to permit a vote on the Knowland-sponsored motion the middle of next week, possibly by Tuesday.—AP Wirephoto

White House breakfast with President Eisenhower that the administration still stands behind the civil rights measure as it passed the House June 18.

"Their recommendations are still their recommendations," the GOP leader said. "They have never taken the position, however, that there should not be any clarifying amendments."

SUPPORTING BILL

Some Northern Democrats supporting the bill, including Rep. Celler of New York and Sen. McNamara of Michigan, contend that Eisenhower is wavering in his support of the legislation. Asked if this were true, Knowland said "No."

Russell is working out a voting agreement with Knowland and Johnson. He told reporters "there is no possibility of a vote on Sen. Knowland's motion before Tuesday. I'd prefer to delay it until Wednesday, or even Thursday."

Almost all the Southern Democrats attended a 45-minute conference in Russell's office.

"We felt we have been fully justified in our debate on the motion to take up," Russell said. "This bill has pursued a very unusual course. There is no committee report on it. We feel justified in putting into the Senate record, at least, an analysis of this bill."

OVERTIME SESSIONS

Knowland's motion has been debated in overtime Senate sessions since last Monday. Johnson is reported to believe that when the time for voting comes, the motion will be carried by about a 2-1 ratio.

In a renewal of the debate today, Johnson told the Senate that the speeches so far had demonstrated that the civil rights controversy is not one that can be settled by a simple "yes" or "no."

"I believe that most thoughtful men now agree that there are serious issues which must be explored carefully and prudently," he continued.

"There are still those, of course, who believe that the Senate should operate on the basis of 'Get out of town by sundown.' But I doubt whether they will impress the Senate or the great majority of our people."

Knowland has estimated the civil rights fight may keep Congress in session until mid-September. Very little other business will be taken up by the Senate while the debate is in progress. A log-jam of other legislation is piling up.

Russell, in another floor speech, contended the bill gives the attorney general far more power to enforce civil rights by injunction than he asked for initially.

He called the measure "an attempt at legislative legerdemain and obfuscation."

Russell said the broad and punitive powers sought for the attorney general were aimed at 40 million white persons who live in the South. By a series of questions, Sen. Malone (R-Nev) indicated he agreed with Russell.

Matter Of Fact

By Joseph And Stewart Alsop

Lyndon Johnson And Civil Rights

WASHINGTON.

SENATE Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson, probably the most effective Congressional leader of this generation, now faces his supreme challenge, for he has set himself the task of preventing the Northern and Southern wings of the Democratic party from tearing the party to shreds over the civil rights issue. And his own political future is also deeply involved in his success or failure in this task

It is a remarkably difficult task. In the past, it was easy for both Northerners and Southerners to attitudinize righteously, taking extreme positions to please the folks back home, without inflicting deep or lasting wounds on the other side. For in the past, no one thought that civil rights legislation had a ghost's chance of passing. Now, for the first time in this century, some kind of civil rights legislation seems certain to pass the Senate. So the fight, for the first time, is in deadly earnest.

The Eisenhower administration's decision to make civil rights a major party issue has not only frightened the Southerners with the specter of Negroes becoming a decisive voting bloc even in the deep South states. It has also scared the living daylights out of the Northern big city Democrats, whose political lives depend on an overwhelmingly Democratic Negro vote.

Thus both Northerners and Southerners are in a near-desperate mood, and in such an atmosphere an irreparable internal explosion in the Democratic party could take place. It is such an explosion that Johnson is laboring desperately to avert, snatching the bloody shirt from the hands of Southerners eager to wave it, using his peculiar, almost hypnotic powers of persuasion to calm the political passions seething in northern breasts.

So far, he has been remarkably successful, partly because his counsels of moderation fit well into the Southern strategy fashioned by Sen. Richard Russell of Georgia. Russell recognized from the start that it would be fatal for the South to be placed in the position of opposing the right to vote.

HE THEREFORE concentrated on those aspects of the Administration bill which have raised honest doubts in the minds of thoughtful men—like the denial of jury trial, and the force bill aspects of the legislation. Thus the tone of the Southern argument has been—so far—an appeal to reason, rather than to passion. Russell has also astutely cast Attorney General Herbert Brownell in the role of villain of the piece, a role to which he is well suited in the eyes of the Northern liberals.

Russell's strategy has worked brilliantly—so far. It is extremely doubtful that Senate Minority Leader William Knowland could muster a simple majority for the bill as it now stands, much less the 64 votes needed to silence a filibuster.

Thus compromise of some sort is inevitable. The key battles will be fought on amendments to require trial by jury, and to limit or eliminate the federal government's power to intervene to enforce school desegregation. When these battles are joined, Johnson will have to perform miracles to prevent an internal explosion in his party.

For the hard core Southerners will fight to the death against any civil rights bill at all—they must, to survive at home. And the big city Northerners—men like Douglas of Illinois, Clark of Pennsylvania, Humphrey of Minnesota, McNamara of Michigan—will also be under heavy pressure to take an extreme position. In order to beat off the Republican bid for the huge Negro vote, the Northern Democrats must appear more civil rights-minded than any Republican.

IN THIS situation, moreover, Johnson's task is complicated by the fact that almost everybody, with the possible exception of Johnson, considers him a potential Presidential candidate in 1960. Any compromise position he favors will be labelled by the Southerners a sell-out to the North, and by the Northerners a sell-out to the South.

In such circumstances, it is hard to see how Johnson can avoid the worst sort of bitter rupture in the party he leads, and fatal damage to his own political prospects. Yet Johnson has performed miracles before, and the belief is growing on Capitol Hill that somehow, in ways no one can predict, he will emerge from the civil rights crisis with the Democratic party reasonably intact despite its wounds and with his own political position damaged, perhaps, but by no means beyond repair.

Says Civil Rights Bill Would Kill Social Patterns

WASHINGTON, (ANP) — "Social patterns in the Deep South would be changed" if pending civil rights legislation is passed, according to Georgia attorney general Eugene Cook last week here.

Cook's statements were made to assure unequal protection."

a House Judiciary subcommittee where the segregationists added," civil rights is designed to break down legally sanctioned segregation.

Cook termed equality legislation "radical proposals that would

Meanwhile Rep. Kenneth B. Keating (R-N.Y.) informed Cook that the bills were designed only to "enforce basic civil rights" and have nothing to do with "intermingling of the races socially."

10 1957

Senate Leader Sees Main Fight On Voting Rights

Daily World
Sun. 7-21-57
Atlanta Ga.

BY ROSE McKEE

WASHINGTON — (INS) — Senate GOP leader William F. Knowland predicted Saturday the Senate will defeat a Civil Rights bill amendment to guarantee a jury trial for persons accused of interfering with voting rights.

P.1

The California Republican was less optimistic, however, about the administration's chances of preventing a jury trial guarantee from being written into the bill's disputed section III.

GENERAL RIGHTS

This section would permit the Attorney General to obtain a court injunction to protect the general rights of any American. Southerners charged it could be used to enforce school integration in their states.

The Eisenhower Adminstration will make its main fight on the section IV provision for the Attorney General to protect Negro voting rights by injunction power, without a jury trial for an accused violator.

MIGHT DELAY ENFORCEMENT

The Administration contends that using the jury trial process in the proposed civil action might delay enforcement beyond an election day.

Knowland said in an interview: "I'm inclined to believe the jury trial amendment in any event will be kept out of section four of the bill. Whether we can keep it out of section three I don't know."

The GOP leader said that there is "little likelihood" that any coalition compromise amendment will be offered to modify the hotly contested sectionIII.

The way was cleared for a direct vote on this proposal when Knowland and Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D) Minn., abandoned plans to try to modify the section three. Both said the vote on eliminating section III will be "very close."

Aiken of Vermont said that there will be more votes for killing the section "as it now stands than there would have been had it been" softened by compromise proposals of either Knowland or Humphrey.

Sen. Clinton P. Anderson (D) N. M., who led the fight of civil rights supporters last January to change the Senate's anti-fillibuster rule, is the democratic sponsor of the "strike-out" amendment.

The Anderson-Aiken proposal won surprise support Saturday from Sen. H. Alexander Smith (R) N. J

A GOOD BILL

He said: "I am inclined to support their amendment because I think we should get a good bill to protect voting rights of Negroes If we get protection of voting rights without a jury trial amendment. we will have the kind of bill the presi-

any provision in the bill as passed by the House," Mr. Wilkins said. "We are not opposed to necessary clarification of specific provisions," he added.

Daily World
P.5

The civil rights leader expressed the opinion that enactment of part III of the bill, deletion of which southern Senators are demanding. is esential. He pointed out that recent legislation passed in southern states made it difficult, if not impossible, for Negro citizens to initiate litigation to secure their rights under the Constitution and in accordance with rulings of the United States Supreme Court.

Mr. Wilkins cited as an example a law passed last spring by the Virginia Legislature which prohibits anyone other than the aggrieved person from financing or otherwise assisting law suits designed to secure implementation of the Court's school desgeregation ruling. Having denied to Negro citizens effective means of securing their southern rights Senators are now trying to deny them the assistance of the United States Atty. General, he charged.

Mr. Wilkins denied that Part III had been "sneaked" into the bill. "It was there from the first draft in 1956," he said. "Its clear intent is and has always been to assist Negro citizens in securing constitutional right in addition to the right to vote. It was discussed at committee hearings and on the floor of the House of Representatives before it was passed,' he asserted.

NO ISSUE OVER TROOPS

The NAACP spokesman denied, in response to a reporter's question, that there was any issue of the use of Federal troops. "Neither the NAACP nor any of the other organizations represented in the Leadership Conference has ever proposed the use of Federal troops to secure compliance with the Supreme Court ruling," he declared. "Talk of bayonets and guns is inflamatory and not a real issue."

Proposals to provide for jury trials in contempt proceedings in equity cases, Mr. Wilkins said, would definitely make the bill ineffective. "Traditional," he asserted, "such proceedings have been without jury trial. There are on the books many laws which do not provide for jury trials in contempt cases. Courts have long had the right to enforce their decrees in such cases. Some of the Senators who are protesting now have voted for such laws."

The bill, he pointed out, has from the beginning been designed not only to protect the right to vote, but also to protect other constitutional rights. "It is a disortion to make believe now that it was ever intended to be confined to voting rights only," he said.

Main Provisions Of The Civil Rights Bill

Advocate
Sat. 7-20-57
Jackson Miss

Washington, D. C., July 16— The Administration's Civil Rights Bill would provide in substance, for the following:

P.1

Establishment of a special Civil Rights Division within the Department of Justice. Creation of A Federal Civil Rights Commission armed with subpoena powers to compel witnesses to testify and to produce records. It would attempt to rectify instances of illegal racial discrimination.

Authority for the Department of Justice to intervene, in the name of the United States, in behalf of individuals in instances of actual or threatened violations of civil rights—such as the right to vote or to attend an integrated school. This could be done with or without the consent of the victims.

Federal Prosecutors could obtain injunctions from Federal District Judges against such real or threatened violations. Persons disobeying these injunctions could be fined or imprisoned for contempt by Federal Judges, without jury trial.

Advertiser
Fri. 7-19-57
Montgomery Ala.
P.5-a

EQUIPMENT DEALERS HEAR GEORGE WALLACE
Wallace: Jack Hendrix, Montgomery; A. A. Nettles, Peterman

COMPROMISE DUE ON RIGHTS TRIALS

Times
Fri. 7-26-57

Johnson Backs Plan to Bar Juries in Civil Cases— Vote Likely Next Week

New York

By WILLIAM S. WHITE
Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, July 25—A Senate decision on the jury-trial issue, the last major controversy in the Administration's civil rights bill, is now possible by the middle of next week.

There are signs, moreover, that a measure confined to protecting the voting right but granting significant Federal enforcement powers for that purpose may be passed over a token Southern filibuster. It is now conceivable that the whole issue could be behind the Senate within two weeks.

These prospects emerged today as the Senate opened debate on a heavily backed jury trial compromise to accompany Part IV, the voting-right section of the bill.

The Senate Democratic leader, Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, came out publicly for this approach.

Jury Trials Limited

It would grant jury trials only in instances of criminal contempt arising from vote deprivation cases and would permit Federal judges sitting without juries to assess penalities for civil contempt.

The authors of this version are Senators Joseph C. O'Mahoney, Democrat of Wyoming, and Estes Kefauver, Democrat of Tennessee. Both have put in amendments; that of Senator O'Mahoney is the pending business of the Senate.

What is now the vital section of the Administration's bill Part IV, would operate in this way:

The Department of Justice would be empowered to intervene, with or without the consent of the victim, to prevent actual or threatened deprivation of the voting right by election authorities.

An injunction against this action would be issued by a Federal judge and those officials refusing to obey could be fined or imprisoned by the judge without a jury.

Times

The O'Mahoney amendment would permit just this procedure. It would stipulate, however, that a jury trial would be a matter of right if the proceeding were one for criminal punishment rather than simply to require a man to carry out an order of the court.

P.6-C

The Administration text as it stands would guarantee no jury trial in either event.

Compromise Explained

The compromise, as explained by its backers, would come to this: When an election official declined to allow a qualified Negro to vote he could be enjoined to do so and held in civil contempt if he refused to honor the decree. By then agreeing, however, to let the applicant vote he could free himself from jail.

If, however, he went beyond this and persisted in his refusal he could be brought to book for criminal contempt. At this point, the case against him would no

be to make him perform the desired act but simply to punish him. And at this point he could demand a jury.

Senator Johnson's decision to back this approach was put to the Senate in these words:

"I believe we all recognize that the courts must have the power to enforce their orders. But, on the other hand, people accused of crimes should have the opportunity to make their case before a jury of their peers.

"I consider both points basic. I do not consider them incompatible."

Mr. Johnson's public commitment to this course reduced the possibility that the all-out civil rights forces would be able to write a total non-jury trial provisio into the bill.

Equally, however, it made all but certain that his more intransigent Southern colleagues would be unable to accomplish their exactly opposite design—to write in a total jury trial provision.

Important members of the all-out Southern opposition privately canceded that they probably would have to go along with such a compromise. In that event, they indicated, no really determined or general Southern filibuster—that is, the tactic of deliberate time-killing discussion intended only to prevent any vote—was likely to be put in.

Their opposite numbers, the unyielding civil rights group headed by Senator William F. Knowland, Republican of California, were conceding nothing.

Mr. Knowland, the Republican Senate leader, told reporters [th]at jury proceedings would "greatly weaken" the bill. Some of his associates claimed the return of some of the pro-civil rights Senators in both parties who had helped strike from the bill its proposed injunctive sanctions to force school segregation in the South.

This action, which involved the destruction of Part III of the bill, was taken yesterday by a vote of 52 to 38.

The core of the fight shifted today from the Senate chamber to negotiations off the floor. The urgent tone of the debate was succeeded by an atmosphere of such calm that at times hardly half a dozen Senators were on the floor.

Senator Johnson indicated an intention to move soon for an agreement to vote on the jury question about next Tuesday in the belief that debate would have petered out by them.

The Chief Provisions Of the Civil Rights Bill

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, July 24—The Administration's civil rights bill would provide for the following:

Part I—Creation of a Federal Civil Rights Commission, with power to subpoena records and witnesses, to investigate instances of violations of civil rights and to propose remedies.

Part II—Establishment within the Department of Justice of a special Civil Rights Division.

Part III—Making clear beyond dispute the right of an individual to go on his own into Federal court for injunctions to protect his voting right.

Part IV—Giving the Justice Department authority to intervene, with or without the victim's consent, to obtain injunctions against deprivation of the voting right. Persons refusing to obey such injunctions could be tried without a jury and fined or imprisoned.

Foreign Affairs

Times P.24-C Wed. 7-24-57 New York

Civil Rights and Free Press in America and France

By C. L. SULZBERGER

PARIS, July 23—In any democratic system there is continual struggle between the individual and the government he has devised to protect and administer him.

At various stages of our history, from the days of the Alien and Sedition Acts to the era of McCarthyism, we have experienced vigorous rows when the state apparatus seemed to impinge upon the citizenry's privileges. Now the pendulum is swinging away from such encroachment in America.

Consequently our Government is leading a movement for more rather than less civil rights. The Supreme Court has acted forcefully within its own prerogative. And the Executive urges the legislature pursue a parallel course.

It is curious to note, as the Washington debate reaches a critical point, how trends in Paris proceed in another direction. The French Republic is almost as old as our own. Its political concepts borrowed from American practice just as our Founding Fathers drew heavily upon the liberal philosophers of eighteenth century France.

These days the French, who were so sharp in criticism when our pendulum swung hysterically rightward, are undergoing their own torments. A Government which is not particularly trusted has obtained special powers which without doubt infringe upon the precious principle of civil liberties.

These powers are aimed at Algerians living in metropolitan France. The two main rebel movements have been levying toll upon 300,000 Algerians residing here. They murder opponents—or those who refuse to pay up. Recently an average of two have been assassinated daily.

Search, Arrest, Internment

On the theory that it could not protect the peaceable population without emergency authority to hunt down suspects the Government has now won extended rights of arrest and search in France itself. Internment camps are established for suspects.

This was not easily conceded by Parliament. Despite an undoubtedly tense situation the legislators don't like to distinguish even by implication between privileges of French-born citizens and those from Algeria, who are regarded as equally French under the Constitution.

The Government sought but was not granted power to relegate many of its African residents to a second-class category. But authoritarianism is in the air. This comes just at a time when the United States, through its civil rights bill, seeks to adjust a long-standing moral debt to its own second-class citizens, the African descendants of the South.

The French don't like to yield on such issues. Former Premier Bidault once defined democracy as a system in which you know, when somebody knocks upon the door before dawn, that it is the milkman, not a cop. For many people here such may no longer be the case.

The National Assembly is traditionally jealous of giving the Executive more than the limited authority allowed by tradition. Three republics have succumbed to dictatorship in France. There is an impassioned fear that such might happen again. Could the special powers now granted be prolonged, or even exaggerated, while legislators are away on summer vacation?

Fear of Press Restrictions

There is particular fear lest the regime try to curb the press. Already several writers have clashed with the Premier on Algeria. Le Monde fears the Government is trying to silence it. France-Soir comments suspiciously on the "extension of the list of measures taken in recent months against the press and against the very principles of its freedom."

Here too there is contrast between contemporary trends in France and the United States. Paris editors fight a truculent battle against restrictive influences pushed in the name of national safety. But in America the press, after a period of grumbling lassitude, seems to be succeeding in a campaign for release from any kind of governmental shackle.

Secretary Dulles, who made himself unpopular by refusing journalistic passports to Communist China, is now trying to negotiate a compromise with the Fourth Estate. There is no sign he will be able to. Our newspapers, accustomed to full liberty except in times of war, show determined opposition to even the slightest administrative control.

When the chairman of the Commission on Government Security produced a list of "leaks" and asked that such transgressions be prosecuted, he received a small hello. Our free press tradition is not something to be tinkered with.

Two great democracies are thus experiencing similar problems simultaneously but in precisely opposite forms. The pendulum swung right in the United States when we imagined our interests threatened. Now it is swinging back.

But here the crisis is getting worse. Those who currently administer this country believe in stricter controls. Therefore, for the first time since World War II the Executive grip is tightening. The press is alarmed. And many Frenchmen fear they risk loss of personal liberty to the vague and lowering shadow of emergency law.

Letters to The Times

Times P.18-C

Civil Rights Bill Backed

Mon. 7-22-57

Its Passage Without Substantial Amendment Favored

New York

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

Some of us are deeply concerned at the impression apparently made on public opinion by Senator Ervin's—and James Reston's—juxtaposition of right to trial by jury and the right to vote. Which, he suggests, is the more precious?

The answer ought to be easy. In Anglo-American law there is no right to jury trial in most contempt cases; no Southern leader proposes to institute it in the courts of his own state and, what is far more important, no Southern leader is asking or willingly accepting a right of trial by jury in the only sense in which it has value; that is, by a jury of one's peers.

Federal juries by law are selected as are state juries, and in the Deep South that means all-white juries, before which Negro complainants or the Government on their behalf must come. Most jury panels are drawn from voters' lists which, for example, include only 8,000 Negroes in Mississippi and proportionately as few in very many counties in other states. (See the full statistics on this and other pertinent matters in Senator Paul Douglas' speech of June 10.)

There are other devices for keeping Negroes off juries, with the result in recent cases that any white man who can somehow connect his offense in the jury's mind with opposition to school integration or Negro rights has gone unpunished. We have yet to see what will happen in Tennessee—one of the better states.

Southern Fears

The outraged Southerners who so fear judicial power in contempt cases when injunctions are violated cast aspersions either on the justice of their own case or the character of the distinguished Southerners who sit as Federal judges and presumably understand the feelings of their fellow-citizens.

The whole of this moderate bill should be passed without substantial amendment. It gives the President no more power to enforce Federal law than Presidents have legally had since the Whisky Rebellion. It provides legal civil proceedings to carry out the law of a land committed to equality of right for citizens and this it offers as an alternative to the unthinkable imposition of Federal troops on any state, a horror which Senator Russell has conjured up.

If the time unfortunately should come when the price of passing any bill is to confine it to protecting the right to vote, so important is that right that the amended bill might be better than nothing. But if that protection to Negro voters is rendered hollow by imposition of trials of court orders before all-white juries it should be resoundingly defeated. It will be far easier to pass a decent law in a later Congress than to amend this hypocritical affront to our patient Negro fellow-citizens, our Federal courts, and our democratic honor.

NORMAN THOMAS.

New York, July 17, 1957.

See Negroes And Their Supporters In Clearcut Civil Rights Victory

Washington, D. C., Aug. 27 — Negroes and the supporters of civil rights have won a clearcut victory.

This is clear after an analysis of the compromise civil rights bill which is expected to be passed by Congress this week.

It's been called a bill to protect Negroes' voting rights. It goes far beyond that. It would have gone further, by letting the attorney general step into all kinds of civil rights cases.

But Southern senators were able to get that part of the bill knocked out. As it stands, the bill would let the attorney general step into voting rights cases only.

That's plenty. So is the rest of the bill. And for the first time in this century, the Southerners were unable to block civil rights legislation.

Chance For More

That may mean more chance for more civil rights legislation in the future.

The bill calls for a commission to investigate all kinds of civil rights violations. The commission would have no powers to act against such violations, as the attorney general could have done under the knocked-out part of the bill. But it could expose.

For example: The commission could investigate the Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens Councils set up in the South to resist public school integration and integration in general.

The more the commission may reveal—particularly about harassment of Negroes — the more could be the pressure for more legislation. And the commission would have power to hold hearings anywhere in the South.

Because it could issue suppoenas, it could force witnesses to appear and testify.

Under the bill, the attorney general could ask a federal judge for a court order to stop a voting rights violation. Again, there would be exposure. For once a judge issues such an order, he would hold a public hearing to bring out the facts in the case.

And the bill leaves untouched the judge's traditional power to try and jail—without a jury—anyone in civil contempt of courts for disobeying his order.

Broad Field

Action against a person for civil contempt is intended to make him comply while there is still time for him to do so. Criminal contempt action is taken when it is too late to comply and is aimed at punishment for flouting an order.

But a court order can cover a broad field. For example: If a judge ordered a registrar of voters not to interfere with would-be Negro voters, the judge would probably make the order binding on all others too.

Thus, a whole community could be ordered not to interfere. If the registrar complies, but others don't, they could be tried by the judge without a jury for civil contempt.

If it was too late for compliance and the judge wanted to try them for criminal contempt, he could do so, provided he did not impose a sentence of more than 45 days in jail and a fine of $300.

If he wanted them to face a penalty greater than that, he would have to let them have a jury trial. If convicted by a jury, the maximum penalty for criminal contempt under the bill would be a $1,000 fine and six months in jail.

By Morrow

Half-Loaf Leaders Spanked!

ATLANTA, Ga.—White House aide E. Frederic Morrow blasted Negro leaders who advocate acceptance of the compromise civil rights bill and declared their conduct has astounded Washington and that Washington's respect for Negro aims and desires has hit a new low.

Mr. Morrow

In an address to the National Association of Postal Employees last week, Mr. Morrow said:

"I was totally unprepared the other day for the shock that came from editorials and calls from Government officials stating that responsible Negro leaders were advocating acceptance of the long-ago discarded 'half-a-loaf' theory and exerting pressures to obtain support for the emasculated civil rights bill, no matter how emasculating or insulting.

"This conduct on the part of some Negro leaders has astounded official Washington, and in the process, Washington's respect for Negro aims and desires has hit a new low. Some loyal lawmakers who in the past have supported the Negro's hopes for first-class citizenship in our time, have run for cover, as they express bewilderment over his inability to know what he wants—or to have the faith to persevere to obtain it."

10 1957

OLD RULES GONE BYE-BYE

Journal & Constitution

Civil Righters Mean Business

Jun 7-14-57. P.7-C
Atlanta, Ga.

By HAROLD DAVIS

Washington.

A FEW YEARS back, the NAACP and its kindred organizations would have been correct in suspecting that some members of the U.S. Senate who were in favor of civil rights in public were less than white-hot on the subject in private.

Harold Davis' column appears regularly in the daily Atlanta Journal.

Today all that is changed. Republican Leader William F. Knowland says he has 40 GOP senators who will go all the way to get a rights bill passed this year. Sen. Paul Douglas of Illinois, the liberal Democrat, has a compact core of Democratic solons well in hand on the other side of the aisle.

Georgia's Richard Russell calls this new and fascinating coalition the "Knowland-Douglas Axis." This year, the axis means business.

PROCEDURES

Nothing points this up better than some of the procedures used so far in the current fight over civil rights. The Senate at times has wrenched itself out of character to get on with the bill.

This is in itself unusual. The Senate is as unlike the House of Representatives as it can be. The House is an impetuous body where young men speak in loud voices and don't object too much if a corner or two is cut. The Senate is a quiet, slow-moving institution which by tradition never hurries and which venerates its rules and precedents as though handed down from Mount Sinai.

The institution in many cases adheres to precedents on procedural matters set 100 years or more ago.

This respect for correct procedure is deeply ingrained on both sides of the aisle. Yet twice in the last month, the Senate has taken remarkable departures to get the civil rights bill up for consideration.

Once was when the measure came over from the House. Instead of sending the bill to Senate committee, the Senate sailed it directly onto the calendar.

This meant the House-passed bill would get no hearings before a Senate committee. No senator would have a chance to perfect the measure before it came to the floor.

At this, the Senate patriarchs of bygone eras must have rolled over in their graves.

On Tuesday of last week, the Senate took another unusual step.

Senator Russell discovered an error in the printing of the bill. One of the House-approved amendments had been printed in the body of the bill in the wrong place. The Georgian contended this error made a substantial difference in the meaning of the bill.

The error was not caught until the proposal had had its second reading before the Senate. The Georgian argued that since the Senate had never heard a correct version of the bill read, the proceedings to take up the bill are out of order.

"I assert that this is the most remarkable analogy that has ever come to my attention," Mr. Russell told the Senate.

"What would have happened if in passing the bill, the House had been dealing with the recodification of the statutes of the United States and it dealt with a section having to do with murder on federal lands.

"Suppose it had written that such murder should be punishable by hanging.

SPITTING

"Suppose there was another section providing for the punishment by fine of any person found guilty of spitting on the sidewalks in federal lands.

"Suppose, through the error of the enrolling clerk, it came about that punishment of the person guilty of murder should be a fine of $15 and that the person spitting on the sidewalk be hanged."

The Senate couldn't quite see the senator's point, although the galleries did, judging from the laughter that ensued therefrom.

Vice President Nixon ruled that even though the Senate had an incorrect bill read to it, it is still legal to proceed.

It now appears that the North is so determined to pass this bill that it will rewrite the Senate rules as it goes along if necessary to obtain its ends.

Merry-Go-Round

Herald

Liberals Fall Out On Rights

Miami, Fla.
Sat 6-22-57

By DREW PEARSON

PEARSON

Pt. A

WASHINGTON — Two of the most respected liberals in the Senate, both good personal friends, participated in a bitter backstage battle over civil rights the other day. They were Sen. Wayne Morse of Oregon and Sen. Paul Douglas of Illinois, both Democrats and both strongly for the civil rights bill.

However, after Senator Morse took the Senate floor to announce that he had changed his mind and now opposed plans to circumvent the Senate Judiciary Committee and debate the civil rights bill immediately, it threw consternation into the ranks of liberal Senators.

They were supporting the Nixon-Knowland plan to by-pass the committee where the bill has been blocked for months.

Within an hour after Morse's speech, Senator Douglas called a secret meeting of the liberals in the District of Columbia Committee room.

★ ★ ★

SENATOR DOUGLAS presided. He was white with anger.

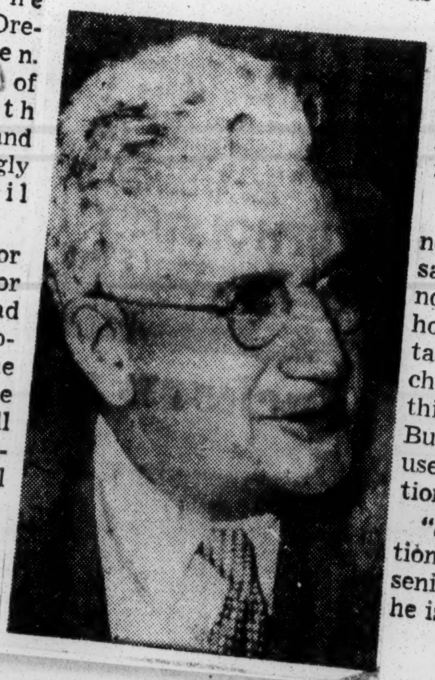
"The first thing I want to take up is the conduct of the senior Senator from Oregon," he said. "If this were a military group he would be court-martialed. He has betrayed our cause. Furthermore, he did it on the Senate floor.

"He did not take the trouble to come back to this group first and discuss it with his colleagues. We can't court-martial him. I shall not embarrass his colleague from Oregon, Senator Neuberger, but I will call on Senator Clark (Pennsylvania) for advice as to what we should do."

"That's what you think you're going to do," replied Morse, bristling equally with rage. "However, you're going to listen to me and then I'm going to excuse myself. I shan't sit here and listen to myself being abused.

"What I did was not easy. I wasn't lacking in courage. I owed it to my constituents and to you to explain my change. When I was convinced I was wrong I did the only thing possible — I confessed that I was wrong.

Paul Douglas
. . . Was it a deal?



"The Senator has said that I did not come back to this group," Morse continued. "But what good would it have done? It would just create a row. I now excuse myself."

★ ★ ★

AN EMBARRASSED silence followed. Morse's Oregon colleague, Neuberger, broke it.

"I think your rebuke was a mistake, Paul," he said to Douglas. "Morse has done so many great things. You and he have been associated in so many of them together."

Senator Douglas said he wondered whether Morse's change had not resulted from a deal to swing southern votes for Hells Canyon.

"I'm sure no such thing happened," spoke up Neuberger. "I'm just as concerned over Hells Canyon as Wayne. I'm sure I would know about it if he had made any such commitment."

"I feel very bad about this," said Douglas. "But we'll go on to other things. Is there anyone here who chooses to follow Wayne Morse?"

"I should like to say that I am in this to the very end," interrupted Pennsylvania's Clark. "I'm sure Morse acted in good faith. But I simply do not agree that civil rights should be sidetracked now by the Senate rules."

"The rules of the Senate are not the Ten Commandments," said Neuberger. "They were not put on Mount Sinai by Jehovah. When Dick Russell talks about them, his sepulchral tone would make you think that they were sacred. But Senate rules must not be used to set aside the Constitution of the United States.

"So, despite my deep affection and great respect for my senior colleague, I'm convinced he is wrong on this point."

CIVIL RIGHTS BLOC RALLIES FOR FIGHT TO BAR JURY PLAN

Times 7-27
Sat 7-27-57
New York

Eisenhower Also Said to Be Determined Not to Yield Any Ground on Issue

OPPONENTS OFFER PLAN

3 Senators Ask Jury Trials in Criminal Contempt Cases in All Fields

By WILLIAM S. WHITE
Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, July 26—The Senate's all-out civil rights forces stiffened their resistance today to any jury-trial provision in the Administration's bill.

President Eisenhower was represented as also determined not to give ground.

The bipartisan coalition demanding some form of jury procedure responded by offering a compromise. This would guarantee jury trials in all criminal contempt actions—not simply in civil rights but also in labor cases and across the whole field of Federal law.

The effect was to appeal to the labor leaders and in general to a traditional liberal position against the expansion of the Federal injunctive power backed by non-jury enforcement sanctions.

Most of the top labor leaders are on record for the civil rights bill; whether there would be significant defections on the jury issue remained to be seen.

Injunction Powers

Part IV of the Administration's bill would permit Federal judges, sitting without juries, to fine or imprison persons refusing to obey injunctions to halt actual or threatened deprivation of the voting right. These in-

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 157

CIVIL RIGHTS BLOC STRIVING TO SAVE INTEGRATION PLAN

New York

Test on the Section Affecting Rights Other Than Voting Expected on Tuesday

Sun. 7-21-57

BACKERS SPLIT ON ISSUE

Rejection Foreseen Unless Coalition Can Arrive at a Compromise Wording

By WILLIAM S. WHITE

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, July 20—The Senate faces a week of crisis on the civil rights issue that may go far to determine the shape and scope of the ultimate bill.

Both sides rested today, at least in the official sense, against the onset about next Tuesday of a series of decisive votes on major amendments. The Senate was not in session.

Many private conversations, however, were going on and will be going on during the week-end among members of the civil rights coalition in an effort to find a means to save at least some aspect of Part III of the Administration's text.

This provision, which would set up Federal injunctive procedures to force school integration in the South, is publicly conceded by senior civil rights leaders to be in great danger.

Rejection Is Foreseen

Privately, they foresee its outright rejection by the Senate, barring some strong and unexpected intervention by President Eisenhower, in a roll-call likely to be taken Tuesday.

The balance of power as of tonight suggested that all integration sanctions were likely to be discarded, but that a strong vote-protection section was likely to be retained.

The top leader of the bipartisan civil rights forces, Senator William F. Knowland of California, declared confidence that Southern demands for jury trial rights in the voting section could be beaten off.

Independent inquiries to support the validity of this forecast, though there seemed a clear possibility that jury trial procedures might at length be granted in those cases where the exact facts of a deprivation of the right to vote were in legitimate dispute.

Part III Seen in Danger

Senator Knowland, who is also the Republican Senate leader, was frankly glum, however, about the chances for preserving Part III in anything like its present form.

An Associated Press poll of ninety-two Senators found sixty-four willing to state their positions; twenty-four wished to retain Part III and forty were prepared to settle for the protection of voting rights.

This confirmed the less exhaustive findings of other disinterested observers.

The civil rights coalition itself was divided among the bulk of the middle-roaders headed by Senator Knowland on the one sied and a more advanced section, made up largely of Eastern Democrats and Republicans on the other side.

A good many of the Western Democratic liberals and the older Republican liberals in general were standing with the Southerners in their determination to knock out Part III.

On the voting-right section, the Southereners stood all but alone.

Times P.37

The immediate problem before the somewhat uneasy civil rights alliance was this: to find, between Senator Knowland on the right and such men as Senators Hubert H. Humphrey, Democrat of Minnesota, on the left, some agreed alternative that might preserve at least some kind of Title III in the bill.

Pending is a powrefully backed motion by two old-line liberals, Senators Ralph D. Aiken of Vermont, a Republican, and Clinton P. Anderson of New Mexico, a Democrat, to strike out Title III.

Knowland Had Plan

Senator Knowland had believed until late yesterday that he had found an alternative upon which he could rally all the civil rights forces, but this was rejected at the last minute by Senator Humphrey and his associates.

The Administration text would permit the Department of Justice, in its own discretion and without the request or consent of the persons involved to go into Federal District Courts for injunctions against school boards refusing to admit Negroes.

Mr. Knowland had wanted to restrict intervention by the Department of Justice to those instances where local school boards sought its aid. President Eisenhower has indicated that such an approach would satisfy him.

junctions could be obtained by Federal prosecutors with or without the consent of the victim.

Senate forces led by Senator William F. Knowland of California, the Republican floor leader, are insisting on the enactment of this section intact.

A predominantly Democratic group, with some Republican assistance is attempting to soften this provisio.

Three liberal members of this group, Senators Joseph C. O'Mahoney of Wyoming, Estes Kefauver of Tennessee, and Frank Church of Idaho, put in a proposal to these effects:

¶To retain the power of Federal judges to assess penalties, without juries, in cases of civil contempt—that is, penalties directed simply to forcing an election official to comply with a court order.

¶To guarantee the right of jury trial in cases of criminal contempt—that is, actions not intended to obtain compliance of such an order but to punish an offender for criminal contempt.

¶To broaden this guarantee to every instance of criminal contempt, whether the Government itself is the complaining party.

Earlier Plans Modified

Under existing law there is no right of jury trial wherever the Government is the complainant. The Administration's bill was designed with this situation in mind. By having the Government itself intervene in vote cases no jury trial right could be claimed by the defendant under the Administration text.

The O'Mahoney - Kefauver - Church amendment represented a modification of two earlier compromises proposed by Mr. O'Mahoney. Times

Senator Kefauver told the Senate that it would "assure labor unions of their day in court before a jury of their peers—something that was done in the Norris-La Guardia Act but which was largely nullified in the Taft-Hartley [labor] Act."

The Norris-La Guardia Act restricted the use of Federal injunctions to forbid strikes. The Taft-artley Act has a provision under which such injunctions can be put in, but only in national emergencies, to halt strikes for a maximum of eighty days.

The O'Mahoney - Kefauver - Church amendment would give labor leaders a right of jury trial in any criminal contempt proceedings arising from such an injunction.

It seeks to make a clear distinction, in civil rights criminal contempt cases and all other criminal contempt cases, between civil contempt and criminal contempt.

An Example Is Given

This illustration is used by proponents of the compromise:

If a southern election official refused to register a qualified Negro voter he could be enjoined to do so and put into jail for an indefinite period by a judge without a jury if he refused.

If, however, he then relented he could obtain his own release simply by agreeing to carry out the original order of the court. This would be a civil contempt action.

If that official, however, persisted in his defiance he could, if the judge so decided, be held to be in criminal contempt. At this point, now facing punishment that no act of his could avoid, he could demand a jury trial.

In the last analysis, according to legal staff experts of the Senate, the decision as to what was a civil and what was criminal contempt wold be simply the decision of the judge. The essential point is that once he decided it was criminal contempt he would have to call in a jury to try the case.

On practice, according to these experts, criminal contempt would be more likely to occur under the bill for actions involving not mere passive non-compliance with an injunction, say a refusal to enroll a Negro, but to active obstruction of a court order, say a wilful attempt at intimidating a voter after the court had ordered that he be left alone.

Penalties Up to Judge

The questionn of penalties also would be largely up to the judge. The O'Mahoney-Kefauver-Church amendment would not define penalties for civil contempt, since these would be remitted once a man agreed to do what he had been ordered to do.

A maximum fine of $1,000 and a maximum imprisonment of six months would be established for criminal contempt.

The defendant, say proponents of the approach, could not himself simply bring about a transformation of his case from the civil to the criminal variety and thus assure himself a jury trial. A fear that southern juries would not convict southern whites is in the background of the position of the advanced civil rights forces.

A man could be held by a judge to be in both civil and criminal contempt, they explain, and his guarantee of the right of jury trial in the latter case would not free him from the first case, negate it or otherwise alter it.

As a practical matter, too, they add, a man in civil contempt would hardly be in position to take actions that could involve criminal contempt—except, conceivably, to berate and assault the judge before him. Jury trials would be specifically excluded in any case for this sort of obvious contempt involving misconduct in the very presence of the judge "or son near thereto as to obstruct the administration of justice."

Senator O'Mahoney and his associates moved with the knowledge and backing of Senator Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, the Senate Democratic leader.

They did so as the lines between the forces supporting and opposing jury trial for criminal contempt had been drawn tightly at a morning caucus, or conference, of all Republican senators.

Senator Knowland, fresh from a White House breakfast meeting with President Eisenhower, went into the Republican meeting carrying an underlined copy a Presidential statement of July 17 that said of Part IV of the bill:

"A jury trial should not be interposed in contempt of court cases growing out of violations of such [federal court] orders."

Mr. Knowland told his fellow Republicans, he himself reported later, that he was authorized to say that this statement represented the President's unmodified position.

He brought no fresh message from the President on the subject. The chairman of the Republican Conference, Senator Leverett Saltonstall of Massachusetts, told reporters that one was not needed since General Eisenhower had orally "reemphasized" his views to Senator Knowland.

Mr. Saltonstall, summarizing the closed meeting, observed that "most" of the Republican Senators who spoke had pledged themselves to stand by the non-jury trial provision.

Senator Knowland declared the "overwhelming majority" had been of that mind.

Knowland's Problem

Eighteen Republican Senators on Wednesday had defected from the all-out civil rights coalition headed by Mr. Knowland. They helped knock out by 52 to 38 the heart of the section of the bill —Part III—that would have carried injunctive sanctions to force school integration in the South.

Mr. Knowland's problem was to reclaim many, if not all of these, on the jury issue and it was clear that he was having some degree of success.

The opposing coalition, which is made up of Western Democratic liberals, Southerners and a few Republicans, however, regained several of the thirteen Democrats who had stood on Wednesday for Part III against the majority of the Democrats.

Confidential inquiries indicated that as of tonight the pro-jury trial forces had a slight majority of all committed Senators and that about a dozen still uncommitted were being importuned by both sides.

Senator Knowland declared his people ready to vote on Tuesday. Senator Johnson, who earlier had indicated a vote by then, now alter his plans to allow the debate to run longer.

He told friends that the introduction of the new O'Mahoney version would require considerable further discussion and that the problem of the jury trial forces was not simply to win the test, but to win it "substantially."

The all-out Southern opposition, with which Senator Johnson has broken in his efforts to achieve a compromise bill, decided in a morning caucus to support the O'Mahoney-Kefauver-Church amendment but to resist to the end any bill carrying no jury trial guarantee.

Warning by Russell

If that amendment were defeated, said the Southern leader, Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia, the Southerners would fight the bill "with every resource open to us."

He meant that in this eventuality the Southerners would put in the most implacable filibuster of which they were capable. The filibuster is the tactic of deliberately time-killing discussion for the purpose of preventing a vote.

A democratic leader of the all-out civil-rights coalition, Senator Paul H. Douglas of Illinois, attacked the O'Mahoney-Kefauver-Church amendment as a "third edition" that had been "sprung on" the Senate without warning.

His "good friends" from the South, he asserted, had "a guilt complex—they are afraid of what will happen to a guilty violator in the South."

Senator Wayne Morse, Democrat of Oregon, another member of this group, told the Senate that "some labor organizations" had attempted to "put the heat" on him to support the jury trial paper.

"But here is one liberal," he added, "who won't go along with them."

Times P.1

10 1957

Stennis Says C-R Bill Destroys South's Rights

Daily News Jackson Miss.
Mon. 7-15-57

Sen. John C. Stennis of Mississippi Sunday attacked the civil rights bill as refusing 30 million Southerners rights allowed Communists in the United States.

"This bill does not create a single new civil right, but brings into being a legal procedure to destroy those rights," Stennis said during a half-hour NBC television discussion of the bill with Sen. Authur W. Watkins (R-Utah).

"Murders, rapists and even communists have a right to trial by jury but it will not be allowed the thirty million people who live in the South," Stennis complained.

But he added "the people of the South are not going to surrender the schools the two races have built up separately in 80 years."

Sen. Watkins, one of the authors of the civil rights bill, proposed Stennis introduce a constitutional amendment to bypass the U. S. Supreme Court's 1954 school desegregation decision, but Stennis retorted, "We've had amendments before your committe and nothing has ever come of a one of them."

Stennis supported a previous proposal by Sen. Russell of Georgia for a nationwide referendum on the civil rights issue. "Both races in the South have had their horses shot from under them in the only way their schools can survive."

The DeKalb, Miss., senator said he has no objection to any decision of a vote of the people on the issue, but only if they're allowed to vote the issue on its own merits and not "be pushed around by pressure groups."

Sen. Watkins objected to a referendum, claiming it would be unconstitutional.

Stennis said, however, such a vote could be taken under the same procedure as cotton and wheat acreage votes in recent years.

"You can't build school on writs of injunctions, court orders and marshals' bayonets," Stennis said.

The Main Provisions Of the Civil Rights Bill

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, July 9—The Administration's civil rights bill would provide, in substance, for the following:

¶Establishment of a special Civil Rights Division within the Department of Justice.

¶Creation of a Federal Civil Rights Commission armed with subpoena powers to compel witnesses to testify and to produce records. It would attempt to rectify instances of illegal racial discrimination.

¶Authority for the Department of Justice to intervene, in the name of the United States, in behalf of individuals in instances of actual or threatened violations of civil rights—such as the right to vote or to attend an integrated school. This could be done with or without the consent of the victims.

Federal prosecutors could obtain injunctions from Federal District judges against such real or threatened violations. Persons disobeying these injunctions could be fined or imprisoned for contempt by Federal judges, without jury trial.

SENATE LEANING TO A COMPROMISE OVER RIGHTS BILL

Times New York
Wed. 7-10-57

Eisenhower and Knowland Not to Insist on Wording as Passed by House

DEBATE GOES ON 2D DAY

Vote Is Seen Within a Week on Taking Up Measure—South Spurs Its Attack

By WILLIAM S. WHITE
Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, July 9—The door to compromise on the Administration's civil rights bill was opened wider today.

As the Senate carried its debate on the measure through the second day, President Eisenhower was represented as not necessarily opposed to any amendment. Powerful Senate Republicans were in the same position.

Senator William F. Knowland of California made it plain after a White House conference that neither he nor the President was prepared to insist at every cost on the Administration text.

Senator Knowland added that the President was "fully aware" that Republican and liberal Democratic insistence upon forcing civil rights action might result in the loss of other parts of the Administration's legislative program.

Foreign aid and Federal aid to school construction are in the category of unfinished business; the first is almost certain to get through in any case, but not the second.

Leaders of Coalition

Speaking as the Republican Senate leader and as the untitled leader of the bipartisan civil rights coalition as well, Senator Knowland told reporters:

"The President has never said that htere should be no change —no clarifying amendments. He recognizes that Congress is a coordinate arm of this Government."

A closed luncheon meeting of Senate Republicans followed the visit of Senator Knowland and other G. O. P. leaders to the White House. At the meeting several Senators expressed concern at the scope of the civil rights measure as drawn by the Attorney General, Herbert Brownell Jr.

Speculation on Outcome

Some senior members of the liberal Democratic wing of the coalition, meanwhile, said in private that a compromise was now inevitable for any amtion.

The Senate quit for the night at 6:15 P. M. to return tomorrow at 11 A. M.

Although there was long road to travel before any sort of clear decision could be expected, the most informed members of the Senate speculatd that the outcome would be a bill protecting voting rights but not going much beyond that.

This would entail the abandonment of those aspects of the Administration's measure that would serve as a means of enforcing Southern obedience to court decrees requiring racial integration in the schools.

Senator Knowland made it plain that his concern at the moment was not so much what was to be in the ultimate bill, but rather to force its acceptance, over continued Southern resistance, as the pending business of the Senate.

The Southerners again avoided any semblance of a filibuster — that is, the tactic of endless and often irrelevant discussion not intended to persuade but simply to prevent any action. Again, they spoke on the merits of the issue, while constantly raising the pitch of attacks intended to show that Mr. Brownell had prepared a deceptive bill going far beyond the protection of voting rights.

P. 14-C

Proponents Silent

The bipartisan civil rights forces were silent for the most part. They were simply riding out the Southern storm in the belief that within a week the Southerners would permit a vote putting the bill formally before the Senate.

Technically it is not yet up for consideration and to come up it must be voted to that status by a simple Senate majority.

Senator Knowland told his Republican colleagues that it would be wise to put aside all talk of possible amendments until the fight to make the bill pending business had been won.

He said that the Southerners, and the Senate itself, were entitled to demand a prolonged debate—say, or six weeks or so —once the measure had been put formally before the Senate. But, he contended, it should be possible within a week to vote on the preliminary procedural question.

The Southerners still had not decided how far to go in their resistance at this stage.

But they were preparing to put in the strongest filibuster of which they were capable once the issue was joined on the bill itself.

Southerners Present Case

Meanwhile the civil rights majority generally was saving its speeches, to the point that on one occasion only a single Republican was on the Senate floor as the Southerners rose one by one to present their case.

The latter were under strict injunction by their leaders to avoid extremism and, by design or otherwise, their attack was unfolded in such a way as to have the moderate Senator J. William Fulbright of Arkansas precede the vehemently resisting Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi.

Mr. Fulbright, one of the leading internationalists in Congress and senior Democratic member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, centered his assault on the non-jury trial aspect of the Administration's bill.

He asserted that politicians from "the great metropolitan areas" and reformers exasperated at the law's delays were attempting to interfere in the South with a right, that of trial by jury, that was four times guaranteed in the Constitution.

Charges 'Intolerance'

In their "impatience for reform," and in "their intolerance of the traditional safeguards of our liberties," Senator Fulbright declared, the pro-civil rights forces are demanding "a radical departure from established procedure."

"The people in Russia," he went on, "would approve of this new kind of procedure; indeed, the people approved it in Hitler's Germany."

Senator Fulbright, assisted by Senator Eastland, argued that the Administration's bill might involve the use of Federal troops for its enforcement.

Senator Jacob K. Javits, Republican of New York, contended that this was greatly overstating and greatly oversimplifying the situation.

He conceded that the President had power to use the armed forces to enforce the decrees of the courts, but declared that this power already existed and had nothing to do with the civil rights bill.

Senator Sam J. Ervin Jr., Democrat of North Carolina, retorted that this was an example of the complexity of the measure, some of the provisions of which refer to Federal powers granted during the Reconstruction Era that followed the Civil War.

Refers to Civil Suits

While it is true that the law permits an individual to sue in court for damages for violations of his civil rights, he said, what would happen in such a case would be a judgment "for a few hundred dollars" in favor of the complainant.

But, Senator Ervin went on, the Administration's bill, by making it possible for the Department of Justice to bring such an action in behalf of an individual, would make the United States Government a party to it.

While it is "inconceivable," he said, that a President would use troops to vindicate a judgment rendered in behalf of an individual, it is not inconceivable that a President might do so to force compliance with a judgment obtained by the Government itself.

Senator Eastland pledged himself to put into the record specific citations showing precisely where and how these Reconstruction Era statutes were carried forward in the current bill.

Sees Rule 'by Injunction'

He asserted that the measure would permit Mr. Brownell to decide against whom its powers should and should not be used, and would establish "Government by injunction."

Under it, the Senator went on, reporters could be "coerced" into informing on civil rights violators and "children can be made to inform upon parents, friend upon friend, neighbor upon neighbor."

"The bill," he said, "suspends the Constitution for Southern people.

"I threaten no one. I merely report facts.

"If the past is any guide to the events of the future and the events of the last three years have any meaning, no Federal Judge, no United States marshal, and the combined power of the Army, Navy and militia with bayonets fixed, is going to force upon Southern white people such a state of affairs.

"Insofar as court decree and contempt citations are concerned, there are not enough jails in the United States to hold the defendants who would willingly and gladly violate the terms of such decrees."

Challenge by Russell

During the day, the Southern leader, Senator Richard B. Russell, Democrat of Georgia, began to lay a predicate for a possible Southern technical challenge to the legality of all current Senate proceedings.

The bill originally contained a clerical error that made it differ slightly from the text as approved by the House of Representatives.

The Senate's presiding officer, Vice President Richard M. Nixon, ruled that the error had been rectified, and was of no consequence and that the bill as passed by the House was now before the Senate.

Mr. Russell challenged this interpretation but did not attempt to appeal the Vice President's ruling to the Senate itself. It is in his power yet to do so.

Filibusters In Alabama And Washington

Advertiser P.4-A
Thurs. 7-11-57
Montgomery, Ala.

SOUTHERN Senators are eloquent in their anguish at the thought of being denied the right of filibuster. But, strangely, they could be denied that same right in their home legislatures.

Congressional Quarterly has just completed a survey of legislative rules in the 48 states and with but few exceptions the rules are so drawn as to prevent filibuster by a minority bloc.

The issue is again being discussed in the face of a threatened filibuster in the Senate over the pending civil rights bill. Outnumbered senators from the South are determined to talk the bill to death while the opposition has indicated it will invoke the cloture rule if necessary to cut off debate. The rule of cloture, adopted in 1949 but never applied successfully, permits the closing of debate on a particular issue upon the approval of 64 senators.

CQ went to the rule books of the various Legislatures to see how many of the filibustering Senators—if any—could get away with similar tactics in their own state senates. Ironically, of the 11 Deep South states, 10 have rules which block prolonged filibustering by a minority.

In eight of the Southern states—Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia — a motion for the previous question is authorized. In layman's language, this strategy works in this manner: A member moves for the previous question and that motion is put to an immediate vote. If the motion carries the body then proceeds to vote immediately on the bill under debate. For what its worth, this motion is used in the British House of Commons where it is appropriately titled the "guillotine."

Alabama, South Carolina and Florida are the only Southern states where the previous question is not written into senate rules. However state senators in all three are limited in the length and number of speeches they may make in a day, and both Alabama and South Carolina have some form of cloture rule.

The Alabama rule specifies that the Senate Rules Committee can at any time report out a special rule specifying that debate on a particular question must end at a certain hour. After no more than 30 minutes debate on this special rule a vote must be taken and if approved by two-thirds of the elected members (24) then the rule of cloture is invoked and a vote on the filibuster-provoking question must be taken.

Alabama's senators are also limited in the length and number of speeches. Rule 37 specifies that no member shall speak more than twice on any question and no more than one hour at each time. Thus the maximum amount of time one member can consume on a question is two hours. However there is no limit to the number of questions or amendments that can be raised.

Florida is the only Southern state in which neither the rule of cloture nor the previous question can be invoked. Florida senators are limited to two addresses of no more than 30 minutes each on each question, but here too, there is no limit on the number of questions which can be raised.

State legislatures and Congress are different, of course. Congress is the forum for widely separated sections of a great nation, with all the conflicting interests and customs implicit in so diversified a country.

Many arguments can be made for unlimited debate in the U. S. Senate which would not hold water in the case of a state legislature. Even so, it is an amusingly anomalous situation that right of unlimited debate, held sacred by Southerners, is abridged at home.

Plan For Vote On Rights Bill Chilled By Ike

Advertiser P.1
Thurs. 7-4-57
Montgomery, Ala.

WASHINGTON, July 3 (AP) — President Eisenhower today rejected the idea that he submit his civil rights bill to nationwide referendum. He said he didn't know of any provisions in the Constitution for putting the question up to the people in such a way.

He told his news conference he thought that "the Constitution contemplates that there are responsible officials within the federal government that have to act in such cases."

The President expressed his views when asked about the proposal of Sen. Russell (D-Ga) to submit the civil rights issue to a national vote. The Georgian said yesterday that if the people became acquainted with the bill now before the Senate they would defeat it "overwhelmingly."

NO PROVISION

First of all, Eisenhower said he didn't know of any constitutional provision for such a referendum. He also said he didn't know how the question could be put, unless the voters were controlled with the specific language of the bills —"and I doubt that that would make a very good subject for a referendum, even if you could have one."

The President confessed that he himself didn't understand completely "certain phrases" in the legislation.

This was in reply to a question as to whether he would be willing to see the bill rewritten to make clear it aims at protecting the right to vote and not, as some Southern critics have said, at enforcing integration of the races.

Eisenhower said he would want to talk to the attorney general and find out exactly what certain phrases in the bill mean before making any more remarks on the scope of the bill.

The House passed the administration's civil rights program 286-126 June 18 and an effort is expected to be made to bring the bill before the Senate next Monday.

Southern Democrats are expected to filibuster for weeks in an attempt to talk the bill to death in the Senate.

Advertiser P.2-A

In preliminary debate yesterday, Russell, the captain of the Southern opposition, told the Senate he will seek to attach an amendment to the bill providing that the legislation would not become effective until it had been approved by a majority of American voters. Russell suggested holding a referendum in conjunction with the congressional elections next year.

HIT BY RUSSELL

He asserted the bill was aimed at "bayonet" enforcement of the Supreme Court's school integration decision and, if passed by Congress, "will cause unspeakable confusion, bitterness and bloodshed" in the South.

Eisenhower told his news conference he couldn't understand why some men felt this way about the program, which he has defended repeatedly as one of moderation. Obviously referring to Russell and other Southern opponents of the legislation, he said:

"I find that men, men that are highly respected in their states and in the Senate, have suddenly made statements: 'This is a very extreme law, leading to disorder,' and all that sort of thing.

"This to me is rather incomprehensible, but I am always ready to listen to anyone's presentation to me of his views on such a thing."

He added that Russell has never given him any oral or written message on the bill.

In his discussion today, the President described the provisions of the bill as "simple matters that were more or less brought about by the Supreme Court decision, and were a very moderate move."

"I know what the objective was that I was seeking, which was to prevent anybody from illegally interfering with any individual's right to vote. . ." he said.

Earlier Sens. Knowland of California, the GOP leader in the Senate, and Javits (R-NY) had criticized Russell's referendum proposal as unworkable.

The civil rights bill would set up a bipartisan commission to make a two-year study of civil rights problems and would establish a special division in the Department of Justice, under an assistant attorney general, to handle civil rights cases.

It would also empower the attorney general to take into federal courts the cases of persons whose civil rights were violated or threatened, and to protect their interests by seeking federal court injunctions. Persons who violated these injunctions could be tried by the judge for contempt of court.

Two Experts At Work

Advertiser P.4-A
Sat. 7-6-57
Montgomery, Ala.

DEBATE will be resumed in Congress Monday on the civil rights legislation that would bring more federal cops to Alabama than have been seen since Reconstruction.

The changes of the bill's passage will undoubtedly be much influenced, though in opposite directions, by two experts.

State Senator Engelhardt, who chose this opportune time to plunge for legislation that would disfranchise hundreds of Negro voters in Tuskegee, has provided the sponsors of the federal cop bill with some high-powered ammunition. The Montgomery church bombing had just about worn out when the mass disfranchisement was dished up at the well known psychological time.

The other expert at work is President Eisenhower. The NAACP's joyousness over the Englehardt issue must have thawed, resolved itself into a dew when Ike candidly but destructively said he really didn't understand just what all was in the civil rights bill.

Ike had discussed the legislation in eight of his last 16 press conferences, had arrayed the whole power of the White House to wad it through Congress—then finally got around to reading it and honestly acknowledged that the bill, bringing to bear the vast power of a new federal apparatus in a delicate and uncertain field, was not understood by him. Ike said:

"I was reading part of the bill this morning and there were certain phrases which I didn't completely understand. So . . . I would want to talk to the attorney general and see exactly what they do mean."

Ike did not have to make that admission; it issued from his essential honesty. That honesty draws some of the sting from the fact that he was innocently sponsoring a dangerous undertaking in our national life.

Senator Engelhardt has handsomely assisted the NAACP tribunes in the Senate who support the bill. But generous as his help has been, it seems to us that the sabotage to the bill by the President more than offsets the help from Alabama.

10 1957

Rights Jury Trial Is Offered To South as Russell Warns of Talk Until All Understand

Compromise Attempted by O'Mahoney

By ALBERT RILEY
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, July 8—Southern foes of the civil rights bill picked up Western support for a jury trial amendment today as the Senate concluded its first day of debate over the controversial administration bill.

In an appeal for compromise, Sen. O'Mahoney (D-Wis) proposed such an amendment in hopes of avoiding a long and bitter filibuster and of restoring unity.

Georgia's Sen. Russell told the Senate that the Southerners will talk against the bill until they can explain its full implications not only to the people of the United States but to the Senate itself.

KNOWLAND'S MOVE

Russell made that promise as the Senate began its long-awaited struggle on the issue when Republican Minority Leader Knowland (Calif) moved to take up the bill.

The Georgian also declared that the civil rights advocates themselves—and not the Southerners—must be held responsible for any filibuster that will delay other legislation.

O'Mahoney proposed an amendment that would make jury trials permissible in some injunction cases arising out of civil rights disputes.

HOPES SOUTH WILL ACCEPT

Although bitterly opposed to the bill in any form, Southerners have been arguing for a jury trial amendment, and O'Mahoney said he hoped they would accept such a compromise.

Warning his colleagues against ramming a completely unacceptable bill down the throats of the Southerners, O'Mahoney said:

"Look at the great contributions the South has made. They'll come through. Everywhere, in the newspapers and on television, we see that racial prejudice is being overcome. But that does not mean integration. It means that people recognize that the Almighty created the men and women who populate the earth.

"TRUST BROTHERS"

"The time has come for us to find the way to work out a compromise that will enable all men, white, black and red, to stand for the preservation of government and the free world.

"I trust my brothers of the South, who have already made so much progress in social relations, will grant complete voting rights to Negroes."

This is no time, O'Mahoney said, to further stir up racial agitation in this country and make other peoples of the world think race relations here are worse than they really are.

O'Mahoney's speech later was praised by Russell, Ervin (D-NC), Stennis (D-Miss), and Democratic Majority Leader Johnson (Tex).

HOPE FOR MODIFICATION

The Wyoming senator's appeal followed earlier comment by Sen. Mundt (R-SD), that he hoped the Senate could pass a modified bill that the South might not like but could live by.

There were indications that the debate on this motion will proceed in orderly fashion through most of this week until the Senate votes on the motion and then actually takes up the bill.

Then is when the round-the-clock filibustering is expected to begin in a prolonged struggle that could force Congress into a session lasting into September.

But at this point, the Southerners do not seem disposed to launch a full-scale filibuster against the motion to take up the bill and run the risk of losing a cloture vote to shut off debate on that motion.

RESPONSIBILITY

Russell told the Senate he had not intended to speak today but felt called upon to do so after Knowland had asked the civil rights opponents to be reasonable and responsible.

The Southerners, who are unfaltering in their opposition to the bill, have shown great sense of responsibility already by not slowing down other legislation, "even with a sword dangling over our heads," the Georgian said.

Noting that several senators had declared there are emergency bills that need passing, the Georgian said:

"I speak for forty million American citizens who are confronted with an emergency when you by force-legislation here say you are going to come into their section and by the Army and Navy occupy the land.

"We assume no responsibility for it. We shall be reasonable men in debate . . . But what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander . . . We are going to try to explain this bill not only to the country but to the Senate of the United States, so everybody in the Senate can say to himself in all candor that he understands the full implications of the bill."

"You may call it a filibuster if you wish, but if there is a sense of fairness throughout the nation it would not be called a filibuster."

Russell asserted that the Southerners have been handicapped in getting their views across to the nation because of slanted coverage of the issue by the press, radio and television.

In his impassioned speech, Russell drew an analogy between the South and a chained bear that is poked to make him dance.

"We shall not do it, Mr. President, God give us the strength," he declared.

Associated Press Wirephoto

SENS. RUSSELL, ERVIN TALK OVER STRATEGY

Confer as Southern Democrats Begin Attack on Rights Bill

Clarifying Measures Discussed

Ike Tells Russell He Won't Use Act To Punish South

By Richard L. Lyons
Staff Reporter

President Eisenhower gave assurances yesterday that he would not use the civil rights bill to launch a punitive expedition against the South, while talk mounted for Senate changes to make the bill less distasteful to the opposition.

Sen. Richard B. Russell (D-Ga.) met with the President for 50 minutes yesterday morning to explain why he considers the bill an "extreme . . . cunningly devised" measure aimed at forcing integration on the South with the help of Federal bayonets if necessary.

Russell told reporters afterward that the President is "very determined" to get a bill through Congress and had made no concessions during their talk.

But Russell added that the President assured him the Administration would not use the bill to punish the South. The Senator said the President had an "open mind" on changes to "clarify" the bill. Russell said those were not direct quotes but impressions he got from their talk.

Motion Still Debated

Asked if he felt any better after their talk, Russell said: "I can't say that I do."

Presumably no Southern Senator can feel good about any bill entitled civil rights. But there was increasing cloakroom talk about changes that might at least shorten a filibuster.

Most Senators won't publicly discuss amendments until the bill is before the Senate. Yesterday the Senate debated for the third day a motion to take up the bill and is expected to vote on that next week.

Much of the "clarification" talk centered on changing or perhaps eliminating a section that goes beyond enforcement of voting rights and would permit the Attorney General to seek injunctions to enforce all civil rights. It is this sectin, grafted onto a Reconstruction Era law, that Russell charged would permit forced integration and bayonet rule.

The President told his press conference last week that his only objective in this bill was to assure that all qualified citizens are allowed to vote.

Vice President Richard M. Nixon reportedly predicted to a group of freshman House members yesterday that the House-passed civil rights bill would pass the Senate without "compromise." He told the group he was determined to get the bill passed "no matter how long it may take" and predicted that the only Senate changes would be "clarifying."

By predicting no compromise, Nixon apparently was ruling out Senate adoption of the Southern-backed jury trial amendment in civil rights contempt cases. By "clarifying"

language, he could have meant limiting it to voting rights. Senate Republican Leader William F. Knowland (Calif.), who is in fact majority leader during the debate, is reportedly convinced he can beat the jury trial provision.

Johnson Urges Studies

Senate Democratic Leader Lyndon B. Johnson (Tex.) issued a statement saying that the debate so far indicates two things to him. He thinks is has produced a climate of reason within which the Senate can reach a meaningful conclusion and that technical staff studies need to be made. on the bayonet rule ussue raised by Russell.

Since the Senate is operating on a House bill without benefit of a Senate committee reference report, Johnson said he has asked his staff to dig up basic information on the question.

The hints of Senate changes in the bill brought a blast at the Administration from Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.) who guided its bill through the House.

Celler said he would oppose any change if the bill goes to As chairman of the House Judiciary Committee and leader of the House conferees he would have a strong voice.

Foresees Compromise

Celler said it looked as though the Administration was about to accept some compromise.

"There seems to be no fight in the Administration," he said. "The President bends with every wind. I can't see a Truman or a Roosevelt—Teddy or FDR—yielding so pusillanimously. We liberal Democrats went out on a limb in fighting for this bill, a limb which the Administration now would cut off."

Celler called the "so-called concern as to the breadth and scope" of the bill "just plain nonsence."

"Apparently the Administration began with a bang and now goes out with a whimper," said Celler.

Sen. Everett M. Dirksen (R-Ill.) yesterday made the first full-scale reply to Russell's charges of deception and "bayonet rule."

Dirksen said there was no secret about the fact that the bill could be used to enforce more tha nvoting rights. He said Attorney General Herbert Brownell Jr. so testified at Senate hearings. He read Brownell's testimony which states there was no intent to use the bill to carry out school integration except in cases where outsiders interfered with attempts of school boards to carry out the Supreme Court decision.

In such an event, Brownell said, the Justice Department might seek an injunction to prevent outside interference.

Bayonet Rule

In answer to the bayonet rule charge, Dirksen said the President already has authority to use troops to suppress rebellion and enforce the laws. The bill does not create a new power, said Dirksen.

"To suggest that military force will be necessary to enforce civil rights decrees," said Dirksen, "is to suggest that there are areas . . . where citizens would be willing to resort to civil war as a means of avoiding the impact of Federal law. We cannot believe that this true."

Sen. Olin D. Johnston (D-S. C.) said the bill, which lets the Attorney General seek court orders to protect civil rights, would put the Attorney General in charge of running the country and make the President a mere "figurehead."

"It sets a precedent," said Johnston, "of placing the Attorney General in the same position that Hitler was placed by similarly patterned encroaching legislation passed in Germany during the 1930's."

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THE NATION

Times 7-7

Now the Filibuster

President Eisenhower has often laid stress on his belief that the four-point civil rights program he proposed to Congress last year is moderate. Last week, in the face of Southern insistence that the program is a move to force integration in the South, the President appeared to waver.

The Administration's program calls for (1) the creation of a temporary commission to study the civil rights situation; (2) provision for another Assistant Attorney General to head a new civil rights division in the Justice Department; (3) reinforcement of voting rights; and (4) authority for the Attorney General to go into Federal court seeking "preventive relief," including an injunction, whenever he feels any citizen's civil rights are threatened or being violated; anyone disobeying such a court order would be tried by the judge, not a jury.

Passed by House

A bill embodying the program was passed overwhelmingly by the House on June 18. Two days later the Senate, in an unusual move, voted 45—39 to by-pass the Senate Judiciary Committee—which has been the graveyard of civil rights legislation for years—by putting the bill directly on the Senate calendar. Republican Senator William F. Knowland of California, field general for the Administration bill, has indicated that he will bring the bill up tomorrow for the first Senate showdown on civil rights in many years.

Last week there was a preliminary skirmish. Senator Richard B. Russell, Georgia Democrat and leader of Southern opposition, rose in the Senate on Tuesday to denounce the bill as a "cunningly devised" effort to "enforce a commingling of the races" in the South. The Administration, he said, had depicted the program as a "moderate bill to assure and protect the voting rights of American citizens." Actually, the Senator said, its aim is "to punish the South"; its intricate language would let the Attorney General "bring to bear the whole might of the Federal Government, including the armed forces if necessary, to force a commingling of white and Negro children in the state-supported public schools of the South."

Senator Russell said he will "demand an amendment to this bill which will submit this issue to the American people in a national referendum." The Senator also said he doubts that "the full implications of this bill have ever been explained to President Eisenhower."

The President acknowledged at a news conference the next day that he did not fully understand "certain phrases" of the bill. His original objective "was to prevent anybody from illegally interfering with any individual's right to vote," he said. Asked if he would be willing to see the bill rewritten to apply only to voting, he replied that he would want to find out about those "certain phrases" before discussing the measure further. As for a referendum, the President declared that Senator Russell's demand was unfeasible and out of keeping with the Constitution.

Southerners Heartened

However, the Southern forces took heart from the President's promise to take a new look at the bill. They are prepared to filibuster against it as it stands. They face heavy odds, for the Republicans are backing the program strongly in the hope of enlarging the Negro vote the G.O.P. received last year, and the Northern Democrats are backing the bill in the hope of retrieving the Negro vote.

The outcome may turn on a Southern effort to provide for jury trial of persons cited for contempt under the bill. The Administration contends that this would take the teeth out of the bill because no Southern jury would convict in a civil rights case. Most observers think the bill would pass with such an amendment. Without it, the South may be able to pick up enough Northern support—from Senators who are lukewarm on civil rights or uneasy over the proposition of punishment without jury trial—to defeat the program.

Analysis Of Crucial Civil Rights Vote By Senators

Defender Chicago Ill. Sat. 7-27-57 P. 3

By ETHEL L. PAYNE

WASHINGTON — An analysis of last week's crucial vote making the administration's civil rights bill the pending business before the Senate, produces some interesting facts. The vote was 71 to 18 in favor of taking up the measure.

The 18 against the motion, all Democrats, represent what might be termed the final, melted-down crucible of the hard core opposition to any kind of civil rights. They represent the following states: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina and Virginia.

These 18 senators Byrd, Eastland, Ellender, Ervin, Fulbright, Hill, Holland, Johnston of S. C.; Long, Robertson, Russell, Scott, Smathers, Sparkman, Stennis, Talmadge, and Thurmond and McClellan will have to carry the burden of the gruelling, around-the-clock filibuster.

They won't have any help to amount to anything from the rest of their colleagues. In a sense, this means the isolation of the Solid South for the first time since reconstruction days.

While many of the 71 who voted for the motion, do not necessarily favor the bill in its present form, at least they have conceded to the point where they are willing to settle for some compromises, a far different position from the band of die hards led by Sen. Richard Russell of Georgia. This in itself is history already dramatically made.

It is significant that counted among those who left the rebels are both senators from Texas, Lyndon Johnson, the majority leader, and Ralph Yarborough, the freshman senator.

Johnson is in a shaky position of trying to ride two horses going in opposite directions. He can't afford, because of his high party position, to identify himself with the solid opposition, completely and irrevocably against any civil rights: neither can he join the Knowland-Douglas axis pledged to pass the bill without any crippling compromises.

On the first vote, there were 42 Republicans and 29 Demoncrats voting for the motion to call up the bill.

On the second vote, the Morse motion to send the bill back to the Judiciary committee with a stipulation to discharge it after seven days of study, the opposition picked up some strength, mostly from western senators.

Thirty one Democrats joined in this time with four Republicans, Curtis, Neb.; Malone, Neb.; Mundt, S. C.; and Williams, Del. But the motion lost 54-35.

The air is so full of compromise talk that is confusing especially with the President teetering on the tight rope of trying to soothe every body. Nevertheless, the proponents of the bill stoutly maintain that there won't be any compromise.

Now that stubborn maverick, Wayne Morse who seems to have a penchant for being a dissentes, has had his final try at trying to send the bill back to the Eastland Judiciary Committee, the bill's backers say he will now go along with the program and even vote for cloture when the time comes.

Nobody can explain Morse's position; perhaps not even the puckish bushy browed senator himself. The best explanation is that he just likes controversy period.

Meanwhile, back in the cloakroom, it's said that even the southerners are privately admitting that they've lost their cause. On the surface, however, their heavy guns are booming as hard as ever and the southern papers would have you to believe that they've got the pesky Yankees in full retreat.

Russell Group Pictured Backing Into Enigma

Constitution Atlanta Ga. Mon. 7-29-57 P. 1

By JACK BELL

WASHINGTON, July 28 (AP)—Eighteen die-hard Southern opponents are rapidly backing themselves into a political corner from which the only exit may lead to Senate passage of a civil rights bill.

The 18, representing nine Dixie states, form the core of dwindling resistance to passage of any civil rights legislation. By their own actions, they are making it more difficult to accomplish their objective.

Faced with a dilemma, they chose to back amendments to the administration's civil rights bill. Their only other course was to let the bill stand as it was passed by the House and attempt to defeat it with a filibuster.

But that course also involved efforts by them to expose to public view some of what they have called "punitive" features of the bill — among them the House-approved and Senate-rejected authority for the attorney general to seek civil injunctions to enforce racial integration in schools and other public places in the South.

Once having brought up these issues, the Dixie senators had to vote for amendments which would soften the terms of the bill and make it more palatable to many of those they might have counted on to help them defeat a more stringent measure.

Thus the 18 have gone a long way toward destroying the reserve strength they would need to prevent the Senate from mustering the necessary 64 votes to clamp on a filibuster-killing debate limitation.

If the Senate accepts this week an amendment to require jury trials in all criminal contempt of court cases, including those involving voting rights, the last chance of defeating a debate limitation will have departed.

Paradoxically, if a jury trial amendment is beaten in a close vote, that action will revive Southern hopes of eventually miring the bill in a lengthy filibuster and thus defeating any action on it in this session.

While they may find other features of the measure to criticize, none of them seems willing to stand up in the Senate and say he wants to deny any "qualified" citizen — black or white — the right to vote.

The requirement that voters "qualify" for registration under state laws remains as the anchor to windward for senators who are opposed to any substantial increase in Negro registrants in their states.

The 18 Democratic opponents of the measure include Sens. Byrd and Robertson of Virginia, Russell and Talmadge of Georgia, Eastland and Stennis of Mississippi, Ellender and Long of Louisiana, Ervin and Scott of North Carolina, Johnston and Thurmond of South Carolina, Fulbright and McClellan of Arkansas, Hill and Sparkman of Alabama, and Holland and Smathers of Florida.

South Is Assured Troop-Use Ban

Courier-Journal Louisville Ky.

Major Rights-Bill Objection Is Removed—But Many Remain

Lou. 7-23-57

From Wire Dispatches

Washington, July 22.—The Senate made its first change in the civil-rights bill today, voting 90 to 0 for an amendment designed to relieve Southern fears that school integration might be enforced at bayonet point.

The approved amendment would repeal a law enacted in the Reconstruction Era that empowers the president to use troops to enforce the civil-rights decrees of the federal courts.

The civil-rights bill had provided for carrying forward the old law—Section 1993 of the United States Code. It became effective in 1870 as one of the Federal Government's means of dealing with the South after the Civil War.

The bipartisan civil-rights leaders, Senators Knowland of California for the Republicans and Humphreys of Minnesota for the Democrats, offered the repealer.

Notes 'Useful Purpose'

Knowland told the Senate the Administration had no intention of using soldiers to carry out any court decrees that might be issued under the bill. But he said that if the amendment would serve to relieve the fears of Southerners in this regard, it would serve a useful purpose.

In supporting the Knowland-Humphrey amendment, Senator Lausche (D., Ohio) demanded to know who sponsored the "nefarious" proposal for reliance on the Reconstruction Act in the first place.

Congratulates Senate

"I think we ought find out whose creature this was," Lausche said. He added the provision was inspired by "fanaticism."

The unanimous vote on this amendment removed one major Southern objection to the civil-rights bill, but other big ones remained.

The roll call cleared the way for a vote—probably tomorrow —on a key amendment to strip the bill of all its enforcement powers except those protecting voting rights.

Majority Leader Johnson (D., Tex.) congratulated the Senate on the unanimity of its action today. He suggested the Senate limit itself to 6 hours of debate tomorrow on the amendment to strike most of Section 3 from the bill. This is the section containing enforcement powers.

There was no immediate agreement on debate limitation, however.

Senator Morse (D., Ore.) said he would block future unanimous consent agreements for votes on amendments unless they also include a time for a final vote on the bill. He suggested 4 p.m. Saturday as the time for a final vote.

Not Agreed on Time

"I don't propose to buy this filibuster on the installment plan," Morse said.

Senator Russell (D., Ga.), leader of the Southern opposition, made it clear he was not ready to settle on a time for a final vote.

Meanwhile there were increasing signs that the bill may be whittled down to a measure protecting only voting rights.

Two senior Republicans, Senators Saltonstall of Massachusetts and H. Alexander Smith of New Jersey, announced they would vote to strike the controversial Section 3 from the legislation.

This part of the bill would empower the attorney general to seek Federal Court injunctions against violations in the whole field of civil rights. Persons flouting the injunctions could be charged with contempt of court and tried without a jury.

Asks 'First Things First'

Johnson predicted the measure could not be passed unless it is limited to voting rights.

Smith agreed with him.

"If that title (Section 3) remains in the bill," Smith told the Senate, "it could result in a filibuster and no civil-rights measure this year."

"Let us accomplish first things first—the right to vote," he urged.

A Clinton segregation-trial defense lawyer cited Abraham Lincoln as setting the course for the South in refusing to obey a Supreme Court decision. A Negro doctor said he is leaving Mississippi because the U. S. Government won't protect his civil rights. Both stories are on Page 3.

Saltonstall, chairman of the conference of all G.O.P. senators, announced he was going to support an amendment by Senators Anderson (D., N. M.) and Aiken (R., Vt.) to cut Section 3 out of the bill.

Favors Features

If Congress allows the attorney general to initiate all kinds of civil-rights proceedings, Saltonstall said in a floor speech, the effect would be to "violate the theory of home rule."

Saltonstall said he favors the right-to-vote features of the legislation because he said he believes that once people have this right assured, "any of the other rights will come with patience and understanding."

Cooper Offers Alternate

Anderson said the Anderson-Aiken amendment would be modified to leave intact one part of Section 3 that would permit individuals to bypass State courts and go directly into federal courts for protection of their voting rights.

Southern opponents of the bill have indicated they would not make a last-ditch fight against this.

After today's vote approving the Knowland-Humphrey amendment, Kentucky's Republican Senator Cooper offered a substitute for the Anderson-Aiken amendment.

Cooper's proposal would authorize the attorney general to seek a civil injunction to counter any conspiracy to prevent State authorities from carrying out court orders in civil-rights cases.

News Of The Week—

Force Measure Is Ripped From The Civil Rights Bill By Fighting Southerners

Russell Of Georgia Leads Fight, Next Step Is To Assure Jury Trial Guarantee; Living Costs Up For 10th Straight Month

By International News Service

WASHINGTON, July 27.—Southern strategists won a major victory this week in the Senate battle over President Eisenhower's Civil Rights Bill.

A vote of 52 to 38 ripped from the Administration measure all Federal enforcement powers except those protecting the rights of citizens, regardless of race, to go to the polls.

The great success from the Southern point of view was the knockout blow to a provision empowering the attorney general to seek Federal court injunctions that could have been used to force racial integration in schools and public places, such as swimming pools.

The vote came on an amendment proposed by Senators Clinton Anderson (D., N.M.), and George Aiken (R., Vt.), two "moderate liberals" who were determined to achieve an acceptable compromise on the most hotly disputed issue in the civil rights program.

Jury Trials Next

The defeat was suffered by a bipartisan bloc of 13 northern and western Democrats and 25 Republicans headed by Minority Leader William F. Knowland of California. They were committed to preservation of the Civil Rights Bill in its tough, original form.

Having cleared the enforcement hurdle, the Senate drove on to the next problem, centering on Dixie determination to assure jury trials for persons accused of contempt of court in civil rights violations.

The Anderson-Aiken compromise formula was necessitated by the strategy laid down by the Southern leader, Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia, and scrupulously adhered to by his cohorts.

Indications were that the jury-trial amendment problem might be solved without the wearying filibuster threatened by the Southern camp.

Knoxville Jury Convicts

The Dixie cause was strengthened by the action of an all-white jury at Knoxville, Tenn., which convicted seven segregationists of criminal contempt.

John Kasper, a self-styled rabble rouser from Washington, and six Tennesseans were found guilty of contempt in attempting to block integration at the Clinton, Tenn., high school.

Some senators said the verdict proved that civil rights cases should be left in the hands of juries. Others said it proved only that Tennessee doesn't like troublemaking outsiders.

Secretary of State John Foster Dulles made the week's top news in the foreign affairs field.

Dulles warned in a nationwide radio-television broadcast that unless controls on nuclear weapons can soon be imposed by international agreement, the threat arising from the mass-destruction devices "may become unmanageable."

He appealed to Russia to accept the West's disarmament proposals, and said:

"As matters are going, the time will come when the pettiest and most irresponsible dictator could get hold of weapons with which to threaten immense harm."

18 Dixie Senators Confronted By Dilemma on Civil Rights Bill

Times-Union Mon. 7-29-57 P. 18
Jacksonville, Fla.

WASHINGTON, July 28 (AP) — Eighteen die-hard Southern opponents are rapidly backing themselves into a political corner from which the only exit may lead to Senate passage of a civil rights bill.

The 18, representing nine Dixie states, form the core of dwindling resistance to passage of any civil rights legislation. By their own actions, they are making it more difficult to accomplish their objective.

Faced with a dilemma, they chose to back amendments to the administration's civil rights bill. Their only other course was to let the bill stand as it was passed by the House and attempt to defeat it with a filibuster.

But that course also involved efforts by them to expose to public view some of what they have called "punitive" features of the bill — among them the House-approved and Senate-rejected authority for the attorney general to seek civil injunctions to enforce racial integration in schools and other public places in the South.

Once having brought up these issues, the Dixie senators had to vote for amendments which would soften the terms of the bill and make it more palatable to many of those they might have counted on to help them defeat a more stringent measure.

Thus the 18 have gone a long way toward destroying the reserve strength they would need to prevent the Senate from mustering the necessary 64 votes to clamp on a filibuster-killing debate limitation.

If the Senate accepts this week an amendment to require jury trials in all criminal contempt of court cases, including those involving voting rights, the last chance of defeating a debate limitation will have departed.

Paradoxically, if a jury trial amendment is beaten in a close vote, that action will revive Southern hopes of eventually miring the bill in a lengthy filibuster and thus defeating any action on it in this session.

Without the inclusion of a jury trial provision, it is doubtful 64 senators would vote to end debate. The die-hard 18 would have a talking point for a lengthy filibuster.

With a jury trial amendment written into the bill, the Southerners would be confronted with a measure largely limited for all practical purposes to the protection of voting rights.

While they may find other features of the measure to criticize, none of them seems willing to stand up in the Senate and say he wants to deny any "qualified" citizen — black or white — the right to vote.

The requirement that voters "qualify" for registration under state laws remains as the anchor to windward for senators who are opposed to any substantial increase in Negro registrants in their states.

The 18 Democratic opponents of the measure include Sens. Byrd and Robertson of Virginia, Russell and Talmadge of Georgia, Eastland and Stennis of Mississippi, Ellender and Long of Louisiana, Ervin and Scott of North Carolina, Johnston and Thurmond of South Carolina, Fulbright and McClellan of Arkansas, Hill and Sparkman of Alabama, and Holland and Smathers of Florida.

Senate roll call vote on maiming civil rights bill

Afro-American P. 13 Sat. 8-3-57
Baltimore, Md.

Here's the roll call vote showing how your friends voted against and your enemies for the Anderson-Aiken amendment stripping Part 3 of the civil rights bill of all enforcement authority except protection of voting rights.

YOUR ENEMIES

YOUR ENEMIES—52

Democrats For—134

Anderson, N.M.
Bible, Nev.
Byrd, Va.
Chavez, N.M.
Church, Idaho
Eastland, Miss.
Ellender, La.
Ervin, N.C.
Frear, Del.
Fulbright, Ark.
Gore, Tenn.
Green, R.I.
Hayden, Ariz.
Hill, Ala.
Holland, Fla.
Johnson, S.C.
Johnson, Tex.
Kefauver, Tenn.
Kerr, Okla.
Long, La.
Mansfield, Mont.
McClellan, Ark.
Monroney, Okla.
Murray, Mont.
O'Mah'y, Wyo.
Robertson, Va.
Russell, Ga.
Scott, N.C.
Smathers, Fla.
Sparkman, Ala.
Stennis, Miss.
Talmadge, Ga.
Thurmond, S.C.
Yarbor'h, Tex.

Republicans For—18

Aiken, Vt.
Barrett, Wyo
Bennett, Utah
Bricker, O.
Butler, Md.
Flanders, Vt.
Hickenlooper, Ia.
Goldwater, Ariz.
Malone, Nev.
Mundt, S.D.
Case, S.D.
Cotton, N.H.
Curtis, Neb.
Dworsh'k, Idaho
Saltonstall, Mass.
Smith, N.J.
Williams, Del.
Young, N.D.

YOUR FRIENDS

YOUR FRIENDS—38

Democrats Against—13

Carroll, Colo.
Clark, Pa.
Douglas, Ill.
Humph'y, Minn.
Jackson, Wash.
Kennedy, Mass.
Lausche, O.
Magn'n, Wash.
McNam'a, Mich.
Morse, Ore.
Neuberger, Ore.
Pastore, R.I.
Symington, Mo.

Republicans Against—25

Allott, Colo.
Beall, Md.
Bush, Conn.
Capehart, Ind.
Carlson, Kan.
Case, N.J.
Cooper, Ky.
Dirksen, Ill.
Hruska, Neb.
Ives, N.Y.
Javits, N.Y.
Jenner, Ind.
Knowland, Calif.
Kuchel, Calif.
Langer, N.D.
Martin, Iowa
Martin, Pa.
Morton, Ky.
Potter, Mich.
Purtell, Conn.
Rever'b, W.Va.
Smith, Me.
Thye, Minn.
Watkins, Utah
Wiley, Wis.

Not voting nor paired but announced as against the amendment: Schoeppel (R., Kan.).

Not voting nor paired but annonced as against the amendment: Hennings (D., Mo.), Neely (D., W. Va.), Payne (R., Me.).

10 1957

Senate Kills Rights Bill Power To Use Troops

Vote On Bid To Strip Bill Likely Today

Advertiser P.1
Tue. 7-23-57
Montgomery, Ala.

WASHINGTON, July 22 (AP)—The Senate made its first change in the civil rights bill today, voting 90-0 for an amendment designed to relieve Southern fears that school integration might be enforced at bayonet point.

While the unanimous vote removed one major Southern objection to the legislation, other big ones remained.

The roll call cleared the way for a vote—probably tomorrow—on a key amendment to strip the bill of all its enforcement powers except those protecting voting rights.

Minority Leader Knowland (R-Calif) and Sen. Humphrey (D-Minn) sponsored today's change, which would serve to repeal an old law authorizing the president to use federal troops to enforce court orders.

Knowland told the Senate the administration had no intention of using soldiers to carry out any court decrees which might be issued under the bill. But he said if the amendment would serve to relieve the fears of Southerners in this regard it would serve a useful purpose.

PROVISIONS LINKED

As the bill came from the House, it linked its enforcement provisions with a Reconstruction era statute providing for the use of troops if necessary.

The opposition protested this would allow the government not only to force racial integration of the schools on the South but to use armed force to bring about other social changes there.

Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson (D-Tex) suggested the Senate limit itself to six hours of debate tomorrow on the amendment to strike most of Section 3 from the bill. This is the section containing enforcement powers.

There was no immediate agreement on debate limitation, however.

Sen. Morse (D-Ore) said he would block future unanimous consent agreements for votes on amendments unless they also include a time for a final vote on the bill. He suggested 4 p.m. next Saturday as the time for a final vote.

Advertiser

OPPOSITION LEADER

Sen. Russell (D-Ga) leader of the Southern opposition, made it clear he was not ready to settle on a time for a final vote.

Russell said he was "most gratified" that the Knowland-Humphrey amendment had been presented. He said it did repeal the section of law giving specific power to enforce specific court orders by use of the armed forces. Such specific power is far different from the president's general power to quell insurrection, he said.

But the Georgian added that other provisions "as drastic and as vicious" remained in the measure.

For instance, he said, if the amendment to knock out most of Section 3 were not adopted, "this Senate would be putting its stamp of approval on all of the recent decisions of the Supreme Court setting forth new civil rights."

Humphrey asked if Russell would look with any more favor on Section 3 if it were limited to cases involving race, color, creed and national origins.

CAT OUT OF BAG

The Georgian replied that Humphrey really had let the cat out of the bag with this question, and had made clear that proponents of the bill wanted to aim it only at the South.

The Minnesotan replied he did not so intend at all, that there were violations of civil rights in all parts of the country.

Meanwhile there were increasing signs the bill may be whittled down to a measure protecting only voting rights.

Two senior Republicans, Sens. Saltonstall of Massachusetts and H. Alexander Smith of New Jersey, announced they would vote to strike the controversial Section 3 from the legislation.

This part of the bill would empower the attorney general to seek federal court injunctions against violations in the whole field of civil rights. Persons flouting the injunctions could be charged with contempt of court and tried without a jury.

Sen. Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, the Senate's Democratic leader, predicted the measure could not be passed unless it is limited to voting rights.

BACK AMENDMENT

Saltonstall, chairman of the Conference of all GOP Senators, announced he was going to support an amendment by Sens. Anderson (D-NM) and Aiken (R-Vt) to cut Section 3 out of the bill.

Saltonstall said he favors the right to vote feature of the legislation because he said he believes once people have this right assured "any of the other rights will come with patience and understanding."

Anderson then said the Anderson-Aiken amendment would be modified to leave intact one part of Section 3 that would permit individuals to bypass state courts and go directly into federal courts for protection of their voting rights.

Southern opponents of the bill have indicated they would not make a last-ditch fight against this.

There was little doubt in advance of the voting that the Knowland-Humphrey amendment would be adopted. President Eisenhower has said that he could not imagine any circumstances in which he would use troops to enforce court orders anywhere in the United States.

Votes Start In Senate on Rights Bill

Post & Times Herald P.1
Washington D.C.

Lineup Is 90 to 0 To Kill Old Law on Troop Use in South

Tues. 7-23-57

By Robert C. Albright
Staff Reporter

The Senate yesterday started voting on the Administration's civil rights bill, lining up 90 to 0 for repeal of an old Reconstruction-era statute authorizing the President to use troops to maintain Negro rights in the South.

The unanimous vote, designed to allay Southern fears and nullify a leading talking point against the bill, cleared the way for an early showdown on a move to strike out almost an entire section of the bill.

Next up for a vote is the so-called Anderson-Aiken amendment. This, in effect, erases the bill's controversial Part III, which empowers the Attorney Genperal to seek court injunctions to enforce a long list of Constitutional rights not related to voting..

Could Reduce Filibuster

Approval of this amendment, in a vote tentatively slated for late today or early Wednesday, would effectively cut down the bill to a strictly voting-rights measure. Sponsors of the amendment say it would do more—cut down the length of the expected Southern filibuster to possibly a week or two of token resistance.

Sponsored by Sens. Clinton P. Anderson (D-N. Mex.) and George D. Aiken (R-Vt.), this amendment in a week has displaced a variety of jury-trial amendments as the key to what happens on the Administration bill.

If it is adopted, the Senate may refuse to go further and require a jury trial in right-to-vote contempt cases. At most, it may adopt only a watered-down jury amendment, limited to criminal contempt cases, leadership canvasses showed.

The amendment striking out most of Part III picked up support yesterday from some of the President's leading supporters—Sen. Leverett Saltenstall (Mass.), chairman of the Senate Republican Conference, and Sen. H. Alexander Smith (R-N.J.)

Post & Times

Boomerang Feared

Saltenstall said "broad powers" provided in the section might boomerang against individual rights. Smith said elimination of the section would result in a "statesmanlike" right-to-vote law that the South probably would not seriously resist.

Senate Democratic Leader Lyndon B. Johnson (Tex.) said the disputed section would have to be eliminated "if we're going to have any bill at all." Said Johnson: "Part III merely complicates what should be the central theme of this bill—the right to vote."

Senate Republican Leader William F. Knowland (Calif.), still negotiating with Northern Democratic leaders on a possible compromise salvaging much of the section, continued to oppose the Anderson-Aiken amendment, however.

Tues. 7-23-57

So did the liberal Democrats. Warned Sen. Paul Douglas (D-Ill): "If you strike out this section you are voting to make the 14th amendment ineffective and to make the Supreme Court decision on school integration a dead letter."

Pending when the Senate recessed last night was a proposed substitute for Part III, sponsored by Sen. John Sherman Cooper (R-Ky.). This would permit the Attorney General to back up local authorities, whenever there is a conspiracy to prevent them from complying with a Federal court order issued to secure equal protection of the laws.

Amendment Revised

Anderson told Cooper the amendtment is subject to a point of order unless it is either redrafted or offered after the vote on the motion to strike out Part III.

Earlier yesterday Anderson and Aiken revised their own amendment to leave untouched one provision in Part III permitting individuals to bring suit directly in the Federal courts for protection of their voting and other rights. Southerners indicate dthey would not oppose this provision, which is substantially a restatement of what is already the law.

Yesterday's unanimous vote to repeal the old post-Civil War statute authorizing the President the use of troops in the South came on motion of Sens. Knowland and Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.), two co-leaders of the pro-civil-rights coalition.

Majority Leader Johnson congratulated the Senate on the unanimous vote, and suggested the possibility of a vote today on the Anderson-Aiken amendment, after another six hours of debate.

Senate Votes, 90-0, For Troop Use Ban In Civil Rights Bill

Times-Union P.1 Jacksonville, Fla. Tues. 7-23-57

Way Cleared For Ballot on Key Section

Sentiment Is Mounting to Restrict Measure to Poll Issue

WASHINGTON, July 22 (AP)—The Senate made its first change in the civil rights bill today, voting 90-0 for an amendment designed to relieve Southern fears that school integration might be enforced at bayonet point.

While the unanimous vote removed one major Southern objection to the legislation, other big ones remained.

The roll call cleared the way for a vote—probably tomorrow—on a key amendment to strip the bill of all its enforcement powers except those protecting voting rights.

Old Law Repealed

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As the bill came from the House, it linked its enforcement provisions with a reconstruction era statute providing for the use of troops if necessary.

Opposition Protests

The opposition protested this would allow the government not only to force racial integration of the schools on the South but to use armed force to bring about other social changes there.

Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson (D-Tex) suggested the Senate limit itself to six hours of debate tomorrow on the amendment to strike most of Section 3 from the bill. This is the section containing enforcement powers.

There was no immediate agreement on debate limitation, however.

The Senate quit at 7:10 p.m., until noon tomorrow.

Next Amendment

The next amendment to be voted on, under the parliamentary situation, will be one by Sen. Bricker (R-Ohio).

Bricker proposed to amend Section 3 to state that the attorney general could institute civil rights injunctions only "when so directed by the president."

Sen. Morse (D-Ore) said he would block future unanimous consent agreements for votes on amendments unless they also include a time for a final vote on the bill. He suggested 4 p.m. next Saturday as the time for a final vote.

Sen. Russell (D-Ga), leader of the Southern opposition, made it clear he was not ready to settle on a time for a final vote.

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With Patience

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Anderson congratulated Saltonstall, calling him "a moderate, temperate man."

Anderson then said the Anderson-Aiken amendment would be modified to leave intact one part of Section 3 that would permit individuals to bypass state courts and go directly into federal courts for protection of their voting rights.

Southern opponents of the bill have indicated they would not make a last-ditch fight against this.

Rights by Bayonet Killed in Senate; Dixie Hopes Soar

Constitution Atlanta, Ga. Tues. 7-23-57

New Thrust Is Directed At Injunction

By ALBERT RILEY
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, July 22 — The Senate voted, 90 to 0, today to strike from the civil rights bill a provision that would have specifically authorized the use of troops to enforce judicial decrees.

This provision originally was incorporated in part three of the bill and was heavily attacked by Southerners as being designed to force racial integration in Dixie with bayonets.

After making this concession to the Southerners, a bipartisan coalition of Republicans and Northern Democrats battled to save the rest of part three.

Dixie senators to demand equal television, radio time. Story on Page 3.

Dixie lawmakers are fighting, however, to strike out all—or almost all—of part three.

SAY FORCE STILL THERE

Even with the amendment adopted today, the Southerners argue that part three would still permit the use of federal might, other than troops, to force racial mixing in the schools and other public places.

A decisive vote on part three is not expected until late tomorrow.

So confident were the Southerners today that they had the votes to strike out all of part three, they agreed to go along with a minor face-saving concession to the Eisenhower administration.

Sen. Anderson (D-NM) and Sen. Aiken (R-Vt), modified their Southern-backed amendment to strike out all of part three, by permitting some of the language of that section to remain in the bill.

SUITS RUSSELL

Georgia's Sen. Russell said that concession didn't amount to much and the Southerners will go along with it.

Under the original Part Three, the attorney general would be authorized to seek federal court injunctions to protect civil rights in the South. The Southerners charge this also is a device to force school integration.

Today's Senate action repealed an old post-Civil War law that authorized the President to use troops to protect the civil rights of Negroes in the South.

Sen. Bricker (R-Ohio) introduced an amendment that would allow the attorney general to move only at the direction of the President.

DANGEROUS DEPUTATION

His proposal was promptly denounced by Russell and Aiken as being an even more dangerous delegation of powers of the executive branch of government.

"The Bricker amendmet makes it worse," Aiken said. "I would not give his power to any President—not even to the next President."

Getting on his feet for the third or fourth time during the day, Russell denounced the entire bill as a surrender of congressional responsibility over legislation to the executive and judicial branches of government.

Without calling Vice President Nixon by name, but strongly hinting at his target, Russell said he certainly would not trust some of the men prominently mentioned as candidates for President in 1960 with such sweeping powers.

'MESS OF TRIPE'

Launching also an attack on recent Supreme Court decisions, Russell said the bill would give the President or attorney general power "as broad as the horizon" to determine what civil rights are under a whole new set of rights created by the Supreme Court and not by Congress.

"This bill," he said, "is a mess of stale tripe . . . being called an altar of roses" under the label civil rights.

Senate majority leader Johnson of Texas, anxious to dispose of the part three controversy, sought a unanimous consent agreement for a vote on that issue late tomorrow. Minority leader Knowland (Calif) refused to agree.

However, unless a Northern liberal filibuster gets under way, the Senate likely will vote on part three tomorrow and then proceed to the jury trial issue in part four of the bill.

MORE GOP AID

The Dixie forces got powerful support in their fight against part three today from two more Republican senators — Saltonstall (Mass) and Smith (NJ).

Saltonstall said he favors a civil rights bill to protect the voting rights of all citizens. But he said that empowering a federal official to move into states to enforce other laws would "do violence to the fundamental American concept of government close to the people."

"In the end," Saltonstall said, "individual and civil rights are not promoted but rather demoted" by such a broad grant of power as title three provides.

Sen. Smith said he, too, will vote for the Anderson-Aiken amendment because he wants to get a right-to-vote bill passed.

If part three is not stricken from the bill, Smith said, no bill at all might be passed in the face of a threatened Southern filibuster.

He declared he did not think the Southerners would wage a last-ditch fight against merely a voting rights bill and that it would be wrong to give the attorney general power now in part three to force school integration on the South.

The Southerners also threw another blow at the civil rights advocates when Sen. McClellan (D-Ark), proposed an amendment that would give the attorney general the power to seek injunctions against persons violating the Smith Act, which forbids conspiracies to overthrow the government of the United States.

North Takes Offensive Against Rights Ease-Up

Senate Vote On Measure Comes Today

WASHINGTON, July 15 (AP) — A cold north wind began to blow today against Senate efforts to compromise the civil rights bill.

Sen. McNamara (D-Mich) said it is obvious to him "that the principal motive of the compromise seekers is to gut this bill of any effectiveness."

Sen. Potter (R-Mich) declared: "I think the bill is a good one as it stands," while Sen. Douglas (D-Ill) announced he will resist any efforts to amend it.

This Northern offensive against a compromise on the administration-backed legislation came in debate on the eve of a Senate vote that will decide whether the civil rights bill is to be brought to the Senate floor for action.

Southern senators fighting the bill have agreed to a vote tomorrow on a motion to bring the measure formally before the Senate. They bank on getting a series of amendments to soften its terms.

FINAL DEBATE

Majority Leader Johnson (D-Tex) announced before the Senate recessed at 6:21 p.m. tonight that the vote will probably come about 4 p.m. tomorrow. He added that neither side planned to use the two hours set aside for final debate after 4 p.m. Tuesday's Senate session will begin at 11:30 a.m.

Johnson said there also might be another roll call shortly after the decision on the motion to bring the bill to the floor. This would come on a motion by Sen. Morse (D-Ore) to send the bill to the Judiciary Committee with instructions to report it back in seven days.

Orginally, the Oregon senator had planned to make the period two weeks, but he announced on the floor late today he had cut this to seven days.

Sen. Russell (D-Ga), leader of the Southern opposition, has conceded he can't prevent the House-passed bill from being taken up. Sen. Johnson (D-Tex), the Senate majority leader, has predicted the vote in favor of Senate consideration will be about 2-1.

SOUTHERN RESIGNATION

Southern resignation to a full-dress debate on the bill itself may have been the signal Northern supporters were waiting for to begin their drive for passage.

The motion of Sen. Knowland of California, the GOP leader, to take up the bill has been argued for seven days. Most of the speeches, however, have been made by Southerners bitterly opposed to the legislation. For the most part, Northerners have withheld their fire.

McNamara changed this picture today with a fiery speech for Senate approval of the legislation.

"If Congress can enact the first civil rights bill in almost 90 years—and the Senate filibuster can be broken—the power of civil rights obstructionists will be on the way out,' 'he declared.

McNamara counseled those who speak of compromise that "the die-hard opponents of this legislation will vote against it' 'no matter what compromises are accepted.

ULTIMATE WEAPON

"We know that they have cunningly planned every step—that while this debate continues we are permitted an occasional peek at their ultimate weapon, the filibuster.

"This is a weapon that the Senate must bury forever."

Southern Democrats can filibuster against a vote on the bill; it takes the affirmative vote of 64 of the 96 senators to limit debate. Russell has indicated the filibuster question will be decided by the extent to which the bill is modified by amendments.

Potter said the changes proposed by the bill's opponents would make a "travesty' 'of the measure. He predicted none would be adopted.

ADDITIONAL MEANS

"All the so-called compromises are coming from people against the legislation in the first place," Potter said. "I won't have any part of that.' '

Douglas, a leader of the Northern Democrats who favor the bill, said the section providing for federal injunctions should be preserved to provide additional means to enforce what he called the "good' 'decisions of the Supreme Court with respect to public school desegregation and other civil rights questions.

Thomas L. Stokes

Negro Vote Scares Southern Senators

WASHINGTON—Politicians always have an eye to the practical. They look no further than the next election and toward that, in most cases, with dark foreboding. That is responsible for the axiom that all politicians "run scared." Politicians include senators. Those gentlemen of the toga consider themselves most fortunate among politicians, for theirs is a nice niche with plenty of prestige and perquisites.

Which is by way of pointing out that, so far as Southern senators are concerned, a vital issue in the fight now going on over the Eisenhower administration's civil rights bill is its protection of the Negro right to vote. For the end result of that will be to encourage more Negroes to vote.

And if that happens on a big scale, it could mean trouble for sitting Southern senators who have fought civil rights bills for years and have, in some cases, said things which Negroes never forget.

You can see the reason for Southern senatorial concern over any considerable extension of voting among Negroes in figures prepared by the Southern Regional Council.

The council estimates that of 422,670 Negro eligibles in Virginia, only 84,931 now vote. Figures for other Southern states are:

North Carolina, 549,740 eligible, 102,000 voters; South Carolina, 390,000 eligible, 98,890 voters; Georgia, 633,690 eligible, 163,380 voters; Florida, 366,797 eligible, 148,703 voters; Alabama, 516,245 eligible, 53,336 voters; Tennessee, 371,480 eligible, 148,592 voters; Mississippi, 497,350 eligible, 18,000 voters; Arkansas, 232,191 eligible, 67,851 voters; Louisiana, 510,090 eligible, 161,410 voters, and Texas, 550,992 eligible, 209,297 voters.

Southern senators usually are most skillful in political maneuver. But they were outmaneuvered in the early stages of the civil rights contest by an adroit Yankee technician out of Nebraska by way of New York, Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell Jr.

Brownell concentrated on the right to vote issue, simple and basic.

When the Southerners awakened to the attorney general's maneuver, they sent in one of the cleverest, a former state judge, Sen. Sam Ervin of North Carolina. He sought to concentrate the issue on trial by jury, a slogan that always arouses our people.

After that, the Southern situation became more desperate through the successful maneuver by the Republican-Northern Democratic coalition in bypassing the Judiciary Committee, where the civil rights bill had been bottled up, and placing the House bill on the Senate calendar.

In this emergency, the leader of the Southern bloc, Sen. Richard B. Russell of Georgia, went all out on a new line. He said the real aim of the bill was to "bring the whole might of the federal government, including the armed forces, if necessary, to force a comingling of white and Negro children in the state-supported schools of the South."

That was real blood and thunder. And it was effective in at least one quarter, the White House. The President took notice, with the result that Russell went to the White House and aired his views.

THE RIGHT TO VOTE

The primary objective of the civil rights bill now before the Senate is, in the words of President Eisenhower's most recent formal statement, "to protect the constitutional rights of all citizens to vote regardless of race or color."

Basic to all the other civil rights that are talked about by those seeking fair and equal opportunity for the Negro and other minorities is this right to vote. As Paul Douglas of Illinois, intellectual leader of the civil rights forces in the Senate, repeatedly says, "nothing is more important to the progress of our country and to economic and political justice." Other things can and will come later. The right of free access to the ballot-box is elemental in a democracy.

In order to achieve this objective the pending bill would allow enforcement of this right to vote through the injunctive process, and without jury trial. The President points out that "we seek to uphold the traditional authority of the Federal courts to enforce their orders" and that "this means that a jury trial should not be interposed in contempt-of-court cases growing out of violations of such orders." Note the word "traditional," which is a reminder that there is nothing new about lack of jury trial in contempt proceedings.

In fact, a provision for jury trial would in some if not all Southern states destroy the effectiveness of the bill. Senator Douglas notes that jury lists in the South are composed "by law in five states and by practice in many others of those who are on the voting lists." Therefore those to whom the vote is denied would be automatically excluded from the jury. As Senator Douglas says: "The great proportion of Negroes are denied the right to vote. Because they are denied the right to vote they are ineligible to serve on juries. Because they are ineligible to serve on juries * * * they would be unable to protect their right to vote by jury action."

How do we know they are denied the right to vote in the first place? Senator Douglas has supplied the figures that tell the story. Let us look at these figures for a few of the nine Southern states whose eighteen Senators vainly voted against taking up the Administration's civil rights bill this week. Alabama: The number of Negroes registered was 10.3 per cent of those entitled to vote. In at least nine Alabama counties, each of which according to the 1950 census contains from a few hundred to a few thousand eligible Negroes, not one was registered to vote. Arkansas: Only 16.5 per cent of the eligible Negroes are registered. Mississippi: 4 per cent. South Carolina: 25.3 per cent,

including a county or two without a single Negro registered. Virginia: 20 per cent. And of course the figures for registration are greater than those for actual voters.

Interference with the right to vote has occurred at times in the North as well as in the South. Property ownership has been a prerequisite; and poll-taxes have existed above as well as below the Mason-Dixon line, in Pennsylvania as late as 1933. It was a mere forty years ago that New York granted women the suffrage. But the disabilities have been falling away until now only the Southern Negro citizen is denied the ballot in significant numbers. Impairment of this constitutional right cannot and must not last much longer.

Civil Rights Bill 'Palatable to South' Predicted by Spessard Holland

By JOHN McDERMOTT
Herald Political Writer

The South will lose the first round of the civil rights fight in the U.S. Senate Tuesday but the outlook is good for compromise amendments which will make the final legislation "palatable" to the South.

HOLLAND

That was the word Sunday from U. S. Senator Spessard L. Holland, Florida's senior senator, who spent the weekend in Miami.

Best hope for the South, Holland said during an interview with the Miami Herald, is a compromise which he will sponsor for the Southern states to outlaw the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting in national elections.

Miami, Fla.

The next most likely amendment which the southerners hope will win support is one making mandatory the right of jury trial in court suits involving civil rights, he said.

The House-passed bill, while not mentioning schools specifically, stresses freedom of the ballot box along with other civil liberties.

Mon. 7-15-57

It gives the U.S. Attorney General power to enforce the anti-segregation laws by court injunction against violators. Non-compliance would be punishable by imprisonment or a fine based on contempt of court citations.

Southern senators feel this gives the Attorney General even more sweeping powers than a President ever had.

Because of this, Holland feels confident that many of the civil rights backers will support the South in insisting on jury trials.

As for the poll tax, Holland said the voting rights of every American should be protected and not make to hinge on ability or willingness to pay a fee for the privilege of casting a ballot in a national election.

He said that under his proposal the five southern states which still cling to the poll tax would be prohibited from levying it except in state or local election.

On these elections, it is a matter of states rights and they should be allowed to do as they choose, Holland said. States which still have the poll tax are Arkansas, Albama, Virginia, Texas and Mississippi.

Holland, along with Florida Sen. George Smathers will be key leaders in the south's last-ditch fight on the Senate floor with Georgia Sen. Richard Russell as commanding general.

Tuesday's initial showdown on the House-passed civil rights bill apparently will find northern and western senators aligned with the necessary 64 votes to bring the issue to a head without it getting hopelessly deadlocked in a filibuster.

The series of amendments to be offered by the South provide the big question mark of success or failure on the civil rights issue.

A behind-the-scenes aspect is the fight being waged by Republican and Democratic parties for the big Negro vote in the 1960 election. Both figure it may be the balance between victory and defeat.

The outcome of the civil rights bill, too, could have a vital effect on the important Congressional elections of 1958.

"We feel that the (House-passed) bill represents improper interference with states' rights," Holland said.

What are the South's chances?

Holland said he believes the bill in its present form cannot muster the necessary 64 votes to insure its passage. But he admitted that "the question of 64 is a grave one."

Holland concluded by saying that "if you have ever seen a bunch of men who are set for a fight it is our group of Southern senators. I am very hopeful that with our amendments we can make this bill palatable to the South."

Civil Rights Debate

Times Thurs. 7-18-57

An Analysis of the Counter-Attack Administration Is Expected to Make

New York P.12C

By JAMES RESTON

Special to The

WASHINGTON, July 17—The Administration is temporarily on the defensive in the Senate civil rights debate, but the counter-attack is just beginning.

This will be directed at some of the methods that have been used to deny Negroes the right to vote in some parts of the South. The Department of Justice does not contend that these cases are typical of the whole South, but it points to the following as evidences of why the Attorney General must have more power to redeem the constitutional promise of equal voting rights:

ONACHITA PARISH, LA.

On Jan. 17, 1956, according to an inquiry by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, there were approximately 4,000 persons of the Negro race on the list of registered voters, residing in Wards 3 and 10 of Onachita Parish. As of Oct. 4, 1956, the list had been reduced to 694 Negro voters in these two wards.

According to the testimony of Attorney General Herbert Brownell Jr., who incidentally leaves here on a European trip this week, "this mass disenfranchisement was accomplished by a scheme and device to which a number of white citizens and certain local officials were parties."

Mr. Brownell, in a memorandum prepared by Assistan Attorney General Warren Olney 3d, and now in the hands of the Administration leaders in the Senate, describes how this was done as follows:

On March, 2, 1956, a nonprofit organization, was organized under the "Citizens Council of Onachita Parish, La.," "to protect and preserve by all legal means our historical southern social instiutions in all their respects."

During that same month, members of this council began filing purported affidavits with the registrar of voters, Mrs. Mae Lucky, challenging the qualifications of all voters of the Negro race in Wards 3 and 10.

Office Was Used

In April and May of 1956, the registrar permitted the members of the Citizens Council to use her office, when it was not open to the general public, to examine her voting records, and to compile therefrom lists of registered voters of the Negro race.

By May 22, 1956, the council had filed with the registrar approximately 3,420 documents challenging that many Negro voters. These documents purported to be affidavits, though they were not sworn to before the registrar or her deputy as required by law.

Thereupon, the registrar mailed copies of the documents to the Negroes concerned, requiring them to appear within ten days to prove their qualifications. When they arrived, some of them lining up as early as 5 A. M., the registrar, according to the Department of Justice memorandum, "refused to hear proofs of qualifications on behalf of any more than fifty challenged Negro registrants per day."

"Consequently," the memorandum adds, "most of the Negro registrants were turned away from the registrar's office and were denied any opportunity to establish their proper registration. Thereafter the registrar and her deputy struck the names of such registrants from the rolls."

Furthermore, the F. B. I. reported to the Department of Justice, Mrs. Lucky, the registrar, "asked an applicant for registration what our form of government is. The applicant replied: 'A democratic form of government.' The registrar said: 'That's wrong—try again.' The applicant said, 'We have a republican form of government.' The registrar then said that that answer, too, was wrong and that the applicant would have to return after the next election to register.'"

Attorney General Brownell has also told a subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee that "similar situations" have been found in "several other Louisiana parishes," and that other official F. B. I. investigations had disclosed related problems in other states.

For example, in North Carolina, which is generally regarded as one of the fairest of the Southern states, the State Constitution (Article VI, Section 4) and the statutes, provide that a person, to become a registered voter, must be able to read and write any section of the Constitution to the satisfaction of the registrar. The Constitution and statutes also contain a "grandfather clause," exempting from this requirement any male person, or his lineal descendent, entitled to vote on Jan. 1, 1867, provided such person registered prior to December, 1908.

The Attorney General has placed before the Judiciary Committee these illustrations of what happened under these provisions in some—admittedly untypical—counties:

CAMDEN COUNTY

In the Courthouse Township precinct, the registrar gave the reading and writing tests to Negro applicants but not to white applicants.

In giving the reading and writing tests to Negroes, the registrar demanded that they write the preamble to the Constitution from her dictation. She required in this connection that all spelling, punctuation and capitalization be correct.

Four Negroes complained of this. They were high school graduates; all failed the test, but two later memorized the whole preamble and passed a second test.

The registrar recently resigned. During the two years she was in office (1954-56) she registered a total of four Negroes. During the same period she registered fifty-five white persons. The population of the precinct is roughly 2-1—about 1,200 whites and 600 Negroes.

GREENE COUNTY

In the Snow Hill precinct, the registrar omitted as to both races the requirement pertaining to reading and writing a part of the Constitution. However, as to Negro registrants, he demanded that they answer a list of twenty questions.

The question required them to name all candidates running for office in the county, to define primary and general elections, to state whether they were members of the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People, and whether they would support the N. A. A. C. P. should that organization attack the United States Government. White applicants were required to answer no such questions.

Mr. Brownell, in his presentation to the Judiciary Committee, said that he had given these examples in order to point out that in most of these situations civil remedies would enable the Government to seek an injunction against state officials or members of the Ouachita Citizens Council prior to an election.

Once a Federal court, at the request of the Attorney General, had issued an order to refrain from such practices, the state officials and council members would either have to obey or face trial before the judge, without a jury, for contempt of court.

This is the heart of the Administration's bill. It has become blurred in the last ten days because a loosely drawn Administration bill, which President Eisenhower himself seemed to differ with today, has enabled Southern Senators to divert attention from the voting question.

Now that the civil rights bill is the first order of official business on the Senate calendar, however, the voting issue will be stressed by the coalition of Northern Republicans and Democrats. Then the central question of the debate will be before the country.

10 1957

Civil-Rights Lines Tighten

Daily World P. 6

(From The Christian Science Monitor)

The Senate's 71-to-18 vote to "take up" a civil-rights bill it has been debating for eight days is naturally encouraging to advocates of the legislation. But what would a negative vote have meant? That the Senate refused even to consider any kind of proposal for using even the mildest federal action to protect the constitutional rights of citizens.

Atlanta Ga.

Only the 18 senators representing the solid core of southern opposition were willing to take that position. They take it on the ground that race relations are a matter for the states to settle for themselves and no federal action is legitimate. They are expected to fight to the end on that line and to vote against any measure, however loaded with compromises.

Tues. 7-23-57

On the other side, President Eisenhower has now made it clear that he opposes compromises that would render the program ineffective in relation to the four objectives he has outlined. But on one of these goals several senators who voted to take up the legislation will not go along. That aim in his words is— "To provide a reasonable program of assistance to protect other constitutional rights of our citizens."

Senators Anderson and Aiken have already offered an amendment to drop this portion of the bill and limit it to the protection of voting rights. Supporters of this position believe that the injunction process can be reasonably adapted to the protection of voting rights but would run into all kinds of trouble if used to enforce integration. For obtaining compliance with the desegregation decisions of the Supreme Court they would rely on the machinery the court itself set up—application by federal district courts according to local conditions.

The Anderson-Aiken compromise would not, however, surrender to the southern demand for jury trials in all cases arising under the voting-rights legislation. This jury-trial issue has been oversimplified by both sides. In few places can a southern Negro get a jury trial in the true sense (by his peers), for white juries do not consider him an equal. And state courts in the South do not require jury trials in contempt cases.

Moreover, the injunction process provided in the proposed measure aims at prevention rather than punishment. In relation to voting rights it would be used chiefly to prevent discrimination against Negroes in the application of election laws. And those to whom it was applied would have every protection of court processes—the right to counsel, to summon defense witnesses, and to cross-examine accusers—before any penalty could be laid on them. Also the judges trying them would normally be Southerners themselves.

It seems to us that fears of this procedure—at least so far as applied to voting rights—have been much exaggerated. Yet advocates of the legislation should not say that nothing new is involved. The legislation does apply the powers of the federal government in a new way. This fact underscores the need to make that application as clear-cut and reasonable as possible. But beyond that, compromise would nullify effective protection even of voting rights.

Civil-Rights Lines Tighten

World Wed. 7-24-57

(From The Christian Science Monitor)

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Bricker Votes For Rights Bill

Butler County American P. 1

Sat. 7-20-57

Hamilton, Ohio

Washington—Ohio's two senators, Bricker (Republican) and Lausche (Democrat) voted with the majority this week for the Senate to take up President Eisenhower's Civil Rights Bill. The vote was 71 to 18 — the 18 voting no were all southern Democrats.

President Eisenhower said in a statement issued by the White House that he was "gratified" the senate had voted to make the civil rights bill pending business. He said he hoped that "senate action on this measure will be accomplished at this session without undue delay."

Issues Statement

This legislation, Mr. Eisenhower said, seeks to accomplish the following "four simple objectives:"

1. "To protect the constitutional right of all citizens to vote regardless of race or color. In this connection we seek to uphold the traditional authority of the federal courts to enforce their orders. This means that a jury trial should not be interposed in contempt of court cases growing out of violations of such orders."

2. "To provide a reasonable program of assistance in ef-

forts to protect other constitutional rights of our citizens."

3. "To establish a bi-partisan Presidential commission to study and recommend any further appropriate steps to protect these constitutional rights."

4. "To authorize an additional assistant attorney general to administer the legal responsibilities of the federal government involving civil rights."

"The details of language changes is a legislative matter," the President continued. "I would hope, however, that the senate, in whatever clarification it may determine to make, will keep the measure an effective piece of legislation to carry out these four objectives—each one of which is consistent with simple justice and equally afforded to every citizen under the Constitution of the United States."

18 Dixie Foes Of Rights Face New Dilemma

Advertiser P.1 Mon. 7-29-57 Montgomery, Ala.

By JACK BELL

WASHINGTON, July 28 (AP) — Eighteen die-hard Southern opponents are rapidly backing themselves into a political corner from which the only exit may lead to Senate passage of a civil rights bill.

The 18, representing nine Dixie states, form the core of dwindling resistance to passage of any civil rights legislation. By their own actions, they are making it more difficult to accomplish their objective.

Faced with a dilemma, they chose to back amendments to the administration's civil rights bill. Their only other course was to let the bill stand as it was passed by the House and attempt to defeat it with a filibuster.

But that course also involved efforts by them to expose to public view some of what they have called "punitive" features of the bill — among them the House-approved and Senate-rejected authority for the attorney general to seek civil injunctions to enforce racial integration in schools and other public places in the South.

Once having brought up these issues, the Dixie senators had to vote for amendments which would soften the terms of the bill and make it more palatable to many of those they might have counted on to help them defeat a more stringent measure.

Advertiser

Thus the 18 have gone a long way toward destroying the reserve strength they would need to prevent the Senate from mustering the necessary 64 votes to clamp limitation.

P.2-a

If the Senate accepts this week an amendment to require jury trials in all criminal contempt of court cases, including those involving voting rights, the last chance of defeating a debate limitation will have departed.

Paradoxically, if a jury trial amendment is beaten in a close vote, that action will revive Southern hopes of eventually miring the bill in a lengthy filibuster and thus defeating any action on it in this session.

TALKING POINT

Without the inclusion of a jury trial provision, it is doubtful 64 senators would vote to end debate. The die-hard 18 would have a talking point for a lengthy filibuster.

With a jury trial amendment written into the bill, the Southerners would be confronted with a measure largely limited for all practical purposes to the protection of voting rights.

While they may find other features of the measure to criticize, none of them seems willing to stand up in the Senate and say he wants to deny any "qualified" citizen — black or white — the right to vote.

The requirement that voters "qualify" for registration under state laws remains as the anchor to windward for senators who are opposed to any substantial increase in Negro registrants in their states.

The 18 Democratic opponents of the measure include Sens. Byrd and Robertson of Virginia, Russell and Talmadge of Georgia, Eastland and Stennis of Mississippi, Ellender and Long of Louisiana, Ervin and Scott of North Carolina, Johnston and Thurmond of South Carolina, Fulbright and McClellan of Arkansas, Hill and Sparkman of Alabama, and Holland and Smathers of Florida.

RULING OF SUPREME COURT IS LEFT WEAKER BY ACTION

Commercial Appeal P.1 Thurs. 7-25-57 Memphis Tenn.

52-38 Senate Ballot Cleanses Measure Of Controversial Provision — Jury Trial Issue Comes Next

By MORRIS CUNNINGHAM

From The Commercial Appeal Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, July 24.—The Senate voted 52 to 38 Wednesday to virtually kill integration-enforcing Title III of the Administration's Civil Rights Bill.

The vote cleansed the Senate bill of any new powers to enforce racial integration in schools, buses, parks and other public places.

The Supreme Court's controversial desegregation decisions were left stranded without legislative implementation.

It was this crucial point that openly became the key issue as the Senate moved through the agreed-upon five hours of debate and, before packed gallaries, tensely neared the time for a vote.

Cried Senator Hubert Humphrey (D., Minn.).

"The courts have declared segregation practices to be unlawful and as legislators we will be negligent in our constitutional obligations if we fail to implement these decisions."

Similar pleas were voiced by Senate Republican Leader William F. Knowland (R., Calif.), Senator John A. Carroll (D., Colo.), Senator Paul H. Douglas (D., Ill.), Senator Joseph S. Clark (D., Penn.), and Senator Pat McNamara (D., Mich.).

"Instead of helping to implement the Supreme Court rulings," said Senator McNamara, "we will be helping to destroy their effectiveness."

Cries Are Spurned

"To strike out all of Title III," pleaded Senator John A. Carroll (D., Colo.), "would place a stamp of disapproval upon these Supreme Court decisions."

Spurning such pleas, a coalition of 34 Democrats and 18 Republicans voted on the prevailing side.

The vote did not eliminate all of Title III due to a slight revision in the amendment voted upon. However, Senator John Stennis (D., Miss.), a former judge, said the part that was left represents merely a reaffirmation of present laws.

Senator Estes Kefauver (D., Tenn.), who bolted the Southerners on a vote Tuesday, and who in the Senate Judiciary Committee had voted against dropping Title III, voted with foes of the bill on the crucial vote.

So did Senator Albert Gore (D., Tenn.) and all senators from Arkansas, Mississippi, Alabama and Louisiana.

Important Vote To Come

Jubilant foes of the bill hailed the vote as an all-important victory. But publicly they spoke with quiet restraint in the knowledge that another important vote is yet to come.

This will come on an effort to insert in the bill's right-to-vote Title IV an amendment guaranteeing jury trials to persons charged with violating court orders against interfering with voting privileges.

"Today's vote," commented Senator Stennis, "demonstrates that a majority of the Senate does not favor the broad and unlimited powers Title III would give to the attorney general.

"I have very strong hopes this same sentiment will favor the inclusion of a jury trial amendment in Title IV of the bill."

Commercial Appeal P.2

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People denounced the vote against Title III in strong terms.

Wilkins Attacks Action

Roy Wilkins, Negro executive director of the NAACP, issued a special statement immediately after the vote, saying:

"By this action the Senate has acted to prohibit the use of preventive legal methods by the attorney general in securing to citizens the equal protection of the laws as guaranteed by the Constitution.

"In a very real sense this action has said to the United States Supreme Court that the United States Senate is not willing to provide an effective, time-tested machinery to implement the court's decisions.

"The adoption of this motion says plainly to Negro Americans that, so far as the Senate is concerned, they can expect little, if any, assistance from the Federal Government in attempts to win the enjoyment of their constitutional rights . . .

"It remains to be seen," the statement added, "what will be done with part IV of the bill."

Shortly after the vote was announced, Senate Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson (D., Texas) called up a jury trial amendment to Title IV introduced earlier by Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney (D., Wyo.).

Senator O'Mahoney told newsmen he thinks it has a "very good" chance of being adopted. A vote on it is expected Thursday or Friday. The Senate quit early Wednesday night until until Thursday at noon with the O'Mahoney amendment its pending business.

Explaining his amendment to newsmen, Senator O'Mahoney said it would guarantee a jury trial in criminal contempt cases but would leave a judge free to handle cases of civil contempt without a jury.

He told the Senate a civil contempt arises when there is nonviolent disobedience to a court order. A judge may punish it by imprisonment, he said, but the person in jail "has in his own possession the key to open the jail"—that is, he can comply with the court order.

A criminal contempt occurs, he explained, when a person in the course of violating a judicial order simultaneously violates a state or Federal criminal law.

Arguments Undermined

The seven persons convicted in the Clinton, Tenn., cases were charged with criminal contempt. The charges arose both from the violation of Judge Robert L. Taylor's order against interference with desegregation of Clinton High School and the assault upon a Baptist minister and related violations of state criminal laws.

The convictions in the Clinton cases undermined arguments that Southern juries will not convict in civil rights cases and improved the chances for the adoption of a jury trial amendment to the Civil Rights Bill.

The NAACP's statement was not the only reaction to Wednesday's vote. Senator McNamara introduced an amendment to reduce the House representation of states that deny Negroes the right to vote. The reduction would be in proportion to the number of voters denied voting rights.

The proposal, a threat frequently voiced by civil rights extremists, was not regarded seriously.

The proposal to virtually kill Title III was sponsored jointly by Senators Clinton P. Anderson (D., N.M.), George D. Aiken (R., Vt.), and Francis Case (R., South Dakota).

Little Dixie Debating

They, as well as other North and Democrats, made the chief arguments for it. Apparently for strategic reasons, Dixie senators played little part in the five hours of debate.

Senator Aiken declared the sweeping injunctive powers Title III would give to the attoreny general could be used to "supersede Taft-Hartley and all other labor laws," as well as many state and Federal laws affecting business and industry.

"State and local officials could be whipped into line and made to conform," he declared.

He said it would provide for the nullification of many state and local laws. And he called this "incongruous and inconsistent" because "it comes at a time when the President has appointed a seven-member committee to work toward the return of states' rights."

"The Republican Party," the Vermont Republican declared, "can't ride a horse in two directions at the same time, and neither can the Democrats."

Hit Sweeping Powers

He added, "We can't get rid of discrimination by legislation. So long as there are three people left on the face of this earth there will be discrimination."

Senator Anderson and Senator Case also denounced the section's sweeping powers and what they called its "invasion" of local and states' rights.

Senator Knowland concluded arguments against the Aiken-Anderson-Case proposal. The Republican leader said he was "deeply concerned" that approval of the proposal would be interpreted as a desire by the Senate to "subordinate the Fourteenth Amendment and to lessen its effectiveness."

He denied the proposal was directed primarily at the South, would be used to enforce school desegregation, and would make Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell Jr. a "20th Century Caesar."

Senator Anderson said adoption of the amendment would "make sure the bill will pass in this Congress."

10 1957

Filibusters Forbidden In 8 Southern Senates

Post + Times Herald P.15-a

Jan. 7-7-57 Washington D.C.

By Congressi

Most of the Southern Senators threatening a filibuster over the civil rights bill could not get away with the maneuver in their home legislatures.

United States Senate rules permit a member to speak only twice on a subject in any one legislative day, but place no limit on the length of time he may speak. This can lead to a filibuster.

Under the Senate rules, the vote of 64 senators is required to shut off debate, known as invoking cloture. This rule has not been successfully applied since its adoption in 1949.

In contrast, 36 states — including eight of the 11 Deep South Senates—permit use of a motion for the previous question in their senates.

This motion, the mere mention of which is enough to arouse U. S. Senatorial ire, permits a majority of a legislative body to cut off debate in a matter of minutes. In the British House of Commons the motion is known as the "guillotine."

This is how it works in the U. S. House of Representatives, where since 1811 it has been used to shut off debate: A member moves the previous question and that motion is put to an immediate vote. If the motion carries, the House proceeds to vote on the matter before it—bill, amendment, etc.—without further ado.

A motion for the previous question is authorized in the Senates of Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. All but Louisiana, Texas and Virginia also limit the length of speeches.

State senators n Alabama, Florida and South Carolina, where the previous question is not written into the Senate rules, are limited both in the length and number of their speeches. Alabama and South Carolina also have some form of cloture rule, according to a study of state legislatures prepared by the American Political Science Association.

Of the 12 state senates whose rulebooks either prohibit or do not mention the previous question, four have some other form of cloture rule. They are Alabama, Massachusetts, New York and South Carolina.

The other eight Senates have no written limitation on general debate, but Maine, New Jersey, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Utah and Vermont limit the number of times a member may speak on a subject without leave. Florida and South Carolina limit the length of speeches. Maryland alone has no written curbs.

Debate is even more severely restricted in the lower houses of state legislatures. Every state but Vermont authorizes the use of the previous question. Most also place time limits on individual speeches.

South Faces Defeat as Vote Nears

Herald Tribune New York Fri. 6-21-57 P.1

Move On to Send Bill to the Floor

By Rowland Evans Jr.

WASHINGTON, June 20.—Vice-President Richard M. Nixon submitted to a Senate vote tonight the question whether Southern foes of civil rights legislation could require the House-passed civil rights bill to be sent to the Judiciary Committee.

The Vice-President gave his personal opinion that Southern objection to a Northern move to put the bill directly on the Senate's legislative calendar "is not well taken." But the Senate's presiding officer held, nevertheless, the issue was one for the Senate itself to decide.

Vice-President Nixon read his ruling to a quiet, tense Senate. The vote was virtually certain to uphold Mr. Nixon's own opinion and to direct that the House bill be placed on the calendar.

Senate Rule at Issue

At issue was whether the House bill would be referred to almost certain extinction in the Senate Judiciary Committee, headed by Sen. James O. Eastland, D., Miss., or whether a little-used rule of the Senate could be invoked to put it on the calendar. From that position, the bill can be brought before the Senate on the motion of a single member. That motion, expected to be withheld until early next month, will be filibustered, but once it is made, the Senate will have come to actual grips with significant civil rights legislation for the first time in seven years.

Effect of Ruling

The Vice-President's ruling could be summarized thus:

The question of referring or not referring to committee being substantive rather than procedural, the Senate itself should decide. He held that no single Senator should have the power under the disputed rule—Rule XIV—to force a House-passed bill directly to the legislative calendar. The Senate, he said, should "not be denied the right to refer the bill if it wanted to by the action of one Senator."

The vote came on a point of order which Sen. Richard B. Russell, D., Ga., Southern leader, raised against the effort of Sen. William F. Knowland, R., Calif., to invoke Rule XIV. Sen. Knowland, the Republican leader, is heading the bi-partisan campaign to enact President Eisenhower's civil rights measure.

This measure is designed to protect the voting and other civil liberties of minorities. It also would create a bipartisan commission to investigate violations of civil rights.

For hours before the Vice-President's ruling, the Senate debated the question of rules and procedures on which the outcome of the civil rights issue itself could hang.

Herald Tribune P.8

Sen. Russell held that there could be "no question but that it would be mandatory" to refer the House-passed bill to the Judiciary Committee. Rule XIV had been superseded by the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1947, Sen. Russell held.

Should the committee be bypassed, he said, the results would be "legislative chaos . . . unbounded chaos." It would "lead almost to the destruction of the committee system," he told the Senate. The Senate leadership would be "hog-tied and hamstrung."

Fri. 6-21-57

But the weight of argument appeared more decisive on the other side of the question. Sen. Knowland said Senators could not allow themselves to be "completely paralyzed . . . from expressing themselves on a great matter of public policy."

Bill in Committee

The Administration's bill has been submerged in the Judiciary Committee since Jan. 7 in this session, and similar legislation throughout many previous Congresses has died there.

Several pro-civil-rights Democrats joined the Southerners and opposed by-passing the committee. Most conspicuous was Sen. Wayne Morse, D., Ore., who denounced "parliamentary expediency" at the expense of minorities.

He argued that the liberals would regret their action in placing the bill directly on the calendar, held that it would set "an unfortunate precedent" and told the Northern liberals, "You are making a terrible mistake."

"Fair procedures," he said, required that the Judiciary Committee be given two weeks to study the House-passed bill. If no action were taken by that time, he said, the Senate could move to discharge the committee from further consideration and get at the bill that way. That course, considered by the liberals for weeks, would give the Southerners at least three and possibly more separate opportunities to filibuster. The more direct action taken today would offer only two such occasions.

Humphrey Assails Delay

Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey, D., Minn., answered Sen. Morse. For years, he said, "the Senate has been the tombstone, the burial ground, the graveyard of civil rights legislation."

"Justice delayed is justice denied," Sen. Humphrey said. The Southerners, he said, "don't come with very clean hands in terms of action on civil rights."

"They are the ones who have applied the rules in the Judiciary Committee (to prevent Senate action) and now we are the ones who are applying the rules," he said.

"If it takes the application of Rule XIV to bring the Fifteenth Amendment alive, then I am for Rule XIV," Sen. Humphrey said. The Fifteenth Amendment denies abridgment of the right to vote.

HOUSE PASSES CIVIL RIGHTS BILL, 286-126

Daily Tribune Wed. 6-19-57 Chicago, Ill. P.1

Its Fate Snarled in the Senate

BY PHILIP DODD

[Chicago Tribune Press Service]

Washington, June 18—The house today passed the administration's civil rights bill, 286 to 126, and sent it to the senate where a behind the scenes parliamentary struggle over the measure already was in progress.

The house bill would authorize the attorney general to start civil proceedings in federal courts to prevent civil rights violations and to protect the right to vote. Present law permits only criminal prosecutions by the federal government in such cases.

Other provisions of the bill would create a special commission to investigate civil rights violations and establish a civil rights division in the justice department.

Defeat Jury Trials

Before final passage of the bill, the house defeated, 251 to 158, a motion to send the measure back to the judiciary committee with instructions to write in an amendment guaranteeing jury trials for persons accused of violating federal court injunctions in civil rights cases.

The jury trial issue had been debated thruout the nine days the house had the bill before it and southerners opposed to civil rights legislation were defeated three times in attempts to have the jury trial amendment adopted.

Motion by Rep. Poff

Today's motion to recommit was made by Rep. Poff [R., Va.] after Speaker Rayburn [D., Tex.] had refused to recognize Rep. Keeney [R., Ill.], who had a similar motion. Poff, as a juriciary committee member, outranked Keeney. The Wheaton congressman had offered the first jury trial amendment during debate.

Southern states have 105 members in the house. They were included in the 126 voting against the bill, today. A handful of northern Republicans, including Representatives Mason and Keeney of Illinois and Hoffman, Bennett, and Johansen of Michigan, voted with them.

The parliamentary maneuvering in the senate resulted from the determination of Eisenhower leaders and northern Democrats to by-pass the senate juriciary committee and put the house bill directly on the calendar.

Daily Tribune P.2

The bill arrived in the senate eight minutes after the house vote but was untouchable under the rules because the senate was in "open executive" session considering the treaty for creating an international atomic energy agency. No action could be taken on the civil rights bill until the senate returned to legislative session.

Sen. Holland [D., Fla.] immediately served notice he

would object to any move to set aside the treaty and put the senate back into legislative session. But he denied any intention to filibuster against the atomic energy treaty to prevent civil rights action.

Strategy of Proponents

The proposed strategy of the civil rights advocates was to object to referral of the house bill to the judiciary committee, which has been sitting on a similar measure since March. Under the senate rules, the objection of one senator could place the bill on the calendar. Once a bill is on the calendar, a motion to take it up is in order.

Senate G. O. P. leader Knowland [Cal.] explained the strategy at a meeting of Republican senators today and Sen. Saltonstall [R., Mass.], who presided, told reporters he believed "most" Republicans were in accord with the Knowland plan.

There was a precedent for such a move. In 1948 the late Sen. Vanderberg [R., Mich.], as president pro tempore of the senate, made a ruling which placed the tidelands oil bill on the calendar by the process proposed by Knowland.

Cite Oleo Ruling

But on the same day, Vandenberg ruled against placing the oleomargarine bill on the calendar by the same process because of a fight over committee jurisdiction of the measure.

It will be up to Vice President Nixon to rule when the question arises on whether to send the civil rights bill to committee or put it on the calendar.

Sen. Case [R., N. J.] today drafted a lengthy legal treatise on the complicated parliamentary problem, recommending that the question be put to the senate and be decided by a majority vote. He told reporters he did not think it was "desirable" for a single senator, in effect, to make the decision by raising an objection.

Case sent his memorandum to every G. O. P. senator and to Nixon.

Restricted Freedoms Should Get Attention of All Who Wish Nation to Stay Free

Detroit—The South's attempts to resist desegregation and civil rights entered "dangerously" into the field of civil liberties in 1956. This is one of the main conclusions of the annual report of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The report was made public here June 24 and simultaneously in New York City, on the eve of the Association's 48th annual convention, which opened in Detroit on June 25.

The document cites southern restrictions of "freedom of speech, assembly, petition, redress of grievances in the courts, and even freedom of thought." It says that in 1956 "southern white people of moderate views who did not subscribe to the extreme segregationist position were intimidated and denied their fundamental liberties as Americans" by legislative and administrative actions and by "the extra-legal activities of pressure groups."

Attention

"The situation should receive the attention of all persons who wish America to remain free," the report declares.

Another aspect of the South's resistance to desegregation is related in a chapter on the NAACP's legal work, in which various southern assaults upon the NAACP are described.

"For the first time in the history of the organization, the legal department was compelled, in 1956, to devote a considerable share of its time, energy and skills to litigation directly involving the right of the NAACP to continue operating in certain states," the chapter notes.

NAACP Continued To Grow

Despite being banned in three southern states and attacked by various other legal and legislative devices in the South, the NAACP continued to grow in 1956, the report reveals. The organization had 350,424 members in 1956, compared with 305,589 members in 1955. New units chartered in 13 states consisted of 46 branches, 42 youth councils and 13 college chapters. This brought all NAACP units to a total of 1,467 in 44 states, the Territory of Alaska and the District of Columbia.

Among Association accomplishments described in the account are a Supreme Court decision affirming a judgment which had held state and local laws requiring racial segregation on intrastate carriers to be unconstitutional (the Montgomery, Ala., bus case), the admission of some Negroes for the first time into apprenticeship training programs in industry, and the adoption of nondiscrimination policies by additional public housing authorities.

The Montgomery bus case ruling is termed "the one outstanding substantive gain" in NAACP legal work during the year and "the coup de grace to the 'separate but equal' doctrine laid down threescore years ago in the Plessy v. Ferguson case."

"Complex Problems" In Legal Work

Noting that almost all civil rights litigation in 1956 originated in the South, the legal department says that although "all the grosser segregation practices—in public schools, public recreation and transportation —had been outlawed," nevertheless "more sophisticated or subtle devices were being developed to preserve the color line."

The section on legal work also points out that "cases involving efforts to secure implementation of the rights declared by the Supreme Court presented complex problems in procedure and relief. Although the substantive rights asserted were generally recognized, there remained the hurdle of when and how they were to be enjoyed."

However, the legal accout goes on, "cases involving the really hard problems of procedure and remedy . . . did not reach the Supreme Court in 1956. In fact, only a few were pending in federal courts of appeals. The problem faced in these cases were raised where the validity of certain devices designed to avoid or delay compliance (with the Supreme Court's anti-segregation rulings) was challenged."

"New Step" In Housing Work

A "new step" is described in the work of the housing department, which concluded its first full year of operation in 1956. The new approach opposes "continued expansion of public housing projects in already existing Negro areas." The desired alternative is site selection which would lend itself to "real integration."

The housing unit also reports NAACP intervention which halted the use of government urban renewal projects used "as a device to set up new areas of containment perpetuating racial segregation." Such programs were halted by NAACP intervention in Eufala, Ala., and Chicago Heights, Ill., the report says.

Maintaining that racial discrimination in public housing projects "persisted in many communities," the account says that non-discrimination policies were adopted by several additional public housing authorities.

Apprenticeship Restrictions Broken

In the field of employment, the document relates that "Negroes for the first time were admitted into apprenticeship training programs" in several communities.

"At the present time," the report explains, "there is virtually a systematic exclusion of qualified Negro youths from certain apprenticeship training programs conducted jointly by industrial management and labor unions in various sections of the nation." This situation received a major share of attention from the NAACP labor program in 1956.

The reason for concentration on apprenticeship training is found in the results of automation, the document indicates. It says that "because of he great concentration of Negro workers in the ranks or unskilled and semi-skilled labor, the increasing introduction of automation may result in a wholesale displacement of Negroes in industry. Already there are many such instances of such displacement."

The South's failure to utilize available Negro manpower in its new industrial development is scored. A sparse number of Negro employees, a "limited occupational diversification" of such employees, and the denial of apprenticeship training to these workers is declared to be "typical of the status of Negro employees . . . (in) the growing southern economy."

A review of the 1956 election asserts that "South and North, Negro citizens indicated through their votes in the November presidential election that they were losing patience with the dominance of the southern wing over the Democratic party and this faction's arrogant insistence, year after year, that no civil rights legislation shall be enacted by the Congress."

"Negro voters were tired of the filibuster in the Senate and of the rule which makes it possible," the report continues. "They were disgusted with the manifesto through which southern Congressmen and Senators defied the Supreme Court ruling in the public school segregation cases. They resented the efforts of certain southern states, wholly controlled by Democrats, to defy the Supreme Court and force Negro children to accept inferior education."

"At the same time, by refusing to return completely to the Republicans, and by voting for liberal candidates of both parties for the Congress, Negro voters served notice that they expect the Republican administration to use federal powers to protect their rights, and they expect the Congress to enact adequate civil rights legislation."

10 1957

House Vote on Civil Rights

WASHINGTON, June 18 (AP)—Following is the roll-call vote today by which the House passed and sent to the Senate the Civil Rights Bill:

FOR THE BILL

Democrats—118

Addonizio (N. J.)
Anderson (Mont.)
Anfuso (N. Y.)
Ashley (Ohio)
Aspinall (Colo.)
Baring (Nev.)
Barrett (Pa.)
Blatnik (Minn.)
Boland (Mass.)
Bolling (Mo.)
Boyle (Ill.)
Breeding (Kan.)
Brown (Mo.)
Buckley (N. Y.)
Byrd (W. Va.)
Byrne (Pa.)
Cannon (Mo.)
Carnahan (Mo.)
Celler (N. Y.)
Christopher (Mo.)
Chudoff (Pa.)
Clark (Pa.)
Coad (Iowa)
Coffin (Me.)
Dawson (Ill.)
Delaney (N. Y.)
Dempsey (N. M.)
Denton (Ind.)
Diggs (Mich.)
Dingell (Mich.)
Dollinger (N. Y.)
Donohue (Mass.)
Coyle (Calif.)
Eberharter (Pa.)
Edmondson (Okla.)
Engle (Calif.)
Fallon (Md.)
Farbstein (N. Y.)
Feighan (Ohio)
Flood (Pa.)
Fogarty (R. I.)
Forand (R. I.)
Friedel (Md.)
Garmatz (Md.)
Gordon (Ill.)
Granahan (Pa.)
Gray (Ill.)
Green (Ore.)
Green (Pa.)
Griffiths (Mich.)
Hagen (Calif.)
Hays (Ohio)
Healey (N. Y.)
Holifield (Calif.)
Holland (Pa.)
Johnson (Wis.)
Karsten (Mo.)
Kee (W. Va.)
Kelley (Pa.)
Kelly (N. Y.)
Keogh (N. Y.)
King (Calif.)
Kirwan (Ohio)
Kluczynski (Ill.)
Knutson (Minn.)
Lane (Mass.)
Lankford (Md.)
Lesinski (Mich.)
McCarthy (Minn.)
McCormack (Mass.)
McFall (Calif.)
McDonald (Mass.)
Mack (Ill.)
Madden (Ind.)
Magnuson (Wash.)
Marshall (Minn.)
Metcalf (Mont.)
Miller (Calif.)
Montoya (N. M.)
Morgan (Pa.)
Moss (Calif.)
Moulder (Mo.)
Multer (N. Y.)
O'Brien (Ill.)
O'Brien (N. Y.)
O'Hara (Ill.)
O'Neill (Mass.)
Perkins (Ky.)
Pfost (Idaho)
Philbin (Mass.)
Polk (Ohio)
Porter (Ore.)
Powell (N. Y.)
Price (Ill.)
Rabaut (Mich.)
Reuss (Wis.)
Rhodes (Pa.)
Rodino (N. J.)
Rogers (Colo.)
Rooney (N. Y.)
Roosevelt (Calif.)
Santangelo (N. Y.)
Saund (Calif.)
Shelley (Calif.)
Sheppard (Calif.)
Sieminski (N. J.)
Sisk (Calif.)
Staggers (W. Va.)
Sullivan (Mo.)
Teller (N. Y.)
Thompson (N. J.)
Udall (Ariz.)
Ullman (Ore.)
Vanik (Ohio)
Wier (Minn.)
Yates (Ill.)
Zablocki (Wis.)
Zelenko (N. Y.)

Republicans—168

Adair (Ind.)
Allen (Calif.)
Allen (Ill.)
Andersen (Minn.)
Andresen (Minn.)
Arends (Ill.)
Auchincloss (N. J.)
Avery (Kan.)
Ayres (Ohio)
Baldwin (Calif.)
Bates (Mass.)
Baumhart (Ohio)
Becker (N. Y.)
Belcher (Okla.)
Berry (S. D.)
Betts (Ohio)
Bolton (Ohio)
Bosch (N. Y.)
Bow (Ohio)
Bray (Ind.)
Broomfield (Mich.)
Brown (Ohio)
Brownson (Ind.)
Burdick (N. D.)
Bush (Pa.)
Byrne (Ill.)
Byrnes (Wis.)
Canfield (N. Y.)
Carrig (Pa.)
Cederberg (Mich.)
Chamberlain (Mich.)
Chenoweth (Colo.)
Chiperfield (Ill.)
Church (Ill.)
Cole (N. Y.)
Collier (Ill.)
Corbett (Pa.)
Coudert (N. Y.)
Cramer (Fla.)
Cretella (Conn.)
Cunningham (Iowa)
Cunningham (Neb.)
Curtis (Pa.)
Curtis (Mass.)
Curtis (Mo.)
Dague (Pa.)
Dawson (Utah)
Dellay (N. J.)
Dennison (Ohio)
Derounian (N. Y.)
Devereux (Md.)
Dixon (Utah)
Dooley (N. Y.) t
Dorn (N. Y.)
Dwyer (N. J.)
Fenton (Pa.)
Fino (N. Y.)
Ford (Mich.)
Frelinghuysen (N.J.)
Fulton (Pa.)
Gavin (Pa.)
George (Kan.)
Gubser (Calif.)
Gwinn (N. Y.)
Hale (Me.)
Halleck (Ind.)
Harden (Ind.)
Harrison (Neb.)
Harvey (Ind.)
Haskell (Del.)
Henderson (Ohio)
Heselton (Mass.)
Hess (Ohio)
Hiestand (Calif.)
Hill (Colo.)
Hoeven (Iowa)
Holmes (Wash.)
Holt (Calif.)
Moran (Wash.)
Hosmer (Calif.)
Hyde (Md.)
Jackson (Calif.)
James (Pa.)
Jenkins (Ohio)
Judd (Minn.)
Kearney (N. Y.)
Kearns (Pa.)
Keating (N. Y.)
Knox (Mich.)
Krueger (N. D.)
Laird (Wis.)
Latham (N. Y.)
LeCompte (Iowa)
Lipscomb (Calif.)
McCulloch (Ohio)
McDonough (Calif.)
McGregor (Ohio)
McIntire (Me.)
McVey (Ill.)
Mack (Wash.)
Mailliard (Calif.)
Martin (Mass.)
May (Conn.)
Meader (Mich.)
Merrow (N. H.)
Michel (Ill.)
Miller (Md.)
Miller (Neb.)
Miller (N. Y.)
Minshall (Ohio)
Moore (W. Va.)
Morano (Conn.)
Mumma (Pa.)
Neal (W. Va.)
Nicholson (Mass.)
Nimtz (Ind.)
Norblad (Ore.)
O'Konski (Wis.)
Osmers (N. J.)
Ostertag (N. Y.)
Patterson (Conn.)
Pelly (Wash.)
Pillion (N. Y.)
Prouty (Vt.)
Radwan (N. Y.)
Reece (Tenn.)
Reed (N. Y.)
Rees (Kan.)
Rhodes (Ariz.)
Riehlman (N. Y.)
Robsion (Ky.)
Rogers (Mass.)
Sadlak (Conn.)
St. George (N. Y.)
Saylor (Pa.)
Schenck (Ohio)
Schwengel (Ia.)
Scott (Pa.)
Scrivner (Kan.)
Scudder (Calif.)
Selly-Brown (Conn.)
Sheehan (Ill.)
Siler (Ky.)
Simpson (Pa.)
Smith (Calif.)
Springer (Ill.)
Stauffer (Pa.)
Talle (Ia.)
Taylor (N. Y.)
Teague (Calif.)
Tewes (Wis.)
Thomson (Wyo.)
Tollefson (Wash.)
Van Pelt (Wis.)
Van Zandt (Pa.)
Vorys (Ohio)
Vursell (Ill.)
Wainwright (N. Y.)
Weaver (Neb.)
Westland (Wash.)
Wharton (N. Y.)
Widnall (N. J.)
Wigglesworth (Mass.)
Wilson (Calif.)
Wilson (Ind.)
Withrow (Wis.)
Wolverton (N. J.)
Younger (Calif.)

AGAINST THE BILL—126

Democrats—107

Abbitt (Va.)
Abernathy (Miss.)
Albert (Okla.)
Alexander (N. C.)
Andrews (Ala.)
Ashmore (S. C.)
Barden (N. C.)
Bass (Tenn.)
Beckworth (Tex.)
Bennett (Fla.)
Blitch (Ga.)
Boggs (La.)
Bonner (N. C.)
Boykin (Ala.)
Brooks (La.)
Brooks (Tex.)
Brown (Ga.)
Burleson (Tex.)
Chelf (Ky.)
Colmer (Miss.)
Cooley (N. C.)
Cooper (Tenn.)
Davis (Ga.)
Davis (Tenn.)
Dies (Tex.)
Dorn (S. C.)
Dowdy (Tex.)
Durham (N. C.)
Elliott (Ala.)
Evins (Tenn.)
Fascell (Fla.)
Fisher (Tex.)
Flynt (Ga.)
Forrester (Ga.)
Fountain (N. C.)
Frazier (Tenn.)
Gary (Va.)
Gathings (Ark.)
Grant (Ala.)
Gregory (Ky.)
Haley (Fla.)
Hardy (Va.)
Harris (Ark.)
Harrison (Va.)
Hays (Ark.)
Hebert (La.)
Hemphill (S. C.)
Herlong (Fla.)
Huddleston (Ala.)
Hull (Mo.)
Ikard (Tex.)
Jarman (Okla.)
Hennings (Va.)
Jones (Ala.)
Jones (Mo.)
Kilday (Tex.)
Kilgore (Tex.)
Kitchin (N. C.)
Landrum (Ga.)
Lanham (Ga.)
Lennon (N. C.)
Long (La.)
Loser (Tenn.)
McMillan (S. C.)
Mahon (Tex.)
Matthews (Fla.)
Mills (Ark.)
Morris (Okla.)
Morrison (La.)
Natcher (Ky.)
Norrell (Ark.)
Passman (La.)
Patman (Tex.)
Pilcher (Ga.)
Poage (Tex.)
Preston (Ga.)
Rains (Ala.)
Riley (S. C.)
Rivers (S. C.)
Roberts (Ala.)
Robeson (Va.)
Rogers (Fla.)
Rutherford (Tex.)
Scott (N. C.)
Selden (Ala.)
Shuford (N. C.)
Sikes (Fla.)
Smith (Miss.)
Smith (Va.)
Spenser (Ky.)
Teague (Tex.)
Thomas (Tex.)
Thompson (La.)
Thompson (Tex.)
Thornberry (Tex.)
Trimble (Ark.)
Tuck (Va.)
Vinson (Ga.)
Watts (Ky.)
Whitener (N. C.)
Whitten (Miss.)
Williams (Miss.)
Willis (La.)
Winstead (Miss.)
Wright (Tex.)
Young (Tex.)

Republicans—19

Alger (Tex.)
Bennett (Mich.)
Broyhill (Va.)
Budge (Idaho)
Clevenger (Ohio)
Cramer (Fla.)
Gross (Iowa)
Hoffman (Mich.)
Johansen (Mich.)
Jonas (N. C.)
Kenney (Ill.)
Kilburn (N. Y.)
Mason (Ill.)
O'Hara (Minn.)
Poff (Va.)
Ray (N. Y.)
Smith (Kan.)
Smith (Wis.)
Taber (N. Y.)

Paired for: Kearn (N. J.), Hillings (Calif.) Republicans; Machrowicz (Mich.), Bailey (W. Va.) Democrats.

Paired against: Utt (Calif.) Republican; Baker (Tenn.), Murray (Tenn.) Steed (Okla.) Democrats.

House Passes Civil Rights Bill

Eisenhower Measure Is Sent to Senate

By WILMOT HERCHER

WASHINGTON, June 18 (AP)—The House passed President Eisenhower's civil rights bill 286-126 today and sent it to a new battleground in the Senate.

House passage came after Southerners lost their fourth attempt to attach a jury trial amendment, which supporters of the bill said would cripple it. The Southerners were turned back 251-158, and the House then proceeded to its final roll call.

Now the Republican leadership in the Senate says it stands prepared to take extraordinary steps to force the bill to the floor. But if the measure gets there it seems almost certain to run into a Southern Democratic filibuster.

Plans 'Necessary Steps'

Senate GOP Leader Knowland of California was asked by reporters today whether he was determined to try to break a filibuster, no matter how long it might take.

"I am prepared to take whatever steps necessary," he replied.

One hundred eighteen Northern and Western Democrats joined 168 Republicans to get the bill through the House. Voting against passage were 107 Democrats and 19 Republicans.

The House passed a civil rights bill 279-126 last July 23 but it died in the Senate. This year's legislation has been bottled up in the Senate Judiciary Committee for six months.

Recommended by President

As it left the House, the legislation was in essentially the same form as that recommended by Eisenhower.

It would set up a bipartisan commission to make a two-year study of civil rights problems and would establish a special division in the Department of Justice, under an assistant attorney general, to handle civil rights cases.

It would also empower the attorney general to take into federal courts the cases of persons whose civil rights were violated or threatened, and to protect their interests by seeking federal court injunctions.

Persons who violated these injunctions could be tried for contempt of court. It was for these contempt cases that the Southerners tried unsuccessfully to ensure jury trials. A jury trial amendment has been attached to the bottled-up Senate bill.

Three Amendments Win

A score of amendments were proposed during the House debate but only three were adopted. These would provide that one of a voter's rights is the right to have his vote counted; require courts to provide counsel for defendants requesting it in contempt actions; and limit the range of subpoenas to the boundaries of a state in which the subpoenaed persons reside.

The bill reached the Senate in record time, but when it arrived the chamber was in executive session for a continuation of debate on U.S. ratification of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Sen. Russell (D-Ga), an outspoken opponent of the civil rights bill, asked Vice President Nixon, who was presiding, if he (Russell) was correct in assuming that the bill could not be taken up while the Senate was in executive session.

"That is correct," Nixon said.

May Bypass Committee

"I'm glad to be sustained at least on that," Russell said ironically.

Knowland and a bloc of 14 Northern and Western Democrats are planning to try to by-pass the Judiciary Committee and get the bill placed directly on the calendar for debate at an early date. Even if this parliamentary move is successful, a filibuster could not be avoided if the Southerners are determined to try to talk the bill to death.

Knowland said in his opinion a filibuster could be broken only by holding the Senate in continuous session indefinitely. He declined to speculate on how long that might take, but when a reporter suggested it might keep Congress in session until September or October, Knowland smiled and said: "No, I don't think it would take that long."

Rights Bill Passage Held Blow to South

HOMER, La., June 18 (AP) — Louisiana state Senator William M. Rainach, leader of the state's segregation forces, declared Tuesday House passage of the Civil Rights bill "is another blow to the South" but added Southerners "aren't going to put up with such legislation."

Sen. Rainach, chairman of the joint state legislative committee on segregation, said at his northern Louisiana home he doubted that the measure would pass the Senate "this year and possibly not next year."

The lawmaker also is head of the Louisiana Association of Citizens Councils. He declared:

"The South is not going to put up with forced legislation. If the bill passes the Senate—and I doubt that it will—the people of the South will nullify it themselves."

Rainach called the legislation "another attempt to punish one region of the country."

Passage of the controversial administration-backed legislation came Tuesday in a 286 to 126 roll call vote.

COUNCIL SHELVES HOUSING BIAS BILL

Extension of Discrimination Ban Put Off Indefinitely

By CHARLES G. BENNETT

The Wagner administration's push for prompt enactment of legislation barring discrimination in private apartment housing here crumbled yesterday under a barrage of opposition.

The City Council's Committee on General Welfare voted in closed session to lay the highly controversial Sharkey - Brown - Isaacs bill over indefinitely for further study.

While key Councilmen insisted the bill was not dead, they indicated that the most that could be expected was a watered-down version of the Administration bill which would greatly extend an existing ban on discrimination in housing here.

The Council committee's action was considered to be a victory for the real estate boards of the five boroughs and others who have been conducting an all-out campaign against the measure.

Another factor was the trend in the heavy mail that has been pouring into City Hall since the bill was introduced May 21. Mayor Wagner's office reported 3,300 pieces of mail to date opposed and 1,000 in favor. Some councilmen said their mail was running 4 to 1 opposed.

The sponsors of the bill were Majority Leader Joseph T. Sharkey, Brooklyn Democrat; Minority Leader Stanley M. Isaacs, Manhattan Republican-Liberal, and Earl Brown, Manhattan Democrat.

After yesterday's committee meeting, Mr. Isaacs complained bitterly that the committee had "acted in total disregard of Mayor Wagner's wishes." Mr. Isaacs also implied a criticism of the Mayor when he added that though the Mayor had supported the bill, he did not reiterate his views, at least through a representative, to the committee yesterday.

Late in the afternoon Mayor Wagner sent word out, through William R. Peer, his executive secretary, that he still supported the bill.

'No Party Discipline'

"Of course the Council has a right to study this bill," the Mayor said through Mr. Peer. "We are not trying to ram this bill down anybody's throat. No timetable has been set."

Asked why the Mayor did not invoke party discipline to get the bill passed, Mr. Peer replied: "There is no party discipline involved here. The Mayor is perfectly willing for the Council to discuss amendments and make a further study."

Councilman Eric J. Treulich, Queens Democrat, and chairman of the General Welfare Committee, said the bill would be further considered by his committee. He predicted there would be action "one way or the other" before the November city election.

Mr. Sharkey, one of the measure's sponsors, declared that "we have never had so many repercussions in our lives" as from

the bill. The legislation in its present form, he said, is "far too severe." For one thing, he said, "it permits a complainant to take a landlord right into court."

He explained that under an existing state antidiscrimination law the respondent is taken before the State Commission Against Discrimination for hearings before any court action is taken.

Mr. Sharkey predicted a new bill ultimately would be reported out "with more safeguards." Asked if the committee's action yesterday was not inconsistent with Mayor Wagner's expressed strong support of the bill, Mr. Sharkey said:

"Even if the Mayor had asked for this bill today, he would not have gotten it. The Council stands on its own feet."

Mr. Sharkey said he did not know "where the bill came from" but had become a sponsor at the request of Mayor Wagner. Mr. Isaacs explained that the measure was a rewrite of the Metcalf-Baker bill that died in an Albany legislative committee last winter.

Existing laws ban racial and religious discrimination in 164,172 dwelling units here, 90,000 of which are in public housing projects. The measure deferred yesterday would extend the coverage to 1,787,183 apartments, residential hotel suites and tenement flats.

It would exempt most of the 726,940 one and two-family houses. Its only coverage of such houses would be in their sale when built in developments of more than ten units.

Rights Bill Starts Rough Senate Trip

Maneuvers May Determine Measure's Fate This Year

WASHINGTON, June 19 (AP)—The Senate today began unusual parliamentary maneuvering which may determine whether it acts this year on civil right legislation, described by President Eisenhower as the "moderate, decent thing to do."

Shortly after Mr. Eisenhower told his news conference the measure did not aim at "persecution of anybody," Sen. Knowland (R., Cal.) made the first move in the Senate to hasten debate on the bill. The showdown on his strategy is expected tomorrow.

Knowland, the Senate Republican leader, announced he would object if any senator requested two readings of the House-passed bill today — since that could lead the way to referring it to the Senate Judiciary Committee.

The aim of Knowland and a group of Republicans and Northern Democrats is to bypass the Judiciary Committee, which has been considering civil rights legislation for six months, and bring the House bill directly to the Senate floor.

Senator Russell (D., Ga.) followed Knowland's announcement by going through the motion of requesting that the bill be routed in the usual fashion to the Judiciary Committee.

Knowland and Senator Douglas (D., Ill.,) quickly chimed in with objections, moving Russell to comment:

"Two souls with but a single thought, two hearts that beat as one."

The objections automatically put off a second reading of the bill until tomorrow. The second reading must preecde an expected motion by Knowland to place the bill directly on the Senate calendar.

The GOP leader's strategy is to invoke a little-used rule which Russell argued is out of date. The Southerner said that to use the rule "will set a precedent that will haunt the leadership in this body for years to come."

Russell later made an impassioned address voicing anger over the action of Knowland and Douglas. He accused supporters of the rights bill of using it as "a smoke-screen" to force the South to integrate its schools and "get these infernal Southerners in a hurry."

RUSSELL

Knowland's motion — which Vice President Nixon is expected to rule in order—would require a simple majority vote for approval. Once approved, the civil rights bill could be brought up for debate on the demand of any senator.

A Southern filibuster — prolonged debate—would certainly follow.

Mr. Eisenhower was asked if he would recommend that Senate Republicans seek an extended Senate session in hopes of wearing down a filibuster.

The President replied that he doesn't like to comment on congressional procedures, "because it is their business, and it is not for me to interfere to say how they shall do things."

But he quickly added that he did have a word to say about the civil rights bill. It was, he said, "designed and conceived in the thought of conciliation and moderation, not of persecution of anybody."

He recalled that after the Supreme Court outlawed public school segregation, newsmen asked him whether he planned to send troops into the South to enforce the decision.

"There was a great deal of stir," he said, "and it was time, as I saw it, for moderation and the development of a plan that everybody of good will could support."

That plan has now been developed but "I have been very badly disappointed" with the reaction of some people to it, he said.

He concluded by saying that he views the civil rights bill as "a very moderate, decent thing to do" — something which he hopes will be more widely accepted after "some thinking on the part of all of us."

Fight Now Moves To U.S. Senate

Map Strategy To By-Pass Senator Eastland's Group

BY ARTHUR KRANISH

WASHINGTON. — (INS) — The House passed the administration's civil rights bill Tuesday, June 18, sending the measure on its way to a stormy future in the Senate.

Passage came in a 286 to 126 roll call vote after a last-ditch southern attempt to write a jury trial guarantee into the bill was rejected.

House sponsor, Rep. Kenneth B. Keating (R) N. Y., called Tuesday's vote "a significant victory for President Eisenhower's program and the greatest advance for this cause in a generation."

The jury trial attempt was the fourth initiated by southern opponents of the legislation. It went down to defeat by a 251 to 158 vote. It was sponsored by Rep. Richard H. Poff (R) Va.

The Poff motion would have written into the measure a guarantee of trial by jury for civil rights violators. The House had rejected three similar attempts during two weeks of debate.

While a House coalition of most Republicans and northern Democrats strove to keep their victory intact, a backstage civil rights fight took form in the Senate.

Plan Senate Strategy

Sen. Paul Douglass (D.) Ill., and a group of 15 "liberal" Democrats served notice they will attempt to have the House bill placed on the Senate calendar for consideration in the next few weeks.

Their strategy is to by-pass the Senate Judiciary committee, where Chairman James O. Eastland (D) Miss., has kept a companion measure bottled up for months.

An alternate "compromise" plan would permit the House bill to be referred to the State committee, with an accompanying threat that a civil rights bill would be forced out by a senate vote if the committee fails to act on one or the other.

Whatever happens Senators expect a southern filibuster which could further delay consideration of the measure for weeks.

House southerners freely attributed their string of defeats on amendments to White House pressure, which served to keep most Republicans in line.

Only 30 to 40 GOP members rose in support of the South's key "jury trial" amendment, which lost on Friday in a 199 to 167 vote.

The administration bill, sponsored by Rep. Kenneth B. Keating (R) N. Y., would establish a bi-partisan civil rights investigating commission with authority to recommend additional legislation to congress.

In addition, a special civil rights division in the justice department would be armed with new statutes designed to prevent civil rights violations before they occur.

The administration has said that protection of "the right to vote" is the core of the package civil rights plan. However, southerners have argued that the bill goes far beyond the voting privilege, and gives the government and federal courts vast new powers in the field of racial segregation.

The House narrowly rejected Monday a new southern attempt to write a "jury trial" guarantee into the civil rights bill.

An almost solid bloc of Republicans joined forces with northern Democrats to defeat the new southern effort by a vote of 163 to 141. A similar amendment was beaten last week by a 199 to 167 margin.

Rep. Howard Smith (D) Va., chief southern strategist, proposed the amendment, saying it would force members to state clearly where they stand on the issue of trial by jury.

His chief opponent, Rep. Emanuel Celler (D) N. Y., said the House had already passed on the issue and that Smith was "as wrong as a two foot yardstick."

The proposed southern amendments would allow defendants in federal court cases stemming from civil rights violations to demand they be tried by juries rather than by individual judges.

Proponents of the administration-sponsored bill have argued such a provision would make the legislation virtually toothless in the south.

The somewhat slimmer majority on the issue encouraged southern House opponents of the bill, who said that they have a number of other amendments to offer before debate ends.

Meanwhile Monday, the Senate Judiciary committee failed at a half hour meeting to make any further progress with its civil rights bill Sen. Thomas C. Hennings (D) Mo., said he served notice he will try to bring up the House bill and substitute it for the one before the committee at the proper time.

His move is expected to be opposed strongly by southerner since the jury trial amendment they backed is now a part of the senate committee's bill.

Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson insisted the Hennings move would violate senate rules and "destroy the committee system."

Minority Leader William F. Knowland argued, however, there were precedents for by-passing a committee. He pointed out that the judiciary committee has had a civil rights bill under consideration for six months and "no indication has been shown" that it will act.

Sen. Wayne Morse (D) Ore., who is a strong civil rights advocate, disassociated himself from Hennings' move.

Morse said he favors the legislation and is "going to fight" for it, but insisted that it should be done "within the long, established historic practice" of referring a bill to committee.

Morse said: "We liberals, in particular, ought to lean over backwards so that no one can say that when it comes to something we want, we take advantage of anyone."

In another development, Sen. Jacob K. Javits (R) N. Y., said that no civil rights legislation can pass the Senate unless the rule against filibusters is tightened.

Javits made the statement as a two-man rules subcommittee opened hearings on proposed changes in the Senate's present rule which permits shuting off debate only on the vote of 64 lawmakers.

Remember

1. **Follow the activities of Civil Rights legislation in the U. S. Senate daily through the columns of the Atlanta Daily World. Express your appreciation to leading Civil Rights supporters.**
2. **Read the reprint of the New York Times editorial on Althea Gibson, tennis star on the editorial page in the Atlanta Daily World today.**
3. **Patronize those businesses which respect your trade.**

10 1957

The Civil Rights Bill—I

THE flash of bayonets in Little Rock reminded Southerners that a civil rights bill was on the books.

The impression had got around that the South had scored a great victory in Congress. There was to be no force-feeding. ("I can't imagine any set of circumstances . . ." said Ike)

Trial-by-jury had been assured—limitedly. Some Southern congressmen crowed of success, and many of their constituents were deluded into uneasy acceptance of a seemingly not-bad bill.

Had it not been for the shock of Little Rock, this momentous bill might have been fully as forgotten by now as any Rivers & Harbors pork-barrel legislation.

To be sure, Little Rock and the civil rights bill were not legally related. Little Rock's value was to show the South what happens when civil rights academics become civil rights action.

It may be that the South is ready now to take a closer look at the bill which it had nearly forgotten. *The Advertiser* herewith provides the opportunity in an item-by-item summary. This is the first of two installments of the summary.

PART I—THE COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

This creates a six-member commission (three members from each political party) to be appointed by the President on "advice and consent of the Senate;" provides for a chairman and vice chairman; sets the quorum as four.

President Eisenhower has not appointed the commission.

RULES OF PROCEDURE OF THE COMMISSION

The chairman shall open hearings and announce the subject, furnish a copy of commission rules to witnesses and allow witnesses counsel.

The chairman is empowered to punish breaches of order and decorum and unprofessional ethics on the part of counsel, by censure and exclusion from the hearings." (All will agree that a breach of "unprofessional ethics" deserves to be punished.)

This part allows the commission to meet in executive session when it determines that testimony "may tend to defame, degrade or incriminate any person," and to dispose of requests by witnesses to subpoena additional witnesses.

It still stands in this part that "whoever" releases or makes public testimony taken in executive session, without commission approval, is subject to $1,000 fine and one year in jail.

Reporters had visions of going broke in jail before "whoever" was qualified later on to mean "a person whose services are compensated by the United States."

Witnesses shall receive $4 a day and 8¢ a mile travel. If they're so far from home they can't commute, they may get $12 a day.

Per diem is unlikely, however, since the commission is forbidden from calling witnesses unless the hearing is held in the witness' home state.

COMPENSATION OF MEMBERS

The pay is $50 a day for commission members not already in government service, plus travel expenses and per diem provisions. Government personnel who should be appointed to the commission would receive no pay other than expenses.

(Legitimate expenses of commission members include tips for stewards and porters. Witnesses must pay their own tips.)

DUTIES OF THE COMMISSION

The Commission shall—

¶ Investigate allegations in writing under oath or affirmation that certain citizens of the United States are being deprived of their right to vote and have that vote counted by reason of their color, race, religion, or national origin; which writing, under oath or affirmation, shall set forth the facts upon which such belief or beliefs are based;

¶ Study and collect information concerning legal developments constituting a denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution; and

¶ Appraise the laws and policies of the federal government with respect to equal protection of the laws under the Constitution.

While the measure is advertised as a "voting rights bill," the last two duties of the commission are so vague as to defy analysis.

The commission is ordered to submit reports to the President and to Congress as either requests them, and to submit a "final and comprehensive" report two years from the date of the bill (Sept. 9, 1957).

Sixty days after making its final report, the law says the commission "shall cease to exist." If it has any success at all, however, in stirring up the South, it probably will be perpetuated.

[Tomorrow—The powers of the Commission, jury trial provision, penalty clause, etc.]

10 1957

Democrats Stand Firm On Rights

Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.
Mon-10-21-57

By W. H. LAWRENCE

(Copyright 1957 by The New York Times Co.)

WASHINGTON, Oct. 20—The Democratic Advisory Committee reaffirmed a strong pro-civil rights stand today in the face of Southern threats to form a third party.

The group again criticized President Eisenhower for lack of leadership on the civil rights front and specifically for his failure to implement the legislation passed by the last Congress calling for appointment of a commission with fact-finding powers and an assistant attorney general for civil rights.

Gov. W. Averell Harriman of New York called the resolution a notice that the Democratic party would "never back down" from its support of civil rights.

ONLY ONE DISSENT

Only one of the 16 committee members present dissented openly. This was Mrs. Benjamin B. Everett, North Carolina's national committee-woman. Other Southerners present included Sen. Estes Kefauver of Tennessee and Camille F. Gravel Jr., Louisiana's national committeeman.

The text of the civil rights declaration was withheld until tomorrow in the hope of focusing attention on another policy statement adopted today. This deals with economic growth, tight money and the cost of living. It charged the administration with responsibility for inflation and said price stability "will not be achieved by the half-time, half-hearted, reluctant and uncertain administration we now have."

Informed sources said the Democrat statement on civil rights reaffirmed the Advisory Council's declaration of Sept. 15, which had been critical both of President Eisenhower and of Orval E. Faubus, Arkansas' Democratic governor,

BEFORE LITTLE ROCK

The original statement was made before federal troops were sent to Little Rock, Ark., to enforce court-ordered integration at Central High School, which had been blocked by Arkansas National Guardsmen placed there by Faubus. The use of federal troops was greatly criticized in the South, especially by Democrats, but the Advisory Council served notice today it was not backing down on its criticism of both the President and Faubus.

There has been dissension in the Democratic party because the council was set up as a policy-making group between national conventions. The party leaders in Congress, House Speaker Sam Rayburn and Lyndon B. Johnson, Senate majority leader, both of Texas, declined to serve on the council.

In another step which may stir new trouble with the congressional leadership, the council directed its staff to study whether any new civil rights legislation should be enacted by the next Congress. The right-to-vote bill enacted at the last session was the first in the civil rights field in 82 years. Such bills usually have been defeated by filibusters of Southern Democrats.

THIRD PARTY THREAT

Committee members were reminded that new talk of Southern bolts had been stirred by the declaration of Paul M. Butler, Democratic national chairman, in Raleigh, N.C., that the party would not be deterred from its stand on civil rights by any threat of a third party in the South.

Asked if the committee action today reflected any compromise from Butler's position, Gov. Harriman replied:

"Absolutely no. The issue has been made. The Council and the party generally will stand by its position."

During the civil rights debate, mention was made of a resolution recently adopted by mid-western governors who charged that Gov. Faubus had violated the 1956 Democratic platform which declared against use of force to interfere with the orderly processes of the courts.

HITS ADMINISTRATION

The economic statement, prepared by a committee headed by Dr. John Kenneth Galbraith, assailed the administration for adopting "highly negative" policies which had contracted the economy, favored big business over small business, and produced the "worst peacetime inflation in our history."

"To deal with inflationary increases in living costs the administration has had only one policy—the characteristically negative one of raising interest and tightening the money supply," the Democrats asserted. "This policy has failed for 19 months."

The economic declaration made no mention of a general tax reduction which many expect Democrats in Congress to advocate in the next election year. The only reference to taxes was the statement that the "corporation income tax bears too heavily on the small firm, as the administration has itself admitted while declining to do anything about it."

The Democrats said the present price line ought to be held

"All Americans have a right to expect fair play on prices," the statement said. "The Eisenhower administration has excelled all others in our history in the number and length and piety of its lectures on public morality. It has been remarkably indifferent to the immoral robbery worked by what historians will call the Eisenhower inflation."

10 1957

Morgan Says:

Negro Vote Key to Rights Fight

Washington, D.C.

Sat. 6-29-57 p. 11

(This column is excerpted from the nightly broadcasts of Edward P. Morgan, ABC commentator, sponsored by the AFL-CIO. Listen to Morgan over the ABC network Monday through Friday at 7 p.m., EDST.)

TWO separate but not unrelated forces are at work to quicken the snail's pace at which efforts are now moving to eliminate the ignominious second-class citizenship category for Negroes.

One is the expanding moral and legal force of Supreme Court decisions supporting civil rights for individuals. The other is the simple bulldozing force of practical politics.

From the school decision three years ago banning segregation of the races in public classrooms to the latest spate of decisions the highest court in the land has been building up a powerful core of opinion emphasizing the rights of the individual citizen whether it be to a public education or to a certain privacy in the face of congressional investigations.

Whatever the category, every emphasis on the sanctity of individual rights makes it that much harder for the white supremacists, whether they be bland hypocrites in the north or brash Ku Kluxers and Citizens councilers in the south to peddle their wares.

The sheer weight and consistency of the court's decisions in this field tend to crack the accumulation of prejudice even though the cracks may be momentarily obscured by a fury of reaction.

If it were not for a significant development in the political field however, the backlash of reaction against the court's liberal philosophy might have a more lasting effect. The sharp irony of the situation is that the racists are trying to arrest a force that is already irresistable.

They are trying to continue to deny full voting rights to Negroes in the South but they will fail, if slowly and painfully, because of the emergence already of the Negro voter as a political force, particularly in key metropolitan areas and not excluding big cities in the South itself.

The Eisenhower administration has decided to make civil rights a major issue. Why? Because, for one thing, they see in this tack a possibility of capturing the Negro vote in such cities as Chicago New York, Philadelphia and other urban centers where that vote might provide the margin to beat the Democrats.

At any rate, veteran observers of Congress are convinced that the strong GOP support of civil rights was a direct result of strong and surprising pressure from the White House.

Of course there is the rumbling threat of a Senate filibuster and it may be impossible for the liberals of both parties to get enough votes to throttle it. But at least some of Vice Pres. Nixon's advisers, with an eye on 1960, are urging him, too to embrace civil rights as an issue.

North Georgia Tribune

Constitution P. 4

Georgia Congressmen Selling Children Down the River?

Mon. 4-8-57 Atlanta Ga.

School officials made a serious charge against Georgia's congressional delegation recently. They charged that our congressmen have traded votes with Northern congressmen whereby the Northerners would vote with the Southerners to defeat civil-rights legislation. Then Southerners, in return, would vote against federal aid to education, which many of the Northern congressmen don't want because their heavily populated states would have to pay most of the cost. Georgia congressmen, however, have denied making any such deal.

But, on the other hand, it is hard to overlook the fact that the school people have a strong lobby in Washington and we know of no group that possesses keener observation and serves with greater zeal to keep up with what's going on. Too, it has been a puzzle to many as to what weapon Southern congressmen have been using so effectively in their fight against civil rights, which has such large support in areas of the country other than the South. If the charges are true, then our congressmen have been sacrificing much for a mess of porridge.

Federal aid to education, when it comes, and it will come sooner or later, possibly too late to be of any real benefit to us, will build nothing but classrooms. It won't be available for construction of auditoriums, gymnasiums, playing fields and other accessories.

Cherokee County is on the verge of voting in a local bond election for $640,000, a large part of which is to build additional classrooms. If we are going to have federal aid we prefer to have it before we get all the buildings finished and paid for.

Northern congressmen are against federal aid to education because it means the heavily populated states like New York will contribute most of the money and get the least back. States like Georgia and Mississippi would contribute the least and get back the most — because the money would be spent according to a state's need. Why we are willing to take federal aid on everything else and draw the line against schools has never been explained with any sensible answers.

If we're going to have federal school aid, we are for going ahead with it now. We here in Cherokee County need it in 1957 — not in 1962 or 1982.

Senate Blocks Two Moves To Amend Civil Rights Bill

Times New York Wed. 7-24-57 P. 1

By WILLIAM S. WHITE

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, July 23—The Senate overwhelmingly rejected today two efforts to preserve in the Administration's civil rights bill some Federal injunctive powers that would go beyond protecting the right to vote.

One attempt was by Senator John W. Bricker, Republican of Ohio. It was directed at making more palatable a highly controversial section that could be used to force school integration in the South. This is Part III of the bill.

The other, by Senator John Sherman Cooper, Republican of Kentucky, was proposed as an outright substitute for Part III.

Mr. Bricker lost by 61 to 29. Twenty-two Republicans and 7 Democrats supported his amendment; 40 Democrats and 21 Republicans defeated it. Mr. Cooper lost by 81 to 8.

Both proposals were brushed aside by a Senate now clearly intent on striking out all but a shadow of Part III when the showdown comes tomorrow directly on that provision.

Eventual Passage Seen

Clearly foreshadowed, though still in the distance, was approval of a civil rights measure limited to the protection of voting rights.

The real issue had already turned tonight from the long argument over Part III to the question of jury trials in cases involving voting rights.

The conviction today in a Federal court in Knoxville, Tenn., by an all-white jury of Frederick John Kasper, the Northern segregationist, and six others for contempt in attempting to interfere with integration became involved in the Senate's debate.

The Senate Democratic leader, Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, told the Senate that what happened at Knoxville did not suggest "any failure of Southern juries to do their duty."

Senator Johnson has broken with those of his fellow Southerners who are resisting any kind of civil rights legislation.

He was referring to the contention of some civil rights proponents that such legislation would be of little value in the South if jury trials were required.

Times P. 13-C

Nevertheless the point was made in private by several Senators that Knoxville, in east Tennessee, which historically is not a Southern section, was not necessarily comparable to the Deep South.

It is too early to measure the impact of the Knoxville verdict. The available information does not suggest a total Southern victory on the jury issue. The more probable outcome is a compromise in which jury trials would be required in criminal contempt cases with nonjury trials for civil contempt cases.

The vital section of the Administration's bill, now that Part III is all but doomed by a bipartisan coalition involving liberals as well as Southerners, is one that would protect voting rights—Part IV.

Injunctive Procedure

It would operate in this way: the Department of Justice would be empowered to go into Federal District Courts, with or without the consent of the victim, for injunctions against deprivation of the right to vote.

Local officials refusing to obey such injunctions could be tried by a judge, without a jury, and fined or imprisoned for contempt.

Efforts are now going forward in the Senate to find broadly backed language that would be sufficiently precise to require jury trials for cases of criminal contempt and withhold that right in civil contempt.

Senators Estes Kefauver, Democrat of Tennessee, and Joseph C. O'Mahoney, Democrat of Wyoming, have put in proposed amendments around which many of these discussions are revolving.

The practical distinction, as defined by the proponents of a

compromise, is that civil contempt actions are designed simply to require a man to perform an act and criminal contempt cases are intended to punish him.

Election Example Cited

For example, a Southern election official refusing to register a qualified Negro could be enjoined to do so. If he refused, so the illustration runs, he could be tried by a judge without a jury for civil contempt and sent to jail.

Once he consented to register the Negro he could free himself—he would "hold the keys to his cell" in the phrase of the lawyers—and that would be the end of it.

But if he persisted in his defiance he could fall into criminal contempt. At this point, facing a prison sentence over which he was no longer in any sense master, he could demand a jury trial.

The all-out civil rights forces will oppose anything short of a non-jury procedure across the board.

The power of this group, however, has seemed to be steadily declining of recent days as the Senate's debate has gone on.

This was illustrated in the first of today's tests, that on the amendment proposed by Senator Bricker.

He did not propose to alter the powers of the Justice Department, in Part III, to move for injunctions to enforce integration or other civil rights.

His plan would have permitted the Attorney General to move only with the prior approval and order of the President.

Slap At Brownell

The effect was to involve the prestige of President Eisenhower directly in Part III by making him a necessary part of it. It also involved a slap at the Attorney General, Herbert Brownell Jr.

Senator Cooper was not attempting the task of sustaining Part III; he was attempting to put in a wholly new section, but also to be called Part III.

His amendment would have permitted the Justice Department to move in with injunctions to protect, not complaining individuals, but the local authorities themselves wherever they were trying to carry out a court's civil rights decree.

Non-jury-trial injunctions in such cases could have been obtained against those seeking to obstruct, say a local school board, in attempting to carry out an integration decree.

The proposal would have applied to mob action or to incidents such as those involved in the Kasper trial at Knoxville.

Mr. Cooper's attempt failed because it fell between the two major groups.

The advanced civil rights forces would not support it because it was too far a retreat from the original Part III. Those determined to kill Part III were not prepared to have another Part III, even of this softer kind.

Standing with Senator Cooper were Senators Prescott Bush of Connecticut, Everett M. Dirksen of Illinois, Thruston Morton of Kentucky, Chapman Revercomb of West Virginia and Alexander Wiley of Wisconsin, Republicans, and Senators Kefauver and Mike Mansfield of Montana, Democrats.

The chief leader of the civil rights coalition, Senator William F. Knowland of California, will now turn his attention to trying to beat off all jury trial proposals in Part IV.

Mr. Knowland, the Republican leader, is ready to go down tomorrow with Part III, as are all the advanced civil rights Senators, but he had been aware for some time that this section was in great and growing trouble.

Senator Knowland returned to the Capitol this morning from a White House conference to say that the President hoped the Senate would not "eliminate" Part III.

Mr. Knowland, however, did not attempt to commit General Eisenhower to an all-out defense of the section, about which the President himself has indicated reservations.

The Senator said in effect simply that the President hoped that legislation not limited to the voting right would be adopted.

Politics and Civil Rights

Times Wed. 7-24-57 P.13-C

An Appraisal of G.O.P. Chances to Break Democratic Allegiance of Negro Voters

New York

By JAMES RESTON

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, July 23—Nobody mentions it in the Senate debate, but the two major political parties are acutely conscious of the political stakes in the current civil rights fight.

Many Republican leaders see in their party's civil rights bill the possibility of breaking the Democratic hold on Negro voters in the Northern cities and extending Republican influence eventually in the Democratic South.

They do not expect any startling change in the voting pattern for Congressional seats in the 1958 elections, even if the equal-voting-rights section of the civil rights bill is passed this year. But they do think that adoption of this section alone would enable the Republican party to campaign as the champion of Negro rights.

Liberal Northern Democrats are aware of the long-range possibility. They have watched the slow erosion of their party's strength in the last two elections. And they concede that passage of an effective civil rights bill will strengthen this trend, particularly if the Republicans could get more of the stay-at-home Negroes in the North to vote.

Part III Supported

This is one reason why the Northern Democratic liberals are pressing for the whole civil rights bill, including part III, which would empower the Attorney General to use civil injunction procedures to speed integration in the public schools o fthe South.

They know that they will not win this fight, but by refusing to compromise on it they believe they can demonstrate that the Republicans are less eager for a complete civil rights bill than the Democratic National Committee.

There are 35 congressional districts outside the 13 southern states were Negroes in 1950 formed more than 10 per cent of the population. A Congressional Quarterly study of voting trends in 1952 and 1956 in these districts shows the following:

¶General Eisenhower got 42 per cent of the vote in 1952 and 47 per cent in 1956. In 1956, Adlai E. Stevenson, the Democratic nominee, got 2,647,112 votes in these districts to the President's 2,347,998. The President's 5 per cent gain compared to his 2.2 per cent rise nationally.

¶The President carried 13 of the 35 districts in 1956, two more than in 1952. The switches came in the First District of Indiana (Gary), and New York's eighteenth.

¶Also, the larger the Negro population in the districts studied, the larger was the President's margin of increase. For example, his largest increase in 1956 over 1952 came in New York's sixteenth District (Harlem)—16.6 per cent. And his gain in Illinois' first (Chicago) was 10.9 per cent.

President Outran Party

This analysis of the Negro vote, however, shows a marked difference between the Republican gains in the Presidential race and the Republican record in the Congressional elections. In these thirty-five districts, as in the rest of the nation, President Eisenhower's record was much more impressive than that of the Republican Congressional candidates, who just about duplicated their marks of 1952.

For example, the Republican share of the House vote in these areas were 41 per cent in both years. They increased their margin in fourteen districts, dropped off a bit in 16 districts and remained the same in one.

On the basis of these figures, the prospect of any startling change in the voting pattern in the so-called Negro districts of the North is not great for 1958. Actually, the Democrats picked up one seat in 1956, and came out of the 35 districts with 28 seats to the Republicans' 7.

Republicans Encouraged

Two factors, however, encourage the Republicans. First, in those districts where in 1956 they put on a major campaign, emphasizing that Southern Democratic committee chairmen in Congress were blocking civil rights legislation, the Republican party made impressive gains.

Second, the total vote in these 35 districts decreased as the Republican campaign for the Negro vote increased—a fact that favors the Republicans since a large Negro vote has usually favored the Democrats.

What the Republicans now believe is that, if an effective equal-voting bill is passed at this session, they will be able to claim credit for that fact and wage a really major campaign to bring the Negroes back to the Republican side, where they voted from Reconstruction days to 1928.

Fight in Critical States

This campaign would be waged in precisely those critical states of the North with larger electoral votes where the Democrats have been especially strong since the start of the Roosevelt era.

The Republican party does not expect too much in 1958, for among the thirty-five there are only three Democratic districts and two Republican districts where the margin of victory was 5 per cent or less.

By the Presidential race of 1960, however, the Republicans think they will have time to exploit their civil rights record, not only in the Northern cities but also in the border states and some states of the South—notably Virginia, Texas and Florida.

"Give us an equal-voting-rights bill," one Republican leader said today, "and by 1960 we will break the Roosevela coalition of the large cities and the South, even without Eisenhower."

This is what is in the background by the vigorous debate in the Senate.

10 1957

SENATE AGREES TO A VOTE ON JURY-TRIAL PROVISION OF CIVIL RIGHTS MEASURE

DEBATE IS LIMITED

Times P.1

Johnson Offers Plan for Quick Decision—Knowland Accepts

New York

Fri 8-2-57

By WILLIAM S. WHITE

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 1—The Senate struggled toward a showdown vote tonight on efforts to add a jury trial provision to the Administrations Civil Rights bill.

An agreement to put the issue to a roll-call after a maximum of six hours of general debate, plus half an hour of debate on each proposed alteration to the jury trial amendment, was reached at 5:40 P. M.

It was proposed by Senator Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, who is leader of the forces favoring jury trials and the Democratic leader of the Senate.

It was accepted by Senator William F. Knowland of California, who is chief of those opposing jury trials and the Republican leader of the Senate.

Limitation Is the Issue

The Administration's bill would permit Federal prosecutors, with or without the consent of the victim, to seek injunctions from Federal judges against actual or threatened deprivation of the right to vote. Persons refusing to obey these injunctions could be fined or imprisoned by a Federal judge sitting without a jury.

The specific issue is this: Should the Senate adopt an amendment to permit this non-jury process in cases of civil contempt but to require jury trial for criminal contempt?

A civil contempt case would be one in which the purpose of the judge was simply to require the execution of his orders—for example, an order to an election official to permit a qualified Negro to register. Compliance with the order would free the defendant from jail.

A case of criminal contempt would be one in which the judge's purpose was not simply to implement one of his orders but to punish a man for willful disobedience or obstruction of it. An act of intimidating a prospective voter, after that act had been specifically forbidden by a judge, would be an instance of criminal contempt.

The judge would determine what was civil and what was criminal contempt.

Johnson Confident

By initiating the demand for a quick decision, Senator Johnson clearly signalled his confidence that his side now had the strength to win.

Its victory would be a heavy defeat for President Eisenhower, who only yesterday strongly reiterated his opposition to any jury trial proviso.

The Johnson coalition was made up of Western liberal Democrats, the Southern Democrats and a small group of dissident Republicans who had refused to follow the Administration on the issue.

The principal spokesman for the Southern element in this coalition, Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia, blocked only yesterday the attempts of Senator Knowland to obtain a unanimous Senate agreement for an early vote.

The believing his people to be on the point of winning, Senator Knowland had been eager to arrange for a vote. One of his several requests for unanimous consent—all of which were blocked by Senator Russell—was for a roll-call tonight.

By this afternoon, the position of the Administration had so deteriorated that Senator Johnson regained the initiative. Now, it was he who was clamoring for a showdown.

Mr. Johnson first put in a request for unanimous consent that the voting be held tonight on the terms that Mr. Knowland had requested yesterday—except after four rather than six hours of general debate.

Senator Knowland, with the tide now running against him, consented to go along, if Senator Johnson would accept a six-hour rather than a four-hour limitation.

This was done, and thus the great issue was brought to the point of decision in this, the fourth week of debate on the civil rights bill.

Absent Members Sought

At once both sides began an urgent search for all sick and absent members. Senator Knowland, whose coalition included the bulk of the Republicans plus several Northern and Eastern liberal Democrats, arranged to have Senator Frederick G. Payne flown in from a fishing camp in Maine. Mr. Payne, a Maine Republican, had been seriously ill with a heart condition.

Senator Thomas C. Hennings Jr., Democrat of Missouri, was alerted at his home in Washington, where he is recovering from a surgical operation.

The aged Senator Matthew M. Neely, Democrat of West Virginia, was reached at the nearby Bethesda, Maryland, Naval Hospital, where he has been gravely ill.

The floor debate itself, after weeks and days and hours of hot and anxious contention, retained this urgent characteristic as the dinner hour came and went.

The Johnson forces presented telegram after telegram from Federal judges or Federal court officials in the South attesting that Negroes were not barred from Federal jury service in that region.

This was in rebuttal to the charges of the all-out civil rights forces that jury trial issues involving Negro rights in the South would be suspect if Negroes as a class were barred from serving on juries.

The jury-trial proponents also moved to counter the objections of the other side by offering an amendment stipulating that Negroes could not be barred from Federal jury membership in the South.

The advanced civil rights forces remained unconvinced. They argued that while Negroes might indeed be included on Southern Federal jury panels there was the danger that they would not be included in representative numbers.

Labor Backing Cited

Senator Johnson read into the record telegrams from the heads of twelve labor unions demanding that the Senate "preserve or extend the right of trial by jury."

The signers were G. E. Leighty of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers; H. E. Gilbert of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen; Jesse Clark of the Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen; J. B. Springer of the American Train Dispatchers Association; William Calvin of the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Blacksmiths; R. O. Hughes of the Order of Railroad Conductors and Brakemen; W. P. Kennedy of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen; A. J. Bernhardt of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America; W. A. Fleete of the Switchmens Union of North America; Robert Byron of the Sheet Metal Workers International Association; Anthony Matz of the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers, and T. C. Carroll of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Emploes.

In retort to all this the all-out civil rights people pointed out that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organiaztions had issued a statement against any "crippling" jury trial amendment.

The fundamental arguments of the two sides were these:

Administration, or the group opposed to jury trials — A jury trial provision might weaken or emasculate the bill—some used stronger terms than others—and result in a wave of acquittals in the South.

The group favoring jury trials — Formidable civil contempt powers would be untouched in the Administration's bill and these would handle 90 to 95 per cent of al the vote deprivation cases intended to be reached.

At all events, so ran the contention of this group, the sort of offense that would be classified as criminal contempt would amount to a criminal charge and British-American legal tradition demanded the right of jury trial in such cases.

The scene on the Senate floor —and to an even greater extent off the floor—was one of a high but largely underplayed drama of power and passion and deeply conflicting convictions nd hopes.

The Southerners, who had made a jury trial guarantee their irreducible minimum, were being supported at this point by Western Democratic liberals and a handful of Republicans who basically wanted a far stronger bill than their temporary Southern allies.

Knowland Coalition

The Knowland coalition ran from right-wing orthodox Republicans to advanced Democratis liberals such as Senators Wayne Morse of Oregon and Paul H. Douglas of Illinois. This association, too, had its stresses and its internal uneasiness.

Politics on the national scale ran all through the struggle. Senator Knowland is widely considered a possible Presidential rival in 1960 to his fellow Californian, Vice President Richard M. Nixon, the Senate's presiding officer.

On the other side, the Southerners and some of the border state Democrats were making it unmistakably plain to all conceivable party Presidential aspirants that they never would forgive a vote against a modified jury-trial guarantee.

A sense of history touched the atmosphere as well. For the Senate seemed on the way toward eventual enactment of the first substantial and fundamental civil rights legislation since the Reconstruction era that followed the Civil War.

The Chief Provisions Of the Civil Rights Bill

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 1—The Administration's civil rights bill would provide for the following:

Part I—Creation of a Federal Civil Rights Commission, with power to subpoena records, and witnesses, to investigate instances of violations of civil rights and to propose remedies.

Part II—Establishment within the Department of Justice of a special Civil Rights Division.

Part III—Making clear beyond dispute the right of an individual to go on his own into Federal court for injunctions to protect his voting right.

Part IV—Giving the Justice Department authority to intervene, with or without the victim's consent, to obtain injunctions against deprivation of the voting right. Persons refusing to obey such injunctions could be tried without a jury and fined or imprisoned.

SENATE VOTES TO TAKE UP RIGHTS BILL

Daily Tribune
Chicago, Ill.
Wed. 7-17-57

Backs Knowland's Motion, 71-18

P.1

BAR REFUSES APPROVAL

Assembly of American Bar association tables resolution asking indorsement of United State Supreme court. Lawyers told to sptak out against any court decision with which they disagree. Story on page 3.

BY PHILIP DODD

[Chicago Tribune Press Service]

Washington, July 16 — The senate voted 71 to 18 today to begin formal debate on the Eisenhower administration's civil rights bill.

The vote came on a motion by Sen. Knowland [R., Cal.] to make the house-approved

measure the pending business. The motion had been debated eight days.

The action made it possible for the senate to begin considering amendments to the bill.

The next hurdle before actual debate of the bill and action on amendments can begin was to be a motion by Sen. Morse [D., Ore.] to send the measure to the judiciary committee for a week of study.

Byrd Attacks Warren

As the vote on the Knowland approached, Sen. Byrd [D., Va.] delivered a slashing attack on the civil rights bill and asserted Chief Justice Warren of the Supreme court "has done more to destroy our form of government than any chief justice of the United States."

In a speech, the veteran Virginia legislator called Warren "the modern Thaddeus Stevens" and said the civil rights bill would make Atty. Gen. Brownell a "20th century American Caesar."

Thaddeus Stevens was a Pennsylvania congressman who sponsored the Reconstruction act after the Civil war, advocated confiscation of property in the southern states, and took part in the unsuccessful effort to oust President Andrew Johnson, a native of Tennessee.

Called Modern Stevens

"I strongly suspect," Byrd told the senate, "that the modern Thaddeus Stevens, now cloaked in the robes of the chief justice of the United States Supreme court, has a thorough and complete knowledge of what could and would be done under the [civil rights] bill."

Bryd went on to say he believes the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and its "gold dust twin," Americans for Democratic Action, also have knowledge of what the bill proposes.

When Byrd finished, Knowland rose and said he was "saddened" by Byrd's speech. He said he hoped Byrd did not mean to imply there was a conspiracy between the chief justice and the NAACP and ADA.

Recalls Recent Decisions

"I feel," Byrd replied, "that the chief justice has done more to destroy our form of government than any chief justice."

Byrd then recalled recent decisions of the Supreme court outlawing racial segregation in schools, reversing previous decrees which permitted certain forms of segregation, and curbing fedaral prosecution of subversives and congressional investigations.

Kuchel Regrets Statement

"I say with all sincerity," the Virginian asserted, "that if Chief Justice Warren continues such decisions . . . he will destroy the fundamental principles which have made our nation great."

Sen. Kuchel [R., Cal.] said he regretted Byrd's statements. Both Kuchel and Knowland first came to the senate by the appointment route when Warren was governor of California. Both since have nailed down their seats by the election process.

Byrd's reference to Brownell as a potential Caesar grew out of a provision of the civil rights bill giving the attorney general authority to decide when the federal government should seek civil court injunctions to protect voting and other civil rights.

Byrd charged the bill would interfere with the constitutional reservation to the states of the fixing of voting qualifications.

Taking Over Field

"There i sa clear indication," he said, "that the Supreme court as presently constituted is certain in the immediate future to preëmpt the whole field of suffrage to the federal government—the Constitution notwithstanding."

Meanwhile, Republican legislative leaders, after their weekly meeting with the President, reiterated their belief the President will adopt a hands-off policy on proposed changes in the bill.

Knowland told reporters Mr. Eisenhower never has insisted on acceptance of the house bill unchanged and would be in favor of "clarifying" amendments, but no "compromises."

Southerners in Caucus

The southerners met in a secret caucus today and were reported to have named subcommittees "to conduct the debate"—a clear indication discussion of the bill would be long and thorough, if not an all-out filibuster.

Knowland said he could see no reason why voting on amendments should not start late this week.

"The opposition would lose nothing by a few test votes," he said. "They still would have an opportunity to delay action."

Javits Calls On Supporters To "Retreat No More"

By ROSE McKEE

WASHINGTON — Senate GOP leader William F. Knowland said Monday he is willing to meet the challenge of a prolonged filibuster rather than accept a jury trial amendment to the Civil Rights bill.

The Californian, claiming new strength against such a rider, emphasized that he does not want to face a filibuster but he grimly added: "If we are going to have one, I'd just as soon face it now."

TO MAKE STAND

In declaring he was prepared to make the stand, Knowland said that "it is far better to battle it out all summer and fall' 'than to permit approval of the jury trial amendment.

Southerners have strongly hinted that rejection of the amendment would be the signal for a Marathon debate.

Both sides campaigned on and off the senate floor for votes on the close dispute. Southerners are trying to attach to the administration bill an amendment to guarantee a jury trial for those accused of criminal contempt for interfering with a person's right to vote.

NORTHERN SUPPORT

Knowland is leading the opposition to amendment; he is mastering support from some northern democrats and the overwhelming number of Republicans .

White house news secretary James C. Hagerty said he knew of no plans for President Eisenhower to send the Senate a letter or formal statement against the amendment. Knowland who saw the President earlier in the day, told reporters he did not think any further statement from the President is necessary because "he had made his position plain.

TWO CHAMBERS

He noted that if the amendment is debated, there is a possibility the house might accept the senate bil land thus avoid a conference of the two chambers to iron out differences in legislation passed by each.

Knowland pointed out that if a conference became necessary, there is "danger of a stalemate" as well as of a second filibuster if a strengthened bill is returned to the senate.

The house in passing a civil rights bill defeated a jury trial amendment.

"RETREAT NO MORE"

Sen. Jacob Javits (R) N. Y., called on Mr. Eisenhower's supporters to "retreat no more" in the face of what he termed Southern strategy of "creeping defeat" for the bill.

However, Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D) Wash., one of 13 Senate Democrats who voted with the administration last week against watering down the bill, switched his stand today and came out in favor of a jury trial..

Senate judiciary committee chairman James O. Eastland (D) Miss., in supporting the jury trial amendment, declared the bill is a "measure brewed in the kettle of politics and favored with the condiment of discord."

He said that while trial by jury is not infallible, it is "the best protection for the innocent and th protection for the innocent and the guilty yet devosed."

Assistant senate democratic leader Mike Mansfield indicated he will support the amendment. The Montanan congratulated Jackson on coming out for the amendment and said Jackson expressed himself "admirably and in the interests of the country as a whole."

10 1957

1st By Body In 82 Years; Solons Draft Compromise

Defender Sat. 8-17-57 Chicago, Ill.

P. 1

By ROSE McKEE

WASHINGTON—(INS)—House liberals have abandoned their fight against Senate insistence on jury trials for civil rights violators and began drafting a compromise in hopes of speeding the historic bill to the White House.

Evidence of House willingness to accept a compromise mounted in the wake of Senate passage of a watered-down measure Wednesday evening. The 72 to 18 vote of approval marked the first time the Senate had passed a civil rights bill in 82 years.

The Senate-approved bill was formally reported to the House shortly after the chamber convened, but no move was made to send the legislation to conference. Spokesmen for key blocs spent the day in cloakroom strategy maneuvering.

IN VOTE CASES

Northern Democrats, who led a fight which resulted in defeat of a jury trial provision earlier this year, privately acknowledged they will agree to a modified amendment which would require the use of juries in voting rights cases only.

The controversial Senate amendment, condemned by President Eisenhower, would call for juries in all criminal or "willful" contempt cases stemming from labor, anti-trust and other cases as well as civil rights.

The liberal House bloc also was ready to forego any serious effort to restore the so-called Section III to the measure. Eliminated by the Senate, the section would have given the government authority to punish other civil rights violations in addition to denial of voting privileges.

A SURRENDER

Rep. Kenneth Keating (R) N.Y., sponsor of the original House bill, contended the proposed compromise is a "surrender" and asserted he will fight to have the jury trial amendment eliminated entirely and Section III restored.

Senate Democratic Leader Lyndon B. Johnson expressed belief there is a "good chance" the House can act promptly on the measure.

EISENHOWER

The Texan said that if the bill comes back to the Senate with some modification, "The Senate will be reasonable" and forward the legislation to the White House.

Senate Republican Leader William F. Knowland dismissed the groundless reports Congress might be called into special session later this fall if the House and Senate failed to agree on a bill or sent a measure to the White House which the President could not sign.

The Californian conceded that a special session on an important issue is always possible but said he has not discussed such a possibility with anyone.

Urges Ike: Veto Civil Rights Law

Defender P. 1

Sat. 8-17-57

Chicago, Ill.

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president of Morehouse college, last week urged President Eisenhower to veto the emasculated civil rights bill passed by the Senate.

Dr. Mays, in an address at the Midwest World Mission Institute at Northwestern university, expressed sorrow and depression at "what has happened in Washington to the civil rights bill."

"I hope the House does not accept it; and if the House accepts it, I hope the President will have the courage to veto it," the noted educator declared.

Mays said that if the bill passes in its present form, "leading the people to believe they have something when they have nothing, it would be tragic."

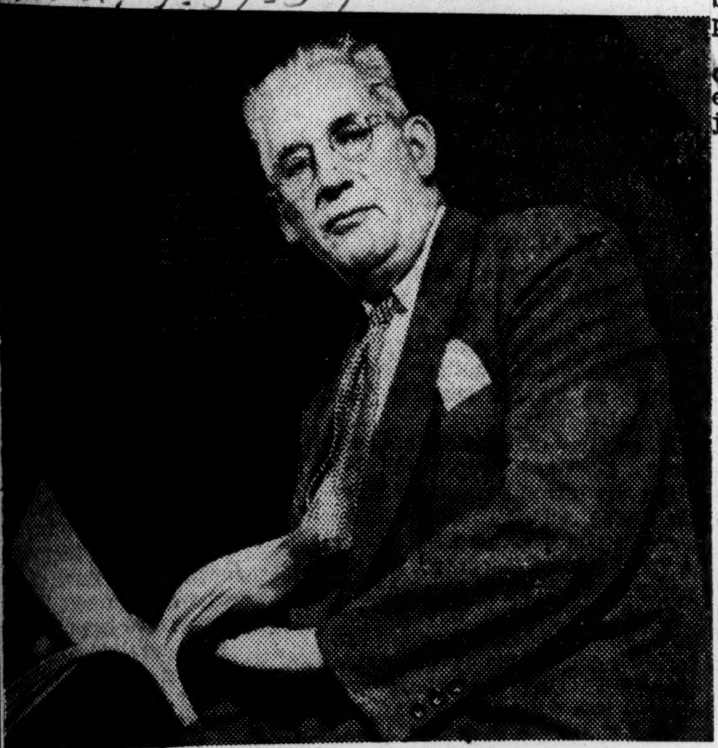
He also predicted that "it would be 25 years before you would get a civil rights bill up again."

"This bill would throw to the wind all the traditions of America by imposing a jury trial between the federal judge and his orders," said Mays.

10 1957

Knight of Civil Rights

Paul Howard Douglas



Scholar in politics who has kept his head

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, July 30—The other night on a television program a reporter asked Senator Paul Howard Douglas whether his championship of the civil rights program might be connected with Chicago's Negro vote.

Man in the News

The Illinois Democrat replied quite simply that he had been an advocate of such a bill twenty years before he entered politics in 1939. Like every Senator, Mr. Douglas is aware of the bill's political potential. But his long fight for equal rights has been powered by deeply held religious feeling and moral conviction, as most of his opponents would readily concede.

Though Mr. Douglas is a practitioner of logical argument, he is an emotional man. During the 1952 debate on the McCarran-Walter Immigration act, tears flowed down his cheeks as he listened to Senator John O. Pastore, Democrat of Rhode Island, tell what the American dream had meant to Italian immigrants, and what their sons were now contributing to the life of his state.

But in the civil rights debate so far, Mr. Douglas has kept his emotions in check. He did so again today on the Senate floor in a long exchange with the Southern leader, Senator Richard B. Russell, Democrat of Georgia.

Research for the Record

Mr. Douglas has read columns of voting statistics into the record—county by county—to back his contention that Negro voters in the South were largely denied the rights guaranteed to them eighty-seven years ago by the Fifteenth Amendment.

On one of the walls of Senator Douglas' office hang prints of Holbein's portraits of Erasmus and Sir Thomas More. The Senator makes a joke of pointing out the prints to visitors and saying, "Now Erasmus there was a scholar who stayed out of politics and kept his head, but Sir Thomas here went into politics and lost his."

Mr. Douglas is the scholar in politics, but he has not lost his head. He had been a Professor of Economics at the University of Chicago for twenty-eight years when he ran for Senator in 1948. He was widely regarded as Jake Arvey's sacrificial lamb in a Republican year. It was true that he had been elected City Alderman in 1939 for the Fifth ("Aristotelian") Ward around the university. But he had been beaten in the Senatorial primaries in 1941.

But the professor turned out to be a terrific campaigner. He made 1,100 speeches, jeeping from town to town. He won by 408,000 votes. Six years later he won again—this time by 241,000.

But the Senator rates much higher with Illinois voters and the academicians than he does with his Senate colleagues. They freely concede his talents, but many of his fellows find him difficult. To put a blunt point upon it, Senator Douglas is not a member of the club.

For one thing, many Senators feel that Mr. Douglas has a tendency to lecture the Senate rather than address it. And some of them resent the impression he seems to convey of being "Mr.-Valiant-for-Truth." They feel he is intolerant not only of compromise—which is the oil of parliamentary government—but also of difference of opinion.

There is a positive side to this righteousness. It was this quality that drove him on to investigate and expose the utility stock manipulations of Samuel Insull. And when President Truman nominated two men to judgeships in Chicago whom the Senator believed unfit to sit on the bench, he fought the nominations and forced the President to withdraw them.

Paul Douglas was born in Salem, Mass., on March 26, 1892. He grew up on a rocky farm near Moosehead Lake in Maine, and worked his way through Bowdoin. He received a master's degree from Columbia in 1915. He received a Ph. D. from Columbia in 1925.

In 1931 he married Emily Taft, the daughter of Lorado Taft, the sculptor of Indian life. From his wife, Mr. Douglas got instruction in Italian art and counsel in the art of politics. While he was away in the Marine Corps during the war (he was badly wounded by mortar and machinegun fire at Okinawa), Mrs. Douglas was elected Representative at large. The Senator lays his 1948 victory to the voters' belief that they were voting for his wife.

Senator Douglas is a voracious reader. He reads a current book and a classic each week. His favorites are Tolstoy's "War and Peace," Sandburg's "Lincoln," John Stewart Mill's "On Liberty," Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations," and John Woolman's "Journal."

On one wall of his office Douglas has hung the portraits of the public figures who represent his ideals of public service — Abraham Lincoln; Senators George W. Norris of Nebraska and "Old Bob" La Follette of Wisconsin; John Peter Altgeld, a liberal Governor of Illinois; Jane Adams of Hull House, and Clarence Darrow, the trial lawyer.

One of his assistants, pointing to the pictures, said "That's the Senator's club."

The Douglases have a daughter, Jean, who teaches school.

MORSE PREVENTS TRUCE IN DEBATE OVER CIVIL RIGHTS

Thwarts a Move to Consider Other Legislation During a Two-Day Armistice

DOUGLAS URGES A VOTE

Also Seeks to Assure South That His Faction Bears No 'Hatred' for the Area

By WILLIAM S. WHITE

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, July 30—A single member of the Senate's all-out civil rights faction thwarted a bipartisan effort today to put the issue briefly aside to deal with pressing legislation in other categories.

Senator Wayne Morse rejected the appeals of both party chiefs for a two-day armistice to permit action on measures to finance governmental departments and to carry forward the foreign aid program.

Mr. Morse, an Oregon Democrat, was in the position to block the maneuver because it required unanimous consent.

The delay had been sought by the Senate Democratic leader, Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, with the support of the Republican leader, William F. Knowland of California.

Senator Knowland is the top commander of a coalition of Republican and Northern and Eastern liberal Democrats that is demanding the approval intact of Part IV of the Administration's civil rights bill.

This, the heart of the measure, would permit Federal prosecutors to obtain injunctions against actual or threatened deprivations of the voting right, with or without the consent of the victim.

Election officials refusing to obey these writs could be tried by a judge and fined or imprisoned for contempt without a jury trial.

Leads Jury Coalition

Senator Johnson is in general command of an opposing coalition made up of Western Democratic liberals, the Southerners and a handful of Republicans.

This group demands the introduction in the bill of the right of jury trial for those charged with criminal, but not civil, contempt in cases growing out of violations of Federal injunctions.

A leading Democrat in the all-out civil rights coalition, Senator Paul H. Douglas of Illinois, challenged the jury trial forces to agree to vote by Monday.

They did not respond to this; they were engaged in an intent search for more strength and were not ready to go to the test until they had improved their position.

Senator Douglas also sought to assure the South that his faction bore no hatred for that area.

One result of the failure of Senators Johnson and Knowland to bring off a cease-fire to permit other legislative action was to leave the departments of Defense and Agriculture without legal authority to spend any money after tomorrow.

Senator Morse told the Senate that he had "deep regret" in voicing his objection, but also a "deep conviction" that it was his duty to do so.

"Now is the time," he shouted, "to fight it out on civil rights one way or another. No department of Government is going to collapse by failure to get fresh appropriations before Aug. 1."

Mr. Morse's action had the effect of denying to the moderate-Southern coalition what by every sign would have been a useful pause for breath in its struggles to put a jury-trial provision into the civil rights bill.

The tide has seemed for two or three days to be running against that group, in the face of an extraordinary degree of unity among the Republicans on the other side of the issue and continued indications that President Eisenhower himself is unwilling to see a jury trial feature added.

Senator Knowland emerged this morning from a White House conference asserting that the President's position was unchanged and expressing a Republican determination "to stay here all winter" if necessary, to pass the bill intact.

Johnson Hits Back

Senator Johnson, who has been urging all factions almost daily to speak and act dispassionately, struck out sharply at this comment, though without mentioning Mr. Knowland by name.

In effect, he accused Senator Knowland of using language tending to incite the all-out Southern opposition into the one act that both leaders have been attempting to avoid—a major filibuster, or a tactic of deliberately time-killing discussion intended to prevent any vote.

Senator Johnson declared:

"There is no point in raising hobgoblins about staying here all winter.

"We can pass an effective bill in a reasonable period of time if we appeal to the best in men—if we don't try to put them in a straightjacket.

"Some people around here may be more concerned with winning votes than ingiving anyone the right to vote."

Reads Lewis Telegram

Senator Johnson put into the record a telegram from John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, supporting the effort of the Johnson coalition to put into the bill a right of jury trial in criminal contempt cases. Mr. Lewis termed this "wise and prudent."

This is encompassed in an

amendment offered by three liberal Democrats, Senators Joseph C. O'Mahoney of Wyoming, Estes Kefauver of Tennessee and Frank Church of Idaho. they would permit Federal judges to act without jury in assessing penalties for civil contempt but would require a jury trial for crominal contempt.

The distinction between the two kinds of contempt—and in the last analysis the judge himself would determine which was which—is explained as follows:

When, an election official refused an injunction to register a qualified Negro he could be sent to jail, but he would be released when he agreed to perform the act required of him. This would be a civil contempt.

But when, a deputy sheriff actively obstructed a court order, say an order not to intimidate a prospective voter, his would be a criminal contempt subject to jury trial.

Some of the all-out civil rights forces say that the civil contempt process would in fact reach 90 to 95 per cent of the vote deprivation cases in the south as they presently occur. They argue, however, that jury trial rights for criminal contempt might be perverted.

The O'Mahoney-Kefauver-Church amendment would grant jury trial to criminal contempt cases not simply on civil rights matters but across the whole field of Federal law. It would grant such trials, for example, to labor leaders in cases arising out of injunctions.

Mr. Lewis' wire was the first public backing given by so powerful a labor leader to this approach.

While Senator Johnson was recording Mr. Lewis on his side, However, the executive committee of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial organizations issued a statement declaring:

"The immediate objecttive of the Senate must be to pass a meaningful civil rights bill. No changes have been proposed to date which would not interfere with prompt and effective enforcement of the court's actions in voting cases.

Would Bar Amendment

"The A. F. L.-C. I. O. reaffirms its belief that there should be no crippling trial-by-jury amendment to the civil rights bill."

The sharpest of the day's debate in the Senate was touched off by another concession that the Johnson forces are prepared to offer to the opposition—a stipulation that the jury trial proviso would not apply in any Federal Court district where Negroes were excluded from jury service.

Some of the advanced civil rights advocates have been arguing that exclusion of Negroes from Federal jury was general in the South.

Senator O'Mahoney arose to assert that this was "utterly false" and that he was collecting "positive and irrefutable evidence" that Negroes in fact widely served on such juries.

Several Southern Senators followed him to confirm the point.

Senator Richard B. Russell, Democrat of Georgia, the Southern leader, declared that Negroes had served on Federal grand and trial juries in the South for three-quarters of a century.

Dixie Hopes To Deprive GOP of Issue

Constitution, Atlanta, Ga. Sat. 8-3-57

BY ALBERT RILEY
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, Aug. 2 — When the Senate passes the modified civil rights bill—probably next Wednesday — Southerners in the House may be asked to swallow their pride and vote to accept the Senate version of the bill.

This Dixie strategy appeared to be shaping up tonight in a Democratic effort to go ahead now and enact a civil rights bill without further wrangling and thus rob the Republicans of a campaign issue in next year's congressional elections.

Such a coup, if the Democratic leadership can carry it out, would also have the effect of ending congressional argument over civil rights at least until 1959.

2 IMPEDIMENTS

It also would clear the way for what now is reported as a target date of Aug. 20 for adjournment of this session of Congress.

There are two serious obstacles to this goal. One is President Eisenhower's denunciation of the modified, right-to-vote, trial-by-jury Senate version of the bill.

The President's sharp attack today could be interpreted as (1.) an effort to put the heat on House Republicans to reject the Senate amendments, or (2.) A threat to veto the bill if the House goes along with the Senate version.

HUDDLE WITH CABINET

The President discussed the congresisonal situation with his Cabinet, then called in James C. Hagerty, the press secretary, to dictate personally his angry comment. This was a departure from the ordinary practice in which aides make the first drafts of presidential statements and then bring them to him for approval.

"My first reaction to the vote in the Senate last night is to extend my sincere appreciation to Sen. Knowland and to those senators who stood with him in valiant and persistent efforts to bring to all our citizens protection in their right to vote—a protection of which many are now deprived," the President said.

"Rarely in our entire legislative history have so many extraneous issues been introduced into the debate in order to confuse both legislators and the public.

"The result cannot fail to be bitterly disappointing to those many millions of Americans who realized that without the minimum protection that was projected in Section 4 of the bill as it passed the House of Representatives, many fellow Americans will continue, in effect, to be disenfranchised.

"Finally, no American can fail to feel the utmost concern that an attempt should be made to interpose jury trial between a federal judge and his legal orders. During our history as a nation, great Americans have pointed out that such a procedure would weaken our whole judicial system and particularly the prestige of the federal judiciary. In this case it will also make largely ineffective the basic purpose of the bill—that of protecting promptly and effectively every American in his right to vote."

The second obstacle is the intransigence of southern House members who have vowed never to vote for any civil rights bill.

NEEDS PRESSURE

In order to get the more moderate Senate version enacted, and avoid sending the bill to a conference committe of the House and Senate, the Democrats will have to get the Southerners in the House to go along.

The alternative would be a conference committee, possibly dominated by liberals, that might recommend killing the Senate amendments. This would throw the entire issue into an uproar again, bring on a filibuster—or threat of one—and mean that Congress would go home without enacting any civil rights bill.

The administration forces could bring the bill up again next January, with greater chances of success. And if they beat the South down, the Republicans could go to the voters in the 1958 congressional campaigns and say:

"Look what we did. We beat down those southern Democrats and passed a strong civil rights bill."

IN CASE OF VETO

If Eisenhower vetoed the bill, the Democrats could say to the minority groups, "Look here, we got you a civil rights bill, but the Republican President would not let you have it."

If the Democrats could go on now and get the more moderate Senate version enacted, they could share the credit for passing the first civil rights bill in 80 years.

And, although the Republicans could blame the Democrats for not getting a stronger bill, their argument couldn't have much steam, since President Eisenhower said, in the first place, that all he wanted was a moderate, right-to-vote bill.

But in order carry off this strategy, the Democrats would have to get their southern wing to go along in the House, since the party membership is nearly equally divided there and the Republicans likely would vote solidly together.

Southerners in the Senate reportedly favor this course of action for two reasons. One is that the Senate version is about the best the South could hope for; the other is they believe the responsible conduct of the Dixie forces in the long Senate debate has picked up some esteem and sympathy for the southern position among the northern public.

Further wrangling and a Southern filibuster in the Senate likely would wipe out these gains.

FILIBUSTER SEEMS OUT

For that reason, the Dixie leadership seems disposed, also, to curb any filibustering in the Senate next Wednesday when the modified bill comes to a vote there.

Sen. Russell, who will hold a caucus of his Dixie colleagues tomorrow, said the southerners have not surrendered any of their rights to unlimited debate. But the signs are clear there will be none.

The Georgian does not regard the modified bill as a moderate measure, but he concedes it certainly is more moderate than the House version.

However, if President Eisenhower should veto it, Russell said that would be one action of the President's he would approve.

10 1957

Rights Fate Hazy As Senate Readies Final Vote Today

Modified Bill Called Threat By Talmadge

Constitution Atlanta, Ga Wed. 8-7-57 P.1

By ALBERT RILEY
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, Aug. 6 — The fate of the civil rights bill for this session of Congress remained uncertain today as the Senate moved toward probable passage tomorrow of a modified version of the measure.

With Republicans insisting on the bill going to a joint Senate-House conference committee, after it passes the Senate, there were increasing signs that Congress may adjourn until next year before any final action is taken.

CUT DOWN IN SENATE

It will go to a conference committee unless the House, which has previously approved the bill, votes to accept the Senate amendments. The Senate stripped the bill to a protection of voting rights with a guarantee of trial by jury in all criminal contempt cases.

Neither the Republicans nor President Eisenhower want the bill in that form, and it appears that Southerners in the House will balk at voting to accept even the Senate version.

Meanwhile, as the Senate droned into the final phases of debate on the bill, it was announced by Sen. Ives (R-NY) as a mere "corpse" or "ghost" of a bill, and by Sen. Talmadge of Georgia as a vicious piece of legislation that could lead to the tyranny of "totalitarian government."

FAITH IN CONFERENCE

Apparentliy voicing the sentiment of most Republicans and Northern Democrats, Ives said he would vote for the bill only with the faith that House conferees will insist on strengthening it.

Expressing the Southern viewpoint, Talmadge said he would vote against the bill he regards as "a real threat to individual rights," despite its modifying amendments.

Democratic Majority Leader Johnson (Tex) said the Senate likely will reach a vote on the bill late tomorrow, or Thursday.

In between the poles-apart descriptions of the bill by Ives and Talmadge were the valuations of it by Johnson and Sen. O'Mahoney (D-Wyo).

Johnson defended the amended bill as one of strength and substance and O'Mahoney said the jury trial amendment he sponsored "in no sense weakens our judicial system" as some administration spokesmen have claimed.

"There are those, of course, who prefer a political issue to an effective bill," Johnson said in a sharp dig at the Republicans.

"There are those who seek to use a large group of our fellow Americans as dupes in a political shell game."

Johnson's attack came after GOP leaders met with Eisenhower at the White House and their leader, Sen. Knowland (Calif), commented that the bill is not satisfactory and should go to a conference committee.

Off stage, another union leader, G. E. Leighty, head of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers, announced support of the bill with its jury trial amendment.

And on the Senate floor, Sen. McNamara (D-Mich) introduced a separate bill to reduce the representation in Congress of any state which denies the right of its citizens to vote.

McNamara last week offered this amendment to the civil rights bill but got support only from a small band of extreme liberals from the North.

Aided by Sen. Thurmond (D-SC), and other Southerners, Talmadge cut loose with a vigorous attack on the bill even with the Senate modifications.

Its very inception, he said, typifies "a trend in certain areas of the country and within both parties that amounts to a vendetta against the South."

It is pushed, he added, for political gain by those "who know nothing of the problems of the South but who profess to have the most wisdom on how to solve these problems."

Talmadge said the long Senate debate, and the action of senators who withstood pressures and voted to amend the bill in the best interests of the country, have strengthened his faith in the nation's constitutional processes.

But he warned that it still has harsh provisions that will turn the courts of the land "into instrumentalities for political action" and will "signal the beginning of the end of our system of government as we know it."

The remedy which the bill "so deviously seeks" is "harsher, by far, than the supposed ills for which a cure is sought," the Georgian said.

Declaring that his greatest objection to the measure is that it transfers the inalienable rights of the citizens to the attorney general of the United States and makes them subject to that official's whims and caprices, Talmadge said:

"We have in this bill yet a naked abandonment of the rights of the individual citizen."

The bill would create a federal commission to investigate alleged violations or threats of violations to a person's right to vote, and would permit the attorney general to get federal court injunctions against such threatened violations.

Under its "vague and all-inclusive language," Talmadge said, the bill would annihilate legislative process, destroy representative government, substitute police state methods for constitutional government, and sweep aside cardinal principles of law and equity.

Although the bill has been amended to prohibit the proposed commission from employing voluntary and uncompensated personnel, Talmadge warned it would still authorize the commission to create "advisory committees."

Passes Senate, 51-42

Herald P.1 Fri. 8-2-57 Miami Fla.

Smashing Blow To President

WASHINGTON —(AP)— The Senate late Thursday night nailed a jury trial amendment into the civil rights bill, thereby dealing a major defeat to President Eisenhower and forces backing the administration measure.

The vote was 51-42.

The amendment was approved at 11:14 p.m. after tense debate before jammed galleries.

It provides for jury trials in criminal contempt cases arising from injunctions the attorney general would be empowered to obtain to enforce voting rights. It also would apply in labor cases and many others.

Only Wednesday President Eisenhower emphasized anew his opposition to a jury trial amendment. And Sen. William Knowland of California, the Senate GOP leader, said it would be "a fatal blow" to the bill.

The amendment was offered by Sens. Joseph O'Mahoney (D., Wyo.), Estes Kefauver (D., Tenn.) and Frank Church (D., Idaho). Southerners backed it solidly and enough Republicans and Northern Democrats joined them to put it across.

A big factor in its success was the adept, buttonholing generalship of Sen. Lyndon Johnson of Texas, Democratic leader and possible contender for the next presidential nomination of his party. Striving to keep Northern and Southern Democrats from flying apart, he strove for what he considered moderating changes in the civil rights bill.

Vice President Richard Nixon had this comment on the Senate action:

"This was one of the saddest days in the history of the Senate because this was a vote against the right to vote."

Southerners were jubilant. Sen. Richard Russell (D., Ga.), leader of the Dixie forces, had warned in advance that they would use "every means" at their command to try to defeat the measure if the jury trial amendment should be rejected.

The vote, taken in the midst of the fourth week of Senate debate on the bill, generally was regarded as making a Southern filibuster against final passage unlikely.

Russell has turned aside questions on that point. But he has said numerous amendments will be offered to other parts of the bill. Under the jury trial amendment adopted Thursday night defendants in criminal contempt proceedings to punish a person for willful disobedience of an injunction or other court order would be entitled to trial by jury.

But in civil contempt cases, where a judge's purpose is only to secure compliance with his order and not to punish, there would be no jury trial.

After the vote, Sen. Gordon Allott (R., Colo.) said "this kills any effective civil rights legislation for this session of congress."

"I regret that we have not been able to set a better example for the other nations of the world and at the same time to give all the people in this country the rights that our founding fathers expected them to have," he said.

JOHNSON

RUSSELL

Senate Version— Civil Rights Bill Near Final Vote

Post-Herald Sat. 8-3-57 B'ham, Ala. P.1

WASHINGTON, Aug. 2 (UP)— Senate, ignoring implied threats of a presidential veto, rushed its watered-down civil rights bill to the brink of passage today. Final approval next week was considered a mere formality.

The Senate completed work on the measure bare hours after the President described as "bitterly disappointing" the Senate's 51-42 action in adding a jury trial proviso to the bill's voting

Rights Bill Foes Win Two Votes

WASHINGTON —(AP)— The Senate bowled over two Republican attempts Tuesday to preserve in the administration's civil rights bill some federal authority to enforce other than voting rights.

In two votes, the Senate defeated attempts by Sens. John Bricker (R., Ohio) and John

COOPER

BRICKER

Sherman Cooper (R., Ky.) to soften provisions of the House-passed bill.

The refusal to soften the provisions evidenced the intention of a majority of the senators to take them out and limit the bill to voting rights.

By a 61-29 vote, the Senate slapped down Bricker's proposal that action to enforce civil rights other than the voting privilege be limited to cases in which the president directed the attorney general to proceed. Bricker had the support of eight Democrats and 21 Republicans. Thirty-nine Democrats and 22 Republicans voted "no."

Florida Sens. Spessard Holland and George A. Smathers voted against the amendment.

Then the Senate defeated a proposal by Cooper to permit the attorney general to intervene in cases where an individual complained a conspiracy existed to deny him certain civil rights in defiance of a court order. The Cooper amendment was defeated 81-8.

As passed by the House, the bill would empower the attorney general to go into federal courts on his own initiative and seek civil injunctions against interference with such things as integration in schools and public places.

The Senate, in a vote due to come Wednesday, appears likely to strike out this section.

rights section. He said the provision threatened the entire judicial system.

Despite the rebuke, the Senate quickly acted on a series of minor amendments and then barred any further changes—a prelude to final passage. But it put off the final vote until next week.

The President's statement, one of the sharpest rebukes he has ever issued to Congress, raised the possibility that he would veto any civil rights bill that reached his desk with the jury trial proviso included.

Senate passage next week will send the battered bill back to the House, which in June approved the tough legislation demanded by the administration. The Senate version will receive a cold reception.

House Republican leaders said the jury trial amendment probably killed the bill, at least for this session. They said the House would never accept the amendment and they expressed doubt that Senate-House conferees could agree on a compromise this year.

But Senate Democrat Leader Lyndon B. Johnson (Texas) said the amendment actually strengthened the bill and paved the way for Senate approval. He called for quick action by conferences on a mutually-acceptable compromise.

Johnson said that "I am as proud of this great legislative body as I've ever been." He said the bill "effectively insures all citizens the right to vote" and that it also introduces a "new principle . . . the right to trial by jury in all criminal contempt cases."

In a jibe at GOP Leader William F. Knowland, who led the fight for the original version of the bill, Johnson recalled that there had been "warnings that he would be here all Winter" and that the Senate could not act on civil rights.

"The Senate has effectively answered those statements," Johnson said.

Knowland said in reply that he would support the bill, but "regretfully."

The Southerners won their greatest victory early today when the Senate, over the President's vehement objections, voted to guarantee jury trials for persons accused of criminal contempt for violating court injunctions designed to protect voting rights.

As the Senate bill now stands it would (1) establish a presidential commission on civil rights; (2) create a civil rights division within the Justice Dept.; (3) protect an individual's right to sue to protect his civil rights and (4) authorize the attorney general to seek voting rights injunctions.

10 1957

'Rights' Program Held No 'Encroachmen[t]'

Courier P. 2
Jan. 2-5-57

Washington, Feb. 4 (AP)—Attorney General Brownell declared today there would be no federal encroachment on states' authority in the Administration's civil-rights program. He urged passage of the legislation to "affirm the Congress' determination to secure equal justice under law for all of our citizens."

Brownell, first witness at a hearing called by the House Judiciary Committee, said the program is designed to protect rights guaranteed by the Constitution through civil action rather than criminal prosecution, as the law now requires.

There was every indication the program faces rough sledding in the House as well as in the Senate. Southern congressmen served notice they were ready to use all parliamentary devices to delay it.

Representative Colmer (D., Miss.), by refusing to let the House ignore rules, succeeded in blocking plans of the Judiciary Committee to meet while the House is in session. This may string the hearings out over a long period.

The program, one of the major pieces of legislative business sent to Congress by Eisenhower, calls for new laws to protect voting rights and provides for civil damage suits where civil rights have been violated, as determined by the courts.

It also calls for creation of a bipartisan commission to investigate reported violations of civil rights and for creation of a civil-rights division in the Justice Department under an assistant attorney general.

Representative Celler (D., N. Y.), chairman of the committee opening the hearings, said:

"We can no longer contend that there is an aristocracy of color: the principle of equality—economically, culturally, and spiritually—has become a standard of definition in these United States."

Ike Turns Down Request by Negroes For a Civil Rights Speech in the South

Constitution Sat. 2-2-57 P. 2
Atl., Ga.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 1 (AP)—The Justice department said today President Eisenhower will not be able to make a major speech in the South on civil rights, as he had been urged to do by anti-segregation leaders.

The department made public a letter disclosing that presidential assistant Sherman Adams, in a Jan. 18 telegram, told the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., of Montgomery, Ala., that "it was not possible for the President to schedule a speaking engagement such as you asked."

The department also disclosed, in response to an inquiry, that it had rejected an "urgent" request for a conference between Atty. Gen. Brownell and representatives of the Southern Negro Leaders Conference on transportation and nonviolent integration.

Such a conference was sought in connection with recent violence attending attempts to end segregation on public transportation systems in the South.

The department said Asst. Atty. Gen. Warren Olney III wired King two weeks ago the department "well understands your interest and position in this matter and no conference is needed to make this clear."

"With respect to specific incidents of violence, a conference at this time would not be helpful or appropriate," Olney told King, whose home has twice recently been the target of attempted bombings.

The wire suggested that any evidence of federal offenses be reported promptly to the FBI or the local U.S. attorney.

The FBI has been investigating a series of bombing incidents in Montgomery to determine if any federal statute was violated. The department today declined to discuss the status of this investigation.

King and his associates on the Negro leaders conference asked Eisenhower in a Jan. 11 telegram "to come South immediately to make a major speech in a major Southern city urging all Southerners to abide by the Supreme Court's decisions as the law of the land."

Eisenhower told a news conference last week the letter from King had been turned over to the Justice department.

A letter from Olney to King made public today noted that Eisenhower in his Jan. 10 State of the Union message urged the American people everywhere "to approach these integration problems with calm and reason, with mutual understanding and good will," and that he had renewed his recommendations to Congress for new civil rights laws.

Negro Chiefs Await Ike's Reply to Plea

World-Telegram + Sun P. 3
Sat. 1-12-57
New York

By the United Press.

ATLANTA, Jan. 12.—Negro leaders behind attempts to integrate city buses in the South waited today for a reply to their appeal to President Eisenhower to end bus segregation and a "state of terror" in Dixie.

There has been no response from the White House to their appeal, which was made last night.

Some 60 Negro integration leaders from nine Southern states wound up a two-day meeting here with a letter urging the President to come South immediately and use the "weight of his office" in the explosive bus segregation dispute.

Roll in Tallahassee.

At the same time the leaders framed the letter, a new test in the dispute arose in Tallahassee, Fla., when city buses started rolling again following an 11-day "cooling off" period.

Florida Gov. Leroy Collins, who suspended Tallahassee bus service New Year's Day following racial violence, withdrew his emergency order after the city commission passed an ordinance giving bus drivers the power to assign seats to passengers.

The integration leaders who met here told Gen. Eisenhower in a letter that "American citizens have been unjustly and brutally attacked at home" as a result of integration attempts in the South.

Referring to recent bombings of the homes of Negro leaders, the letter said "the maintenance of law and order in the nation finally rests . . . directly upon the President."

Ask Major Speeches.

The letter appealed to Gen. Eisenhower to make a major speech in a large southern city urging "Southerners to abide by the Supreme Court's decisions" outlawing school and bus segregation. The Negroes also asked that Vice President Richard M. Nixon make a tour of the South.

The Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., who led a year-long fight to break down the color barrier on Montgomery city buses, was elected president of the group. It was Mr. King's victory when the Supreme Court directly ordered Montgomery buses desegregated that touched off similar integration attempts in Tallahassee, Birmingham, Ala., and more recently here.

Coleman Sees Negro Hurt By Rights Bill

Post-Herald Thurs. 2-7-57 P. 2
B'ham, Ala.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 6 (AP)—A House Judiciary subcommittee today continued hearings on civil rights measures and heard Sen. Javits (R., N. Y.) urge early House action in order to hasten "a decisive struggle" in the Senate.

Another witness, Gov. J. P. Coleman of Mississippi, contended enactment of the measure would make the lot of the Southern Negro "harder, not easier."

Coleman said "the average citizen would refuse to have anything whatsoever to do with the Negro for fear of landing in jail, or being called into court."

It was the governor's contention that a white who associated in any way with a Negro might be taken to court on an accusation of discrimination against such a Negro. Such accusations, he said, could be made by persons fancying themselves aggrieved or through an "honest misunderstanding."

Under such circumstances, he said, "the safe thing to do would be to let the Negroes go from the farms and have nothing to do with them whatsoever."

One provision of the administration program would make it easier to go into federal courts with civil complaints of rights violations. Other sections would set up a special commission to study civil rights problems and create a civil rights division in the Justice Department.

Enactment of the legislation, Coleman said, would result in people becoming suspicious of one another. There would be a continuous uproar, he said, and the legislation would "foment ill will instead of producing good will where we need good will."

Brownell Boosts Civil Rights Bills

Post-Herald P.2
Tues. 2-5-57
B'ham, Ala.

He Contends Passage Won't Encroach Upon State Authority

WASHINGTON, Feb. 4 (AP)—Atty. Gen. Brownell declared today there would be no federal encroachment on states' authority in the administration's civil rights program. He urged passage of the legislation to "affirm the Congress' determination to secure equal justice under the law for all of our citizens."

Brownell, first witness at a hearing called by the House Judiciary Committee, said the program is designed to protect rights guaranteed by the Constitution through civil action rather than by criminal prosecution as the law now requires.

There was every indication the program faces rough sledding in the House as well as in the Senate. Southern congressmen served notice they were ready to use all parliamentary devices to delay it.

Rep. Colmer (D., Miss.) succeeded in blocking plans of the Judiciary Committee to meet while the House is in session. This may string the hearings out over some time.

Under House rules, all but three exempted committees must recess hearings when the House meets unless given unanimous permission to continue. The three committees exempt from the rule are Appropriations, Un-American Activities, and Government Operations.

Colmer objected when Democratic Leader McCormack of Massachusetts requested unanimous consent for the Judiciary Committee to ignore the rule. Such requests usually are granted as a matter of course.

And still to be heard by the committee were a number of officials from Southern states. Rep. Willis (D., La.) said they will offer "formidable" arguments against President Eisenhower's program.

The program, one of the major pieces of legislative business sent to Congress by Eisenhower, calls for new laws to protect voting rights and provides for civil damage suits where civil rights have been violated, as determined by the courts.

It also calls for creation of a bipartisan commission to investigate reported violations of civil rights, and for creation of a civil rights division in the Justice Dept. under an assistant attorney general.

One of the proposed new laws would permit the government to use injunctive powers to prevent violations of civil rights. Under this law the government could seek court orders, in advance of an election, to prevent illegal interference with voters. Under present laws the government can only prosecute after the voter has actually been denied his rights on election day.

Rep. Celler (D., N. Y.), chairman of the committee, opened the hearings by calling for "calmness and deliberation" of all sides, but added: "If ever a time called for the harsh necessity of accommodating one's thinking to changing patterns of life, this is it."

Brownell said "extremists on either hand will not be satisfied" by the program. But, he added, the proposals will "go far to make a living reality of the pledges of equality under law which are embodied in the Constitution." He added:

"None of these four proposals . . . would extend or increase the area of civil rights in which federal jurisdiction as defined by the court exists today. These rights are now protected by amendments to the Constitution and when they are violated the government may now act under existing criminal law.

"These proposals are designed to give us the means intelligently to meet our responsibilities and to safeguard the constitutional rights of all the people."

In his opening statement, Celler said "We can no longer contend that there is an aristocracy of color: the principle of equality—economically, culturally and spiritually—has become a standard of definition in these United States.

By Georgia Attorney General—

Civil Rights Bill Called U. S. Gestapo Prelude

Post-Herald
B'ham, Ala.
Tues. 2-21-57

WASHINGTON, Feb. 20 (AP)— Georgia's attorney general today pictured President Eisenhower's civil rights program as leading to "a federal Gestapo" that would cater to Negro pressure groups "inspired by the communistic ideologies of the police state."

Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook said enactment of the bills would lead to intimidation of a majority of Americans "to appease the vociferous minorities which . . . have now apparently wrested control of our government from the people."

Cook, in a 24-page brief filed at a public hearing of a Senate judiciary subcommittee, didn't say just what "politically powerful minority pressure groups" he was accusing of police state leanings. But he indicated that one group he had in mind was the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People.

"Save only the Communist party," he said, "the most aggressive proponent of these civil rights measures is the NAACP."

Cook said the Eisenhower progam would "inevitably destroy the states" and lead to the stirring up of civil rights litigation to justify the cost of a "new board of bureaucrats" which would oversee the program.

The Georgia official couldn't appear personally at the hearing on civil rights legislation. Confined to a hospital by a virus infection, he assigned an aide of Sen. Talmadge (D., Ga.) to file his brief.

Charles J. Bloch of Macon, Ga., a past president of the Georgia Bar Assn., testified in opposition to the bills. He said he appeared "on behalf of the great majority of the people of Georgia, at the request of our governor."

Bloch expressed hope Congress would "co-operate with us in securing a reversal" of the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision. The lawmakers should do that, he said, instead of pressing for "unconstitutional, unwise" civil rights legislation.

The Eisenhower bills call for creation of a special commission to investigate civil rights problems, the establishment of a civil rights division in the Justice Department, and authority for the federal government to seek federal court remedies to protect voting rights and other civil rights.

Cook said the proposed civil rights commission "would result in the creation of a federal Gestapo which would hold needless investigations, pry into the affairs of the states and their citizens, and intimidate a majority of our citizens."

He said the commission would have such a free hand in spending its funds it presumably might contribute to the Communist Party "if it determined that such would promote the cause of racial amalgamation."

Attacking the idea of a civil rights division in the Justice Department, Cook declared that Atty. Gen. Brownell has said civil rights complaints are at an all-time low.

Thomas L. Stokes

Constitution

Civil Rights Storm To Burst on Senate

Atlanta Ga.
Wed. 2-20-57

WASHINGTON—A political poker game over civil rights legislation is going on in Congress. At this early stage Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell Jr., who is sitting in for the Eisenhower administration and the Republican Party, seems to hold the best cards. As the play goes on across committee tables at the Capitol, the principals and most everybody else is conscious of the political stakes.

At times the political stakes claim more attention than the deeper issue involved, which is the protection of citizens in exercise of their rights, including the right to vote.

It is the Democrats who find themselves in a dilemma that could damage their party seriously. The evidence is plain for all to read in the swing of Negro votes in the last election to President Eisenhower, not only in the North but also in the South. In the South the shift became a factor in helping the Republicans to break the once-solid South twice in a row. The reason for the shift also is plain—the blocking of civil rights legislation in the Democratic-controlled Senate last year toward the close of Congress and on the eve of the political campaign.

Atty. Gen. Brownell did not miss the lesson for his party in that shift of Negro voters. So, while a year ago he delayed submission of a civil rights program to Congress until late in the session, this time he came in quite early with his program. It is a moderate one and currently the subject of public hearings in House and Senate.

Against that program Southern Democrats are ready to raise all possible barriers. They are frank about that. But Chairman Celler (D-NY), of the House Judiciary Committee, has set a deadline for the end of hearings on Feb. 26 and the bill is expected to pass the House at a not too distant date.

The problem again is the Senate, as it was last year.

There Sen. Hennings (D-Mo), chairman of the Senate Judiciary Constitutional Rights Subcommittee, tried to avoid hearings again by his group or at least to curtail this year's hearings. But Sen. Eastland (D-Miss), judiciary committee chairman, added a couple of Southern Democrats to the subcommittee who helped to forestall any hasty procedure.

The leisurely pace last week was due largely to the deliberate pace set by one of the Southerners—Sen. Sam Ervin (D-NC), who used to be a state supreme court justice.

Sen. Ervin adopted rather the manner of the Southern country lawyer in his cross-examination of Atty. Gen. Brownell, spinning it out in such detail about legal technicalities that the attorney general had to return twice after his initial appearance. Sen Ervin found a match in the attorney general, who knows a few tricks himself and is apt and quick at repartee.

Mr. Brownell is aware that the Eisenhower administration is likely to gain, whatever happens. Dilatory tactics by Southern Democrats will react unfavorably for that party among Negro voters, while adoption of the program will help the administration and the Republican Party.

Rights Foe Sees Little Chance To Defeat Bill

Evening Star
Washington D.C.
Tues. 2-12-57

By ROBERT K. WALSH

Chances of beating a Federal civil rights bill in Congress this year seemed dim today to at least one House leader in the fight against such legislation.

Even a Senate filibuster might fail to stop enactment of a civil rights measure, Representative Lanham, Democrat of Georgia, said in a circular letter to his constituents.

"We will do everything possible to delay and defeat that bill," he promised. "Our Southern Senators will try to talk the bill to death in the Senate if it passes the House. But the proponents are pushing it forward so early in the session that it will be difficult to kill the bill by filibuster."

The House Judiciary Subcommittee which held four days of hearings last week will resume open meetings tomorrow for what it hopes will be only two days. That prospect itself seemed dim today when additional State officials and House members indicated they would ask to be heard in opposition to civil rights bills.

The subcommittee as well as the full committee, both headed by Representative Celler of New York, was attacked in Mr. Lanham's letter as being "stacked against us." The subcommittee has no members from Southern States. The full committee of 32 members has 12 members from Southern or border States. Mr. Lanham conceded that a civil rights bill probably will be reported out by the House committee.

The House last July passed a bill similar to one sponsored this year by Representative Keating, Republican of New York, and backed by the Eisenhower administration. Besides the Keating bill and a considerably broader measure introduced by Mr. Celler, more than 40 other civil rights bills are being considered by the subcommittee.

10 1957

Mr. Eisenhower And Congress

Journal + Guide · Sat. 9-9-57
Norfolk, Va. P. 9

First Civil Rights Bill In 82 Years Highlight Of Session; Solons Go Home

By ROSE McKEE

WASHINGTON — (INS) — The first session of the Democratic-controlled 85th Congress adjourned Friday with majority and minority leaders clashing over the legislative boxscore.

The finale found senators and representatives showing the strain of the long session, marked by hot controversy and spectacular investigations, but for the most part happy over passage of the historic civil rights bill.

* * *

THE RIGHTS measure, first of its kind in 82 years, cleared the Senate Thursday night, delayed by a record, 24-hour-26-minute one-man filibuster staged by Sen. Strom Thurmond (D) S. C. House approval came earlier in the week.

Six Republican Senators declared in a joint statement that Thurmond's filibuster had strengthened their determination to seek next year a change in Senate rules so "talkathons" can be more easily choked off.

* * *

THE SIX were Sens. Clifford Case, N. J.; Irving Ives, N. Y.; Jacob K. Javits, N. Y.; Thomas Kuchel, Calif.; Charles E. Potter, Mich., and Edward J. Thye, Minn.

Many of the stormiest issues were put over until next year. Political figures will squabble in the meantime over whether the accomplishments or failures outweigh each other. But the record on each is clear.

First, here are the achievements:

* * *

THE PRESIDENT asked passage of a four-point civil rights bill. He got a three-point, compromise bill but it was the first legislation against racial discrimination to get throufh Congress in 82 years. The bill is essentially what Mr. Eisenhower wanted—a measure to protect voting rights of Negroes

Mr. Eisenhower made two big new global requests—and he got them both. Congress approved his Middle East Doctrine to check Communist advances and end the crisis in the Suez Canal.

* * *

IT RATIFIED U. S. membership in the world Atoms-For-Peace Agency—a cherished Eisenhower proposal—that is to have its first meeting this fall.

The Chief Executive got his demand for another continuation of three billion dollars in Korean War excise and corporation taxes.

* * *

FOR THE farmers, the administration won a fight for extension of the soil bank program of subsidies. Mr. Eisenhower asked no new, major farm program. But there were fringe benefits such as expansion of overseas sales of farm surpluses and the law permitting their barter for strategic materials from behind the iron curtain. And the Soil Bank was renewed.

Congress about doubled Mr. Eisenhower's housing order by approving a nearly two billion dollar program. It expands slum clearance and lowers terms on federally insured home mortgages.

* * *

THE AVERAGE businessman got a continuation of the Small Business Administration set up to aid him and it was given larger loan authority. But Congress declined to make the agency permanent, as the White House asked.

Responding to other Presidential recommendations, Congress passed the long-stalled Niagara power bill, raised the interest on U. S. Savings Bonds and deferred interest payments on the British loan.

* * *

ON SOME issues, the record was neither entirely white nor black. The President wanted overall revision of the immigration act, but won only an "emergency" bill easing hardship cases.

The biggest outright failure of the year was the defeat of the school construction bill. Republicans and southern Democrats teamed up in the House to kill legislation and hand the President his most stinging setback.

OTHER Presidential requests turned down included statehood for Hawaii and Alaska, a bill setting up procedure for a successor in event a President is disabled and an increase in the minimum wage.

The President asked Congress to help midwestern corn-growers by allowing them to increase allowable planted acreage. The House killed the plan when the farm bloc split in two along party lines.

* * *

LAWMAKERS balked at dipping into the public purse for five and one-half of the 65 billion dollars the President wanted in new spending money for the varied activities of the government.

Congress buried his plea for a hike in postal rates but sent him pay raises for postal and federal workers which he did not want.

Another dark-side entry was failure to put the U. S. into the World Trade Agency set up to administer tariffs. A bill to ease regulations of naturel gas died along the way but it had only lukewarm administration support.

Many of the bills that got in the shuffle will be revived in the second session starting in January.

10 1957

The Washington Merry-Go-Round

Civil Rights Ike's No. 1 'Must'

Post

By Drew Pearson

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER made it clear to Republican congressional chiefs at a closed-door White House meeting the other day that civil rights legislation is at the top of his "must" list for Congress. The way to lick the would-be filibusterers against civil rights, Mr. Eisenhower said, is to beat them to the punch.

"If we hope to get a bill through this session we must get started on it right away," he declared. "The longer we wait, the greater the chance of running into a time-killing filibuster."

Jun. 2-3-57

The President apparently had studied Senate filibustering tactics.

"If we wait until May or June to get the bill out of committee and onto the Senate floor," he continued, "the chances of approval are mighty slim, it seems to me."

Ike referred, of course, to the fact that filibustering tactics are always most effective toward the end of a session when members are tired and want to go home.

House GOP leader Joe Martin, who has no filibuster problems, was somewhat more enthusiastic than his Senate counterpart, Bill Knowland of California. Knowland assured Mr. Eisenhower of his support, but said that the final outcome would depend as much on Northern Democratic liberals as on his Senate GOP cohorts.

Washington, D.C.

"If we get to your civil rights program in time, we'll pass it, Mr. President," intoned the deep-voiced Californian. "I'll do the best I can."

P.5-2

Shortly thereafter, the Senate Constitutional Rights subcommittee voted 5 to 2 against the President. Sens. Tom Hennings (Mo.) and O'Mahoney (Wyo.), both Democrats, voted with the President's idea of immediate consideration of the civil rights bill. But three Republicans—Watkins (Utah), Langer (N. D.), and Hruska (Neb.)—voted with two Southern Democrats, Johnston (S. C.) and Irvin (N. C.), to delay consideration.

Battle Over Labor Committee

Not many people realize how the tactics of one potent congressional committee chairman can block legislation affecting millions of people. Such a chairman is Graham Barden, charming, courtly Congressman from North Carolina who for years has exercised one-man rule over the House Education and Labor Committee. His refusal to hold meetings in the past delayed new schools and higher minimum wages.

The other day, a group of Young Turk Congressmen revolted against Barden's long-time one-man rule. They won part of their battle. But he won the right to block Negro Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, the Harlem Democrat who bolted to Ike. The inside story indicates how legislative battles are sometimes decided backstage on Capitol Hill.

The Young Turk Congressmen, Udall of Arizona, Metcalf of Montana, Roosevelt of California, Thompson of New Jersey and Mrs. Green of Oregon, had carefully planned their strategy for six months. They even sent Jimmy Roosevelt on a secret mission to Texas last month to clear their plans with Speaker Rayburn.

So when the Labor Committee met, the Young Turks were ready with a new set of rules, drafted by Udall, which they planned to ram down Barden's throat. They felt confident of Republican support if a test vote was needed.

Barden, however, outsmarted them. Secretly he had his own new set of rules drawn up, surrendering part of his power, but not all. He also slipped a copy to Rep. Sam McConnell of Pennsylvania, top-ranking Republican on the Committee.

Barden knew, of course, that McConnell was on the spot. Republican orators had publicly berated Barden for hamstringing labor legislation. Yet actually, they didn't want much labor legislation—only enough to win votes. Barden knew, therefore, that McConnell would go along with his plan to keep certain controls in conservative hands.

Sure enough, McConnell called a confidential caucus of the GOP Committee members, decided to back the Democratic chairman against other rebellious Democrats.

When the votes were tallied, Barden won, 19 to 9, against Powell. Not a single Republican voted for Powell, though the Harlem Democrat had campaigned for Mr. Eisenhower and swung thousands of Negro votes in November.

Most important result of all this maneuvering is that subcommittees will now handle labor and school problems and legislation will not be bottled up by Barden in one big central committee.

Ike's Apples and Peaches

SEN. ROBERT KERR (D-Okla.) writes in his latest newsletter to his constituents that he's worried about Ike's grasp of farm problems.

"During his recent tour of the drought area," says Kerr, "I was amazed to read that he even mistook a peach tree for an apple tree on the Oklahoma farm he visited.

"Now, that is really an ignorance of fundamentals. Just think: if Eve, in the Garden of Eden, hadn't known the difference between an apple and a peach, what a barren world this would be!"

Senate Buzzer Blocks Move On Civil Rights

Afro American P.12

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON (NNPA) — Efforts of Sen. Thomas C. Hennings, (D., Mo.) to get civil rights legislation off to an early start stalled Tuesday when the convening of the Senate broke up a Senate Judiciary Committee meeting.

Senator Hennings, a member of the committee, had read a statement asking the committee to adopt a resolution fixing a date for the end of hearings on civil rights bills and a time to vote for reporting such measures to the Senate.

He had begun to read the resolution when the Senate's buzzer (a bell system) announced that the Senate was in session.

Without waiting for a formal vote to end the committee meeting, several Senators exclaimed: "The Senate's in session," and walked out.

Senate rules forbid a committee to meet while the Senate is in session without permission.

Sat. 2-2-57

THE TEXT of the resolution, the adoption of which Senator Hennings moved, follows:

"Resolved, that the Committee on the Judiciary of the United States Senate, favoring the early enactment of civil rights legislation in the first session of the 85th Congress, hereby agrees to take the following action:

"(a) To complete any and all hearings on the subject of civil rights prior to Feb. 18, 1957; and

"(b) To vote on civil rights legislation to report to the Senate within one week after the conclusion of said hearings."

Baltimore, Md.

SENATOR Hennings said he will offer the same resolution at the next meeting of the Judiciary Committee.

Before the meeting broke up the Missouri Senator asked that the resolution be adopted, and vote to report civil rights bills to the Senate "early in this session so that there will be a real opportunity for the United States Senate to act on this pressing matter.

"I sincerely believe that there is absolutely no necessity for long-drawn out hearings," Hennings said, adding:

"I really feel that we are all aware of the various points of view which prevail in our country today and, therefore, further hearings are not necessary.

* * *

"HOWEVER, I am perfectly willing to agree to a reasonable amount of hearings in the full committee immediately, with the definite understanding that undue delay in getting down to a vote on the legislation will not be permitted.

"In attempting to reach a decision about what 'a reasonable amount' of time for hearings may be, I am suggesting that a period of two weeks should be ample time to hear witnesses presenting differing views on the subject.

"By setting a definite deadline for the completion of civil rights hearings, we should be able to proceed in an orderly and expeditious manner to a vote in committee on the legislation in order that it may go to the Senate calendar at a date sometime in February."

Originally, Senator Hennings had planned to report from the Constitutional Rights Subcommittee, of which he is chairman, the four civil rights bills which the subcommittee reported last year, but which were kept bottled up.

HENNINGS SAID he did not plan to hold a subcommittee meeting but would telephone to other members, Senators Joseph C. O'Mahoney, (D. Wyo.) and William Langer (R. N.D.), and get their consent.

O'Mahoney and Langer are co-sponsors of the Hennings bills, which would:

1. Protect the voting rights of all citizens in Federal elections, including primaries,
2. Establish a civil rights division in the Justice Department,
3. Protect members of the armed forces against bodily attack, and
4. Outlaw lynching and mob violence.

* * *

SEN. JAMES O. EASTLAND, of Mississippi, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, apparently has thwarted Hennings' plan.

The meeting of the Judiciary Committee Tuesday was an organizational one. Eastland reappointed Hennings chairman of the Constitutional Rights subcommittee and also reappointed O'Mahoney and Langer to membership.

He enlarged the subcommittee, however, from three to seven members.

Two of the new members are Senators Olin D. Johnston of South Carolina and Sam J. Ervin of North Carolina, both Democrats, and both hostile to civil rights legislation.

The two Republican members added were Senators William E. Jenner of Indiana and Roman L. Hruska of Nebraska. Jenner and Hruska customarily vote with Eastland on civil rights legislation.

* * *

JOHNSTON IS certain to seek to delay any action on civil rights bills by the subcommittee. Ervin and Hruska are new members of the Judiciary Committee and may insist on hearings before the subcommittee acts.

Eastland with the aid of Johnston and other anti-civil rights Senators was able to keep the hearings going until Congress recessed late last July.

Eastland told newsmen after the committee meeting that he had increased the membership on the Constitutional Rights subcommittee because about 60 civil rights bills have been introduced.

Three members of the Constitutional Rights subcommittee all signed the four same civil rights bills, he said. "The authors of the other bills should be given representation," he added.

SMITH CLAIMS ODDS FAVOR CIVIL RIGHTS

Commercial Appeal
Memphis, Tenn.

Representative Says South To Stand By 'Guns'

Fri. 2-1-57

From The Commercial Appeal Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, Jan. 31.—Representative Frank E. Smith (D., Miss.) advised his constituents Thursday that Southerners in Congress this year face "the heaviest possible odds" in their fight to prevent passage of civil rights legislation. news letter, that "Southerners He declared, in his weekly are going to use every resource to defeat the legislation," and reiterated his personal opposition to civil rights measures.

But he added that "virtually all members of both parties outside the South are committed to support the legislation."

"The story of the Civil War makes clear the folly of attempting to resolve by law problems of such deep personal and sectional division as is proposed in the civil rights legislation," he said.

"The resort to arms in the War Between the States settled the question of whether the individual states could secede from the Union. The added tragedy of reconstruction, however, made clear that the people of the South could not be made to accept outside control of their political and social order, even when the outside control had the support of the entire Federal Government and an army of occupation.

"This new attempt to resolve social questions by Federal law can only serve to stir up more problems and new discord, just as have similar efforts to solve these problems by judicial fiat. The lessons of history are plainly written here, even though they appear to be receiving scant attention."

Chances Appear Good For Civil Rights Legislation In Congress

Defender Sat. 2-9-57 Chicago, Ill. P.4

By ETHEL L. PAYNE

WASHINGTON — Thus far in this session of Congress, the chances for early action on civil rights measures look fairly optimistc. This is based on an analysis of committee assignments and the patient, repeated tallying of individual senators and congressmen to get their views.

No bill, particularly aything on civil rights passes by accident. Always there must be the careful groundwork and feeling out of legislators. Frequently, this is based on the particular climate back in his home district. Sometimes, it is based on the overall prospects for the party, as it so happens now is the mood, but always the way he votes is usually the way a legislator thinks his district will feel and it requires extremely skillful lobbying to keep abreast of the political thinking on Capitol Hill.

Beyond the committee action stage, no seasoned observer of legislative proceedings would venture to forecast passage of civil rights legislation during this session of Congress; but sufficient to say, the outlook is brighter than it has ever been in the past. This cautious estimate was made by Clarence Mitchell, director of the **Washington Bureau of the NAACP and a veteran sentry for civil rights legislation on the Hill.**

This week, committee assignments were completed and Mitchell has polled just about every person on the two committees in Congress through which civil rights must make its first and all-important test; for unless these committees vote the bills out, they have virually no chance of reaching the floor for a vote.

The two committees are the House Judiciary and the Senate Judiciary. Chairman of the House Committee is Rep. Emanuel Celler (D.- N. Y.) a supporter of rights legislation and chairman of the Senate is an implacable foe of rights, Sen. James O. Eastland (D. Miss.) Here is the way the two committees shape up as of the moment.

Member	Probable Vote
Democrats	For or Against
Emanuel Celler, N. Y.	Yes
Francis E. Walter, Pa.	Yes
Michael A. Feighan, Ohio	Yes
Frank Chelf, Ky.	No
Edwin E. Willis, La.	No
James B. Frazier, jr. Tenn	No
Peter Rodino, N. J.	Yes
E. L. Forrester, Ga.	No
Byron G. Rogers, Colo.	Yes
Harold D. Donohue, Mass.	Yes
Jack B. Brooks, Texas	No
William M. Tuck, Va.	No
Robert T. Ashmore, S. C.	No
Charles A. Boyle, Ill.	Yes
Earl Chudoff, Pa.	Yes
John Dowdy, Texas	No
Lester Holtzman, N. Y.	Yes
REPUBLICANS	
Kenneth B. Keating, N. Y.	Yes
William M. McCulloch, Ohio	Yes
Patrick J. Hillings, Cal.	Yes
William E. Miller, N. Y.*	?
Dean P. Taylor, N. Y.	Yes
Usher L. Burdick, N. D.*	?
Laurence Curtis, Mass.	Yes
John M. Robsion, jr., Ky.	Yes
DeWitt S. Hyde, Md.	Yes
Richard H. Poff, Va.	No
William H. Cramer, Fla.*	?
Arch A. Moore, jr., W. Va.	Yes
Russell W. Keeney, Ill.	Yes
F. Jay Nimtz, Ind.	Yes

(* Undecided)

Breakdown of totals 19 9 3
Democrats — Yes — 9
Republicans Yes — 10
Democrats No — 8
Republicans No — 1
Republicans Undecided — 3

Member	Probable Vote
Democrats	For Or Against Civil Rights
James O. Eastland, Miss.	No
Estes Kefauver, Tenn.	Yes
Olin D. Johnston, S. C.	No
Thomas C. Hennings, jr. Mo.	Yes
Joseph C. O'Mahoney, Wyo.	Yes
John L. McClellan, Ark.	No
Matthew M. Neeley, W Va.*	?
Sam J. Ervin, jr. N. C.	No
Alexander Wiley, Wis.	Yes
REPUBLICANS	
William Langer, N. D.	Yes
William E. Jenner, Ind.*	?
Arthur V. Watkins, Utah	Yes
Everett M. Dirksen, Ill.	Yes
John Marshall Butler, Md.	Yes
Roman L Hruska; Neb*	?

* (Undecided) 8 4 3

Breakdown of totals
Democrats yes — 3
Republicans yes — 5
Undecided Dems — 1
Undecided GOP — 2

It must be explained that Sen. Matthew Neeley of West Virginia is already recorded as favoring civil rights bills; but because he is still hospitalized from an accident, he may not be present to vote yes.

The margin in the Senate in favor of passage is very thin, just a bare minority. The House opened hearings on Feb. 4 to last for four days. Among those scheduled to testify are Atty. General Emanuel Celler, Rep. John Keating, Rep. Patrick Hillings, Rep. James Roosevelt, Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, Rep John Dingell (D Mich) Rep Hugh Scott, (R. Pa.,) and Rep. John Baldell (D. Mich) Rep. Hugh Scott, win (R. Cal.) all in favor of the bills.

Chairman Celler announced this week that he has received requests to appear before the committee and testify against civil rights from Govs. James P. Coleman, Miss.; Luther Hodge, N. C.; and George Bell Timmerman, S. C.

In addition, Charles J. Block, a lawyer of Macon will appear for Gov. Marvin Griffin of Georgia and the attorney general of Georgia, Eugene Cook will testify.

Southerners Assail Civil Rights Program

Inquirer Fri. 2-8-57 P.2
Philadelphia, Pa.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 7 (AP).—Southern witnesses denounced President Eisenhower's civil rights program today as containing the seed of a "Soviet type gestapo."

Critics from Georgia and Alabama opened such a broadside before a House Judiciary subcommittee that northern members protested vigorously against what they called "inflammatory" statements.

"Enactment of this legislation," Attorney General Eugene Cook of Georgia said, "would result in creation of a Federal gestapo which would hold needless investigations, pry into the affairs of the States and their citizens, and intimidate a majority of our citizens solely to appease the politically powerful minority pressure groups inspired by the communistic ideologies of the police state."

JUDGE SPEAKS UP

Rep. Henderson Lanham (D., Ga.), appearing as a witness against the civil rights legislation, said, "Stalin himself could not have conceived" as effective a surrender of local powers as the program would authorize.

Circuit Judge George C. Wallace of Clayton, Ala., told the subcommittee he was "not going to permit any unlawful interference by the Federal police in my district." He said he would "order the arrest of any Federal agent" who came into his judicial district and "demanded" the jury list.

Wallace said he was referring to an incident in which he said FBI agents "took over the courthouse" in Cobb County, Ga.

STATEMENT ASSAILED

Chairman Emanuel Celler (D., N. Y.) told Wallace this was a "high-handed" statement, adding that it was the FBI's duty to determine whether constitutional guarantees were being violated.

Rep. Kenneth B. Keating (R., N. Y.), a subcommittee member, contended the FBI went into Georgia to determine whether Negroes were being systematically excluded from jury duty in a Cobb County rape case.

Testimony favoring the legislation came from Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers, who said it was time for Congress to change its "do-nothing record" on civil rights.

CONTENTION OF REUTHER

Reuther contended States, communities and labor unions were making progress in eliminating racial and religious discrimination and "only Congress has failed to act."

10 1957

TODAY IN NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Battle Over 'Civil Rights'

Proposed Legislation Would Further Abridge The Rights Of The States

BY DAVID LAWRENCE

WASHINGTON

BACK OF THE PRESENT controversy in the Senate as to whether debate shall be limited or unlimited is a larger battle over "civil rights" legislation, shortly to be pressed for passage, which would give the federal government police rights in the states never before granted by any law of Congress.

Perhaps another way of describing it is to say that it is a battle over constitutional rights.

Time was when every state in the Union sent two senators to Washington specifically to protect the rights of those states.

Today, no matter how vigorously the senators from the Southern states may protest against the loss of the constitutional rights of their own states, an arbitrary majority of the Supreme Court of the United States can apparently take away those rights. Hence, there is a great risk to the South in allowing any laws—abridging the rights of the states—to be passed by the Senate which would be put up to the present Supreme Court to rule upon as to constitutionality. For the Supreme Court has revealed itself in decision after decision in recent months as ready to cut down the rights of the states to govern themselves in matters of education and the maintenance of order—both of which have long been recognized as issues for state governments and courts to handle.

Abuses Of Power Lead To Further Abuses

ABUSES OF power lead to further abuses of power. The Constitution does not spell out the limits of every right or privilege, so it is up to the Supreme Court to interpret them.

Today American judges, using the power of injunction that has no limits placed upon it either as to time or scope, apparently may order citizens arrested and, without jury trial, punish them if they appear to have violated the terms of a sweeping injunction.

Precisely this situation has arisen in Clinton, Tenn., where a federal judge has issued about as broad an injunction as has ever come from the judiciary. It has been used to arrest persons who were not parties to the original Supreme Court order such as local school boards and state governments. It has been construed so as to arrest citizens exercising their right of free speech. Cases of intimidation by one citizen as against another have arisen, but these have been hitherto handled by state courts and not by federal injunction.

This has always been the constitutional rule. In fact, in February, 1950, the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals of the Eighth Circuit held that the district court had no jurisdiction to enter a decree "enjoining the world at large" and that the defendants who were not parties to the original action in which the injunction was issued could not be adjudged in contempt. Judge Learned Hand of the Second U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals ruled the same way in a notable case.

Southerners Will Fight With Delaying Tactics

NOW THE SOUTH, fearing that a new set of "civil rights" laws may be passed, is disturbed about what may be done with the broadened power of judicial injunction. So the Southerners in the Senate are not going to let any new laws on "civil rights" get through Congress, even if they have to block them by filibusters and delaying tactics.

No legislative body in the world has been as careful to protect the rights of the minority in its ranks as has the United States Senate. "Filibustering" has been denounced again and again as obstructive, but those in the minority nevertheless have been able to stop impulsive action and the passage of many unwise measures by compelling a thorough discussion. A "cloture" can, under existing rules, be invoked to cut off debate whenever two-thirds of the senators want to do so. The new effort is aimed at amending the rules so that a simple majority of 49 can override the will of 47 in the Senate.

The Constitution provides that there must be a two-thirds vote to ratify a treaty—and often important rights of the states are involved. The Constitution does not say whether a simple majority or two-thirds shall cut off debate in the Senate but says merely that each house of Congress shall adopt its own rules. Last week the Senate, by a simple majority vote of 55-to-38, refused to adopt a new set of rules. So the old rules still prevail and, as long as at least one-third of the senators stand up for states' rights, they can be prolonged discussion prevent any bills from being voted on in the upper house of Congress that could cut down the rights of the states.—©

Negro Leaders Urge Plea by Ike to South

Want Him To Visit A Major Southern City, Give 'Wise Counsel' on Civil-Rights Disorders

From Wire Dispatches

A Southern Negro leadership conference in Atlanta called on President Eisenhower yesterday to "come immediately" to some principal Southern city and speak words of "wise counsel" on civil-rights disorders.

In a telegram to the White House the Negro leaders recommended that the President make a "major speech" urging all Southerners to abide by the decisions of the Supreme Court on civil rights issues as the "law of the land."

They also suggested that the President "use the weight of your great office" in underscoring to Southerners the "moral nature of the problem posed at home and abroad by the unsolved civil-rights issue."

Results of a Gallup Poll, taken on the Supreme Court ruling on desegregation, will be reported tomorrow in The Passing Show.

In another telegram, sent to Vice-President Nixon, the 60 Negroes from 29 communities asked that he make a tour of the South "similar to the one made in behalf of Hungarian refugees."

"We told him," the conferees reported, "that through such a trip he could report to the president and the American people the economic boycotts and reprisals, the bombing and violence, directed against the persons of homes and Negroes who assert their rights under the constitution."

Tallahassee Bus Service Ordered Resumed

At Tallahassee, Fla., Governor Leroy Collins ordered immediate resumption of bus service in the Florida capital.

He said his action will test "the good will prevailing among and between the people of both races and of the ability of the bus company to furnish a needed public service with due regard to every citizen."

The Governor suspended city bus operations January 1 after a Negro leader's home was stoned and shots were fired at a Negro grocery store. Negroes began "riding integrated" on Christmas Eve, thereby ending a seven-month bus boycott.

The Tallahassee buses operated under an amendment to a City-franchise ordinance authorizing drivers to assign passengers to numbered seats if necessary as a means of maintaining the segregation pattern.

The Governor emphasized his decision to restore bus service is not "an expression of approval of the action taken by the City of Tallahassee amending the franchise ordinance."

Montgomery, Ala., remained without public transportation for a second day amid reports that a new all-white bus system might be organized. Under the proposal the bus line would operate as a "private" system, with only members of a "club" allowed to ride.

Montgomery City Lines, the only bus line in the Alabama capital, was ordered to suspend service indefiniately Thursday by the City Commission after four Negro churches and the homes of two prointegration ministers were bombed.

Two City attorneys and a member of the Alabama Legislature conferred with United States District Judge Frank M. Johnson, Jr., reportedly about the proposed all-white transit line.

Johnson is one of two federal judges who ruled bus segregation invalid June 5.

The attorneys reportedly sought to learn whether an all-white bus line operated by a "club" whose "members" alone could ride the buses would violate the court injunction.

Civil Rights Action Seen On Both Sides

WASHINGTON, Jan. 10 (AP)—President Eisenhower's renewed appeal for civil rights legislation brought bipartisan predictions today that Congress this year will pass some such bills.

There was no indication, however, that Southern members would abandon their fight, successful in past years, against such measures.

Chairman Celler (D-NY) of the House Judiciary Committee and Cong. Keating, (NY), senior Republican member, while they differed in their appraisal of Eisenhower's civil rights recommendations, agreed that bills along the lines he recommended will be cleared for House action within a few weeks.

Celler said in an interview he is sorry Eisenhower, in his State of the Union message, did not go beyond the four-point civil rights program he submitted last year.

Celler, who has introduced legislation for enforcement measures against persons restricting others' voting and other rights, siad apparently "the President is ready to settle for half. That may be all we can get."

PRINCIPAL POINTS

Principal points in Eisenhower's proposals include authority for the attorney general to bring civil suits against private individuals, as well as officials, who are accused of violating voting and other civil rights, and to go directly to federal court with such actions.

Celler and Keating, who were interviewed separately, agreed the House committee need not repeat the hearings conducted on the issue last month and draft a bill soon enough to permit House action next month.

Celler said he does not expect a repetition of delays encountered in the House rules committee last year.

Georgia's Senator Russell

News + Observer P.6

Defies Civil Rights Legislation

Sun. 1-13-57

Raleigh N.C.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 12 (AP)—Sen. Russell (D-Ga) today threw down the gauntlet to advocates of civil rights legislation who contend this is their victory year.

Russell, leader of the Southern forces and an acknowledged master of parliamentary tactics, told a reporter that he is "well aware of the fact that there is great political pressure for the passage of these misnamed civil rights bills."

But he said that if the measures reach the Senate floor, they will run into resolute opposition from senators who, he said, are determined to defend "the constitutional rights of the states and the people."

Past attempts to pass civil rights measures have been defeated by Southern filibusters, or the threats of filibusters, but Sen. Humphrey (D-Minn) and other supporters of the legislation say they have excellent prospects of victory this year.

Earlier this week a highly influential Senate Democrat, who was unwilling to be quoted by name, said the outlook is that civil rights legislation will be passed fairly early in the present Senate session.

This source, who has not been known as an advocate of such measures, predicted that a Southern filibuster—the use of dilatory debate and parliamentary maneuvering to prevent a vote—will be broken after a month or so.

Russell said he had told Georgia constituents even before the session started that there was "greater danger" of civil rights legislation this year than in the past, but he emphasized he was not conceding defeat or compromising the issue.

Last year the House passed but the Senate Judiciary Committee, headed by Sen. Eastland (D-Miss) never acted on the civil rights program advocated by President Eisenhower.

This program provides for federal court action to protect voting and other rights, the establishment of a civil rights division in the Justice Department, and the creation of a presidential commission to investigate complaints of civil rights violations.

These measures have been reintroduced in the present Congress, and Eisenhower urged them anew in his State of the Union message two days ago. Some Northern Democrats have offered a more extensive civil rights program.

Russell said that while he was aware of the "great political pressure" behind the bills, he believed that "orderly procedure" would be followed and that "there will be regular committee hearings on these bills before they come to the floor."

"If they reach the floor in their present form," he added, "they will be vigorously resisted by a resolute group of senators who still believe that the 10th Amendment is still in the Constitution and that the states still have definite rights that these bill would take away by the unconstitutional process of repealing express provisions of the Constitution by statute."

The 10th Amendment reserves to the states and the peoples all powers not delegated to the federal government.

Southern senators have held at least three closed-door meetings in Russell's office since the present session started to discuss the civil rights situation and efforts to revise Senate rules to make it easier to break filibusters.

Asked if there were any prospect of a compromise, Russell said "I will not compromise in the slightest degree where the constitutional rights of my state and her people are involved."

An initial effort to revise Senate rules went down to defeat, but since then a number of proposals to curb filibusters have been introduced and a Senate rules subcommittee is expected to conduct extensive hearings on them.

Sen. Knowland of California and Sen. Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, the Senate Republican and Democratic leaders, are cosponsors of one of the proposals. It would permit two-thirds of the senators present and voting to shut off a filibuster. It now takes the votes of 64 senators, or two-thirds of the entire membership,

RUSSELL OPTIMISTIC IN CIVIL RIGHTS FIGHT

Commercial Appeal

Dixie Leader Scoffs At Easy Victory Claims By Bloc Of Northerners

P. 1

By The Associated Press

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Mr. Russell, leader of the Southern forces and an acknowledged master of parliamentary tactics, declared he is "well aware of the fact that there is great political pressure for the passage of these misnamed civil rights bills."

Memphis

Pledges Hot Opposition

But he said if the measures reach the Senate floor, they will run into resolute opposition from senators who, he said, are determined to defend "the constitutional rights of the states and the people."

Sun 1-13-57

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Last year the House passed but the Senate Judiciary Committee, headed by Senator James O. Eastland (D., Miss.), never acted on the civil rights program advocated by President Eisenhower.

Measure Reintroduced

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Civil Rights Fight Likely In House in Two Weeks

Evening Star P3-A

Washington D.C.

By the Associated Press

Congress' fight over civil rights proposals seemed likely today to break out again in about two weeks, this time in the House.

Mon 1.7-57

Chairman Celler, Democrat of New York, of the House Judiciary Committee said in an interview that civil rights bills have "number one priority" with that group.

Speed is the keynote of strategy worked out by Mr. Celler and other House backers of such legislation. They made their plans even before like-minded Senators, as expected, lost a fight last Friday for a rules change that would have made it easier to curb filibusters. Southern Senators have used the filibuster to kill civil rights bills in past years.

A coalition of House Republicans and Democrats from the North and West hopes to get civil rights legislation through the House quickly. Then, they feel, chances would be improved for bringing the issue to the Senate floor early enough to make a filibuster as long and as difficult as possible.

The House passed a civil rights bill last year. But this happened so late the Southerners in the Senate didn't have to use the filibuster against it. The measure died in a Senate committee.

The House begins today the process of organizing its committees. This usually takes 10 days or so.

Once the Judiciary Committee is able to meet, Mr. Celler said, a week should be enough to act on civil rights legislation. The group's senior Republican member, Representative Keating of New York, agreed in a separate interview that only a minimum of hearings would be needed.

But any such speedup appeared certain to meet determined resistance from the minority of Southerners on the committee—and the 1957 House fight on civil rights might break out right there.

Representative McCormack, Democrat of Massachusetts, House Majority Leader, said on NBC's television program, Meet The Press, yesterday that he look for a civil rights program to pass the House this year with a reasonable expectation of passing the Senate and becoming law."

But Seantor Douglas, Democrat of Illinois, one of those who sought to change the Senate rules to stifle filibusters, said the failure of that effort "meant the death knell to any meaningful civil rights legislation in this session of Congress." He also spoke out in a television interview on ABC's Press Conference.

Ike Pulled No Surprise In Legislative Program

Constitution P.4

Wed. 1-2-57

Atlanta, Ga.

President Dwight D. Eisenhower has "unveiled" his legislative program, based on what he has described as "modern Republicanism."

It contains no surprises.

In a sense it picks up where his old program was left—strangled by the coalition of Old Guard Republicans and conservative Southerners.

Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell called upon the GOP legislative leaders at the conference Monday to "apply pressure" for passage of the administration's civil rights measures which last year passed the House but were tied up in committee in the Senate. They have the full support of the President himself.

These measures, furiously opposed by most Southerners and some Midwestern Republicans, call for creation of a civil rights division in the Justice Department, a presidential commission on civil rights and federal protection for voting rights of minorities.

This recommendation will find the Southerners, without the help of conservative GOP members, filibustering to the bitter end.

There will be no tax cut. None was expected. None should be had, or can be had, in these times when the security budget is of necessity so high.

Federal school aid, water conservation, health, housing, atomic energy, school and highway construction and liberalized immigration laws are some of the familiar points included.

There are no surprises. We must wait to see how much help the President, with his great November mandate, will have from his own party.

10 1957

Civil Rights, School Aid Head 'Ike's' Program, Readied For Congress

DIXIE SENATORS GIRD

Will Lay Plans Tomorrow To Combat Attempt To Restrict Debate

By MORRIS CUNNINGHAM

From The Commercial Appeal Washington Bureau

Commercial Appeal
Tues. 1-1-57
Memphis, Tenn. P. 1

WASHINGTON, Dec. 31.—Dixie senators will meet Wednesday afternoon to chart their strategy against a growing drive to eliminate the filibuster and pass civil rights legislation.

Senator Richard B. Russell (D., Ga.), leader of the Dixie Senate bloc, called the meeting in his office.

Word of the Southern meeting came as President Eisenhower and his Republican congressional leaders agreed to press for passage of civil rights legislation in the new Congress despite threat of a Southern filibuster.

Foes Pick Anderson

The President and his leaders reached the decision in the course of a day-long White House meeting.

Meanwhile, a bipartisan group of Senate civil rightists chose Senator Clinton P. Anderson (D., N. M.) to lead their drive to push an anti-filibuster rule through the Senate.

Senator Anderson said he will spark the drive by moving when the new Congress convenes Thursday that the Senate adopt a new set of rules.

He predicted "several days" will be required for the debate that will follow. As for when the issue will come to a vote, he said "that will be worked out with the Senate leadership."

Won't Guess On Votes

Senator Anderson declined to speculate how many votes his motion will get. Four years ago, when he made a similar motion, it lost 70 to 21. And 56 of the senators who opposed it are still in the Senate. Four others have been replaced by Southerners of like views.

However, Senator Irving Ives (R., N. Y.), a sponsor of the drive, predicted a "substantially stronger" vote for the motion this time.

"I wouldn't be surprised if we won out—if we keep plugging," the New Yorker said.

He said his group has picked up seven or eight converts in recent weeks, the latest being Senator Edward J. Thye (R., Minn.).

'Must Face Question'

However, only nine senators attended the meeting at which Senator Anderson was chosen. They were Senators Anderson, Ives, Richard Neuberger (D., Ore.), Hubert Humphrey (D., Minn.), Paul H. Douglas (D., Ill.), Ralph E. Flanders (R., Vt.), H. Alexander Smith (R., N. J.), Charles E. Potter (R., Mich.), and Thomas H. Kuchel (R., Calif.).

The group is divided upon what type of debate-limiting rule the Senate should have. Some favor majority rule, while others would empower two-thirds of those present to shut off debate.

At present, 64 votes are required to shut off debate. The Senate has 96 members.

Senator Anderson said he hasn't decided what would be "a proper number" of votes to end debate. But he said that "64 is too high."

He said his chief interest, however, is in implementing the contention that the Senate is not a "continuing body" and has authority to adopt new rules at the start of each session.

"The House finally had to meet this question, and the Senate must too," he said.

Senator Anderson said his group will meet again Wednesday at the same time the Southerners are meeting.

The Eisenhower Administration's decision to press for its four-point civil rights program was announced by press secretary James C. Hagerty.

Attending the meeting were Vice President Richard M. Nixon, Senators William Knowland (R., Calif.), the Senate Republican leader, Styles Bridges (R., N. H.) and Laverett Saltonstall (R., Mass.), and representatives oJseph W. Martin Jr. (R., Mass.), House Republican leader, and Charles A. Halleck (R., Ind.), Leslie C. Arends (R., Ill.), and Leo Allen (R., Ill.).

Mr. Hagerty said the decision at the White House meeting was "unanimous."

The Administration's four-point program, which passed the House last summer but died in the Senate after Southerners threatened a filibuster, provides for creation of a presidential commission with subpena powers to investigate and air civil rights complaints, ederal protection for the voting rights of minorities, creation of a civil rights division in the Justice Department, and authority for the attorney general to initiate suits to protect civil rights.

Evades Question

Mr. Hagerty was asked if the President and Republican leaders discussed the move to eliminate the Senate filibuster. He replied only that: "The talk was unanimous that they would press for this program at this session."

The filibuster has long permitted Southern senators to talk civil rights proopsals to death. Many Southerners regard it as the last line of defense to congressional legislation implementing the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision.

While Southern senators are outwardly confident the move to eliminate or weaken the filibuster rule will fail—as it did in 1953 — their decision to meet Wednesday afternoon indicated they are not taking victory for granted.

Would Set Up Bipartisan Board To Probe Violations

World Wed. 1-16-57
B'ham, Ala. P. 1

WASHINGTON, D. C. — President Eisenhower reaffirmed his four-point Civil Rights program Thursday in his State of the Union message.

The program calls for:

1. Creation of a bipartisan commission to investigate any violation of civil rights and make recommendations.
2. Establishment of a civil rights division in the Justice Department.
3. Enactment of new laws to protect the right to vote.
4. Amendment of existing laws to permit the federal government to seek "preventive relief" from civil courts in civil rights cases.

The Chief Executive told Congress in his annual State of the Union message that the menace of communist aggression "poses a continuing threat to the free world's and thus to our own nation's security and peace."

Mr. Eisenhower reported that America's economy is "strong, expanding and fundamentally sound." He said that inflation has been held in check so far, "but it is clear that the danger is always present."

He urged management and labor to keep prices and wages at reasonable levels and to subdue "the forces that threaten a steady depreciation of the value of our money."

STANDING OVATION

The President, making his second appearance before congress in a week, was lightly applauded five times during his 32-minute address. He received the customary standing ovation when he finished. He spoke quietly, without oratorical flourish. His voice was firm, his demeanor serious.

The message drew praise from Republicans and promises of "careful study" by democratic leaders. Some democrats, notably House Speaker Sam Rayburn, Texas, disagreed with the Chief Executive's statement that his administration has kept the cost of living "relatively stable."

Mr. Eisenhower pledged further government economies but gave no hint that he would approve an early tax cut.

AMERICA'S ALLIANCES

Though the President did not refer directly to the British political upheaval which resulted in Sir Anthony Eden's resignation as Prime Minister, he emphasized the vital importance of America's alliances with "nations that have proved themselves dependable defenders of freedom."

He said, in allusion to the differences between the U. S. and Britain and France on the Middle East crisis, "repeatedly in recent months the collapse of these regional alliances has been predicted."

Mr. Eisenhower added: "The strains upon them have been at times indeed severe. Despite these strains our regional alliances have proved durable and strong, and dire predictions of their disintegration have proved completely false."

The President's report dealt in broad terms with the nation's domestic and international problems. He pointed out that his specific legislative requests would be spelled out in later messages.

These were highlights of the 3,500-word document:

ARMED STRENGTH — "Our survival in today's world requires modern, adequate, dependable military strength . . . our security force is the most powerful in our peacetime history. It can punish heavily any enemy who undertakes to attack us . . . yet we must not delude ourselves that safety necessarily increases as expenditures for military research or forces in being go up . . . any program that endangers our economy could defeat us."

World P. 2

COST OF PEACE — "The cost of peace is something we must face boldly, fearlessly. Beyond money, it involves changes in attitudes, the renunciation of old prejudices, even the sacrifice of some seeming self-interest."

IRON CURTAIN REVOLTS — The President said that "the surging and understandable tide of nationalism is marked by widespread revulsion and revolt against tyranny, injustice, inequality and poverty . . . joined in a common hunger for freedom, men and women and even children pit their spirit against guns and tanks." He declared: "The changes already accomplished foreshadow a world transformed by the spirit of freedom."

MIDDLE EAST — Mr. Eisenhower said the broad military and eco-

nomic powers he has asked to block communist aggression in the Middle East are of "vital and immediate importance to the nation's and the free world's security and peace."

FAR EAST — The President said the potential strength of newly independent peoples in Asia gives "new assurance for peace and stability in the world — if they can retain their independence."

He added: "Should they lose freedom and be dominated by an aggressor, the world-wide effects would imperil the security of the free world."

DISARMAMENT — The Chief Executive called for "a sound and safeguarded agreement for open skies, unarmed aerial sentinels." He said the U. S., within the United Nations, would "enter any reliable agreement which would reverse the trend toward ever more devastating nuclear weapons." He also said the U. S would agree to mutual control of "outer space missle and satellite development."

REFUGEES — Mr. Eisenhower asked congressional action to aid escapees from red oppression. He said: "The recent historic events in Hungary demand that all free nations share to the extent of their capabilities in the responsibility of granting asylum to victims of communist persecution."

The President's report on domestic issues included:

SCHOOL AID — He said "high priority should be given the school construction bill. This will benefit children of all races throughout the country — and children of all races need schools now." He added: "I am hopeful that this program can be enacted on its own merits, uncomplicated by provisions dealing with the complex problem of integration."

CIVIL RIGHTS — Mr. Eisenhower repeated his 1956 plea for enactment of his four-point program which, he said, is aimed at "the goal of fair and equal treatment of citizens without regard to race or color."

AGRICULTURE — He declared "I am gratified that the long slide in farm income has been halted and that further improvement is in prospect." The President said legislative recommendations to aid farmers would be contined in his budget message next week.

WATER RESOURCES — The Chief Executive called for a partnership of federal, state and local governments to do away with "piecemeal operations" and assure "the economy and efficiency of development and operation."

GOVERNMENT SPENDING — The President promised: "Through the next four years, I shall continue to insist that the executive departments and agencies of the government search out additional ways to save money and manpower." He added: "I urge that the congress be equally watchful in this matter."

FINANCIAL INQUIRY — The President called for congressional creation of a "commission of able and qualified citizens" to investigate the "nature, performance and adequacy of our financial system, both in terms of its direct service to the whole economy and in terms of its function as the mechanism through which monetary and credit policy takes effect."

INFORMATION SERVICE — He said he would ask moore funds for the U. S. Information Agency because "just as, in recent months the voice of communism has become more shaken and confused, the voice of truth must be more clearly heard."

Right-To-Vote Is Sen. Humphrey's Major Desire, Now

Globe Fri. 1-18-57 Nashville, Ky.

The 85th Congress was called upon by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D., Minn.) today to assert "a claim on history" by passing the first meaningful civil rights legislation in 80 years—including Federal protection for the right to vote as "the greatest civil right in a democracy." P. 1

On behalf of himself and a group of colleagues, Senator Humphrey introduced in the Senate twelve civil rights bills making up a comprehensive human rights program — and forecast bright prospects for favorable action.

"I have enough faith in the wisdom, reasonableness, and Americanism of my colleagues to hold high hope for legislation in 1957 to safeguard the dignity and promote the security of all our fellow citizens," he declared.

All of these measures are the product of long legislative refinement, making use of the considered judgment and experience of present and past members of Congress from both parties, interested citizens, educators, and religious leaders. I have presented most of them to the Congress each session since the 81st, with bipartisan support. Extensive hearings have already been held on many of them, contributing to their revision and refinement. At least three of them have been favorably reported by a Senate Judiciary Subcommittee.

"While all of them are needed, at least the first five could and should be enacted by this Congress—the Right-to-Vote bill, the Civil Rights division bill, the protection to members of the Armed Forces bill, and the bill to eliminate the last vestiges of discrimination in interstate transportation.

"History has a claim on the 85th Congress. A program for the protection of human rights is not a partisan issue. The protection of human rights has the highest priority on the world's agenda. It deserves a priority no less high on the agenda of the United States Congress.

"Our Constitution guarantees full equality of rights and opportunities to Americans of every race, color, religion, and national origin. Legislation to assure every American his constitutional rights has been introduced in Congress, only to die in Committee, on the Calendar, or by the veto of the filibuster. I am convinced, however, that dramatic changes may be just over the horizon. Favorable action by the House and approval of a Senate subcommittee in the 84th Congress, together with the welcome support of the President, has set the stages for success in the 85th Congress. Globe P. 8

"We are coming to realize that a Congress which continues to be unresponsive to the greatest moral demand of our generation is an irresponsible Congress. We are coming to realize that we are convicting ourselves of hypocrisy, to the degree that procrastination, temporizing, delays, and obstruction continue.

"For this reason, I am also convinced that the 85th Congress may have a claim on history. We have an excellent chance, if we will seize it, to pass the first meaningful civil rights legislation in 80 years."

1. A bill to protect the right to political participation, and prohibiting any intimidation, coercion, or other interference with the right to vote.

2. A bill to establish a bipartisan Commission on Civil Rights in the Executive Branch of the Government.

3. A bill to establish a Civil Rights Division in the Department of Justice, headed by a new Assistant Attorney General.

4. A bill to provide relief against certain forms of discrimination in interstate transportation, designed to implement Supreme Court rulings that segregation in interstate transportation is a denial of Constitutional rights.

5. A bill to extend to members of the Armed Forces the same protection against bodily attack as is now granted to personnel of the Coast Guard.

6. A bill to protect persons within the United States against mob violence or lynching.

7. A bill to establish a Joint Congressional Committee on Civil Rights.

8. A bill to establish equal opportunity in employment.

9. A bill outlawing the poll tax as a condition of voting in any primary or other election for national officers.

10. A bill to strengthen existing civil rights statutes.

11. A bill to strengthen the criminal laws relating to peonage, slavery, and involuntary servitude.

12. An omnibus bill including all the above measures in one general measures.

Judiciary Hearing Sought On Rights

Advertiser P. 1 Sat. 1-19-57 Montgomery Ala.

ATLANTA, Jan. 18 (AP)—Georgia's Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook said today that he has drafted a joint legislative resolution calling on the Judiciary Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives to hold a public hearing on civil rights measures.

Cook said he turned the resolution over to Gov. Marvin Griffin and expected it would be introduced in the Georgia Legislature Monday.

The resolution urged the judiciary committee "not to take speedy action on legislation of this type, particularly in view of the fact that there are serious legal and constitutional objections" to the civil rights measures.

Pres. Eisenhower to Push for Action on Rights Measures!

Bystander Thurs. 1-3-57 Des Moines Iowa

Washington, D. C.—President Eisenhower told Republican congressional leaders Monday that he intends to press for action in the new congress on his controversial civil rights program.

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER

White House Press Secretary James C. Hagerty said this was one of the matters discussed in a conference with the G.O.P. legislative leaders on the administration's program for 1957. P. 1

In reply to reporters' questions, Hagerty made it clear the G.O.P. leaders intend to push the civil rights program despite the prospect of a senate filibuster developing in the opening days of the new session.

Special Message

Mr. Eisenhower sent congress a special message on civil rights proposals in the last session, but his program got nowhere. Among other things, he asked for establishment of a special civil rights division in the justice department.

He proposed, too, that the government be empowered to seek an injunction against denials of voting rights. As it is now, denial of voting rights can be prosecuted under criminal laws after the election, but the voters denied their rights do not get their votes counted.

The program would have made it easier also to take other civil rights cases to federal courts, and would have set up a bipartisan civil rights commission.

10 1957

'DEBATE RULE WILL STAND,' BUT

Advertiser P.1

Sen. Hill Sees 'Toughest Fight Ever' Ahead For Opponents Of Civil Rights

Montgomery, Ala.

Wed. 1-23-57

U.S. Sen. Lister Hill of Alabama conceded yesterday in a telephone interview that opponents of civil rights legislation in the current 85th Congress "face the toughest fight ever."

And while predicting defeat for any future attempts to chan the Senate rule on debate, Hill from predicting a similar fate for the civil rights legislation now pending.

HILL

On that subject he would only admit that "our opposition todayis stronger than ever before."

The implication was clear, however, that Hill is hoping and working for the best but fears the worst regarding at least a part of the pending civil rights proposals.

Sen. Hill was called for an appraisal of the situation following statements made some 24 hours earlier on the same subject by Sen. Smathers (D-Fla.).

Smathers had pointed out in an interview that "the facts indicate" there are enough votes to pass a modified civil rights program in this session of congress.

The Florida senator further said that should such a "modified" plan reach the Senate floor for debate he would not paritcipate in any filibuster in opposition to the plan "because I think it would be a useless thing to do."

Sen. Hill's views on the crisis were considerably different.

"Of course I am very much opposed to any civil rights legislation, and I am equally opposed toany change in Senate rules regarding debate," Hill declared. "But I would have to concede that our opposition is stronger today than it ever has been in the past."

"President Eisenhower is pushing his civil righst program with the support of the Republican members of Congress," Hill said, "and of course we have the liberal Democrats from the North and West who are also pushing similar bills."

"As a result, they (the opposition) are stronger today than ever, but we'll fight them to the very bitter end," Hill continued. "And in spite of their strength, we will fight them with such determination and tenacity that I feel we can prevent any change in the rule on debate."

When asked specifically ifhe felt the civil rights fight was hopeless, Hill was quick to reply.

"I do not consider it hopeless, but again I must say that our opposition is very strong, stronger than ever in fact," Hill said. "But I won't say our fight is hopeless. I don't ever ike to admit defeat. We will just fight them as hard, as rough and as tough as we can and refuse to admit defeat."

TIME RAN OUT

Advertiser

Civil Rights Backers Get Initial Setback In Senate

Montgomery, Ala.

Wed 1-23-57

WASHINGTON, Jan. 22 (AP)—Backers of civil rights legislation failed today, for lack of time, to win a Senate Judiciary Committee vote on hastening the proposals to the Senate floor.

They doubtless will make another effort later.

At the same time, Chairman Eastland (D-Miss) announced an action which may have the effect of dealing another setback to the drive for early action on civil rights bills.

Eastland said four new members are being added to the subcommittee which handles civil rights legislation. This could lead to demands for extensive civil rights hearings for the benefit of the newcomers.

Supporters of the proposals want abbreviated hearings so the bills can go to the Senate floor early in the session and lessen the chances of a successful Southern filibuster against them.

Sen. Hennings (D-Mo.) was calling for such action at a closed judiciary committee meeting today when the bell rang signaling that the full Senate was meeting. This washed out Hennings' move for the present, since Senate rules ban a committee from meeting while the Senate is in session, unless it obtains the Senate's permission.

Hennings was reading a motion calling for the completion of civil rights hearings before Feb. 18, and a committee vote on the legislation not more than a week later.

Clarence Mitchell, director of the Washington Bureau of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), announced he had sent telegrams to some judiciary committee members asking for such action.

Some of the telegrams said Eastland last August "boasted that he killed civil rights legislation" in 1956 by having Sen. Olin D. Johnston (D-SC) "read a lengthy brief for five weeks" at hearings.

Hennings gave newsmen a statement which he said he made at the committee meeting. In it he contended there was "absolutely no necessity for long drawn-out hearings," that "We are all aware of the various points of view which prevent in our country today."

Hennings is chairman of the subcommittee on constitutional rights which Eastland announced was being enlarged. The four new members will bring the total to seven.

Added to the subcommittee were Sens. Ervin (D-NC) and Johnston, both opponents of civil rights legislation, and Sens. Watkins (R-Utah) and Hruska (R-Neb), both listed as co-sponsors of a bill to carry out President Eisenhower's civil rights program.

Hennings continues as chairman and Sens. O'Mahoney (D-Wyo) and Langer (R-ND) as members.

In the last session of Congress, the House passed legislation embodying the Eisenhower civil rights proposals. But the Senate Judiciary Committee took no action on the measure before adjournment.

In essence, the Eisenhower program would set up a committee and make it easier for individuals and the Justice Department to go into federal courts with complaints of rights violations.

Russell Pledges Fight On Civil Rights Bills

Inquirer Jan. 1-13-57
Philadelphia Pa.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 12 (AP).—Sen. Richard B. Russell (D., Ga.) today threw down the gauntlet to advocates of civil rights legislation who contend this is their victory year.

Russell, leader of the Southern forces and an acknowledged master of parliamentary tactics, said he was "well aware of the fact that there is great political pressure for the passage of these misnamed civil rights bills."

P.5

PLEDGES OPPOSITION

But he said that if the measures reach the Senate floor, they will run into resolute opposition from Senators who are determined to defend "the constitutional rights of the States and the people."

Past attempts to pass civil rights measures have been defeated by Southern filibusters, or the threats of filibusters, but Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D., Minn.) and other supporters of the legislation say they have excellent prospects of victory this year.

Earlier this week an influential Senate Democrat said the outlook is that civil rights legislation will be passed fairly early in the present Senate session. This source predicted that a Southern filibuster will be broken after a month or so.

SEES 'GREAT DANGER'

Russell said he had told Georgia constituents even before the session started that there was "greater danger" of civil rights legislation this year than in the past, but he emphasized he was not conceding defeat or compromising the issue.

Last year the House passed, but the Senate Judiciary Committee, headed by Sen. James O. Eastland (D., Miss.), never acted on the civil rights program advocated by President Eisenhower. This program provides for Federal court action to protect voting and other rights, the establishment of a Civil Rights Division in the Justice Department, and the creation of a Presidential commission to investigate complaints of civil rights violations.

PRESIDENT URGED TO TALK ON RIGHTS

Times P.34-C

Negroes in Atlanta Call for a Speech in Southern City —Visit by Nixon Asked

Sat. 1-12-57

By JOHN N. POPHAM

Special to The New York Times.

ATLANTA, Jan. 11—A Southern Negro conference called on President Eisenhower today to "come immediately" to a Southern city and speak words of "wise counsel" on civil rights disorders.

New York

In a telegram to the White House, the conference recommended that the President make a "major speech" urging all Southerners to abide by the decisions of the Supreme Court on civil rights.

They also suggested that the President "use the weight of your great office" in underscoring to Southerners the "moral nature of the problem posed at home and abroad by the unsolved civil rights issue."

In a telegram to Vice President Richard M. Nixon, the Negro leaders asked that he make a tour of the South "similar to the one made in behalf of Hungarian refugees." Mr. Nixon recently flew to Vienna, surveyed refugee problems at the Austrian-Hungarian border and recommended increased American aid.

Called by Boycott Leader

The conference was called by the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., a Montgomery Negro minister. He held a leading role in the "non-violence program" among Montgomery Negroes boycotting city buses until desegregation was ordered by a court decision on Nov. 13.

The conference was attended by sixty Negro leaders from twenty-nine communities in ten Southern states. The participants included Negro ministers and Negro civic leaders from communities where bus integration had either been started or was being mapped.

The conference also sent a request to Herbert Brownell Jr., Attorney General, for an interview on the "responsibility of the Department of Justice" concerning civil rights violence.

The remainder of a conference statement dealt with the group's view that overridingly the race relations problem was a spiritual one and that Southern Christians should link efforts to solve it.

It called on the Negroes of the South to assert their human dignity, reject all injustice and to recognize that non-violent resistance "breeds courage in face of danger."

The Negroes said that "a state of terror" existed in the South in dispute over bus integration.

Solution Seen by 1960

At a press interview, Mr. King was asked if he thought the bus issue could be "wholly solved" by 1960. He said it was his "best judgement and hope that will be resolved before then."

He made public a telegram from Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt saying that she was "deeply distressed by violence which has occurred" and "would suggest an appeal to the President since this is a Supreme Court order." Mr. King said the telegram had arrived after the conference had decided to send messages to the President and Vice President.

Meanwhile, six Negro ministers arrested in Atlanta yesterday for refusing to observe the state law on segregated bus seating were awaiting action by a grand jury. The ministers acted to establish a court test of the law.

The local grand jury convenes

on Friday and Tuesday. It had been expected the matter would be taken up today, but law enforcement officials said that next Tuesday would probably be the date of consideration.

SEN. RUSSELL PROMISES FIGHT ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Tribune P. 12 Jan. 1-13-57 Chicago Ill. *16*

Washington, Jan. 12 (AP)— Sen. Russell [D., Ga.] said today that if civil rights measures reach the senate floor, they will run into resolute opposition from senators who, he said, are determined to defend "the constitutional rights of the states and the people."

The civil rights program provides for federal court action to protect voting and other rights, the establishment of a civil rights division in the justice department, and the creation of a presidential commission to investigate complaints of civil rights violations.

Russell said that while he was aware of the "great political pressure" behind the bills, he believed that "orderly procedure" would be followed and that "there will be regular committee hearings on these bills before they come to the floor."

Promises Vigorous Resistance

"If they reach the floor in their present form," he added, "they will be vigorously resisted by a resolute group of senators who still believe that the 16th amendment is still in the Constitution and that the states still have definite rights that these bills would take away by the unconstitutional process of repealing express provisions of the constitution by statute."

The 10th amendment reserves to the states and the people all powers not delegated to the federal government.

Rejects Any Compromise

Southern senators have held at least three closed-door meetings in Russell's office since the present session started to discuss the civil rights situation and efforts to revise senate rules to make it easier to break filibusters.

Asked if there were any prospects of a compromise, Russell said, "I will not compromise in the slightest degree where the constitutional rights of my state and her people are involved."

Freedom on the Gallows

Courier Sat. 1-19-57 P. 11 Pittsburgh, Pa. *10*

THE GENTLEMEN in Washington have gone through their act.

They are our LEADERS, our REPRESENTATIVES. They made a PROMISE in August which they refused to keep. They know that SENATE RULE TWENTY-TWO is the GRAVEYARD for all CIVIL RIGHTS legislation. They stood behind TECHNICALITIES to preserve a ready BURYING GROUND for ANYBODY'S CIVIL RIGHTS BILLS.

Examine their "REASONING," the kind of so-called reasoning that makes slaves SWALLOW THEIR TONGUES and forces FREE MEN to SACRIFICE THEIR LIVES.

The Senate, they say, is a CONTINUING BODY. It began in the BEGINNING and will CONTINUE THROUGH ETERNITY. It must be that way, they say, to PRESERVE TRADITION.

If that is so, why is not the HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES a continuing body? Why can its rules be changed AT EACH NEW SESSION, whereas newly elected SENATORS have no voice in APPROVING OR REJECTING the rules which are to govern them?

"We cannot disturb this 167-YEAR-OLD TRADITION," thundered the Jovian Knowland from his Olympian position as REPUBLICAN LEADER.

Who has THUMBED HIS NOSE at TRADITION more than KNOWLAND? We had a TRADITION against ENTANGLING FOREIGN ALLIANCES. Who violated that TRADITION, to earn the cynical soubriquet, "SENATOR FROM FORMOSA"? Was that not KNOWLAND?

No, the foregoing are mere TECHNICALITIES and DODGES.

Likewise, the old LaFollette precious jewel of UNLIMITED DEBATE. Let these Senators, so jealous of their right to WINDJAM, name one modern state or deliberative body which countenances UNLIMITED DEBATE.

Let them name one state, nation, tribe or deliberative body of ANY KIND that countenances UNLIMITED WASTE OF TIME in the guise of debate.

There is not a Senator who mentions unlimited debate who does not do so with his TONGUE IN HIS CHEEK.

Also, they have another one. This WASTAGE OF TIME to CONSUME TIME irrelevantly is a PROTECTION for MINORITIES. Doesn't that make you GROAN?

There is plenty of protection for minorities in reasonable, to-the-point debate of any and all issues. NOBODY IS AGAINST THAT.

All the Senators who voted FOR THE FILIBUSTER knew that they were not voting for the SENATE AS A CONTINUING BODY, for TRADITION, for UNLIMITED DEBATE, for MINORITIES.

They were voting to remove TRUTH and place FREEDOM on the SCAFFOLD.

There are SEVENTEEN MILLION AMERICANS today whose forebears were "FREED" nearly ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

Ever since this substantial minority was "freed," there has been ANOTHER MINORITY standing athwart the road to FULL and COMPLETE FREEDOM.

Even as the SOUTH fought to keep the BLACK AMERICAN enslaved, it now uses ALL ITS ENERGIES to DENIGRATE and DEBASE him. The SOUTH knows that as long as it can keep the RIGHTS and PRIVILEGES of FREE MEN out of the hands of BLACK AMERICANS, their day of DESTINY and CHALLENGE can be delayed.

The WHITE SOUTH is AFRAID of the NEGRO. It fears his BRAIN, his BRAWN, his VIGOR, his ENDURANCE, his CREATIVE GENIUS. The WHITE SOUTH is not afraid of INTERMARRIAGE. It is afraid of COMPETITION.

Those Senators (Langer, Knowland, Dirksen, Bricker and others) who voted FOR THE FILIBUSTER in league with their SOUTHERN PALS, voted to DENY FREEDOM to some SEVENTEEN MILLION AMERICANS. That is the LONG and the SHORT of it.

They voted WITH ONE MINORITY against ANOTHER MINORITY. They voted with the minority which has FREEDOM and against the minority which does not have FREEDOM.

Not a word did they declaim about FREEDOM while they were building the GALLOWS with studied proficiency.

FREEDOM meant little to them where the BLACK AMERICAN is concerned. FREEDOM is for HUNGARIANS.

BLACK MEN will not give up the fight. They have FRIENDS, even among the ENEMY. BLACK MEN INTEND TO BE FREE. This much these errant men should know as they concoct a palliative civil rights dose to cure our unease. Nothing will cure us but FREEDOM.

10 1957

Over Ervin Protest

Backers of Civil Rights Win Subcommittee Vote

WASHINGTON, Feb. 18 (AP)—Backers of civil rights legislation won a victory today in a 4-2 decision by a Senate Judiciary Subcommittee to take a showdown vote on the bill March 5.

The subcommittee has been considering various proposals, mainly the legislation submitted for the Eisenhower administration by Atty. Gen. Brownell.

Today's vote was reported to have lined up Chairman Hennings (D-Mo) of the subcommittee and Sens. O'Mahoney (D-Wyo), Watkins (R-Utah) and Hruska (R-Neb) in favor of cutting off hearings and taking a vote March 5. Opposed were Sens. Olin Johnston (D-SC) and Ervin (D-NC).

The legislation is aimed against what its sponsors call the deprivation of Negroes of their civil rights, including voting rights, in some states. Southern critics have said it is unnecessary and would undercut states rights.

Last year the House passed a bill patterned after the administration's request, and a Senate judiciary subcommittee did likewise, but it never got out of the full Senate Judiciary Committee. The House didn't pass it until July 23, four days before Congress adjourned.

This year backers of the legislation moved early, in the hopes of getting a bill before the Senate well ahead of adjournment, so as to weaken the force of an expected Southern filibuster.

If the Senate subcommittee approves a bill March 5 the legislation would still have to go through the full Judiciary Committee. The committee chairman is Sen. Eastland (D-Miss), who opposes it.

Sens. Johnston and McClellan (D-Ark) said they would call for public hearings by the full committee. Ervin said he would want the full committee to hold hearings if those held by the subcommittee were not adequate. He said it seems apparent that adquate subcommittee hearings could not be held in the time allotted.

Johnston said that the subcommittee majority, by limiting hearings, was "taking away the constitutional rights of the people, both colored and white, to be heard."

The House Judiciary Committee plans to end its hearings on similar legislation by Feb. 26.

Some additional pressure was brought over the weekend when the new advisory council of the Democratic party, meeting at San Francisco, adopted a resolution urging Congress to pass civil rights legislation at this session.

Adlai Stevenson, the party's presidential candidate in 1952 and 1956, told the council he hoped Congress would pass a bill "with overwhelming Democratic support and without filibuster and parliamentary harassment."

The Eisenhower program calls for a federal commission to consider civil rights complaints, a new civil rights division in the Justice Department, and authority for the attorney general to bring injunctions to protect voting rights and other civil rights.

A junior-size civil rights debate broke out on the Senate floor when Democratic Leader Lyndon B. Johnson (Tex) asked unanimous permission for the 4 p.m. meeting of the subcommittee while the Senate was in session.

One objection could have blocked this but the request was granted after some of the Southerners had taken the opportunity to air their dissatisfaction about the March 5 cutoff on the hearings.

Johnson emphasized several times that he was making the request as a routine part of his duties as majority leader.

"I would do the same for any committee," he said.

Ervin told the Senate that the subcommittee vote this morning "would stand as a precedent for a majority of a subcommittee to practice tyranny." He called the situation "without precedent in the annals of the Senate."

Dirksen Comments

But Sen. Dirksen (R-Ill), chief sponsor of the administration's civil rights bill, said the North Carolina senator was in error on that.

Dirksen said it has been "rather common practice" for committees to fix a time for the ending of testimony on controversial legislation.

"We have got to take into consideration the background of what is involved," Dirksen told the Senate. "This subject has been with us a long, long time."

But Ervin said "four of us on the subcommittee are new, and we are entitled to be enlightened."

The new members are Evin, Johnston, Watkins and Hruska.

Ervin and Johnston, the twc Southerners on the subcommittee, also complained they were not notified of the 9 a.m. meeting of the subcommittee today until 8:15 this morning.

Hennings had told newsmen las Saturday there would be a mee ing to consider the question of hc to proceed with the hearings, bu said then it probably would com after a session of the full Judiciary Committee set for 10:30 a.m. today.

Ervin said his number is in the Washington city telephone directory and that he was at home the entire weekend.

He added that he had to rush to the 9 a.m. meeting without breakfast and without shaving. He commented, "My personal style of pulchritude does not show to the best advantage when I have not shaved."

Ervin said that the March 5 cutoff date put him in the position of having to decide whether to attend the subcommittee sessions, where he is carrying the ball for the South in opposition to the civil rights bills, or to attend Senate sessions on the Middle East resolution.

He said he would stick with the subcommittee, but asserted "this deprives the people of my state of representation on my part in the debate on the Middle East."

The North Carolina senator shouted that under the administration's proposals, it would be possible by using an old law to call out "the Army, the Navy and the Militia" to enforce civil rights.

Sen. Francis Case (R-SD) interjected that this was "not the judgment of the attorney general."

Civil-Rights Backers Gain In Senate

Subcommittee To End Hearings, Vote March 5

By The Associated Press

Washington, Feb. 18.—Backers of civil-rights legislation won a victory today in a 4-to-2 decision by a Senate judiciary subcommittee to take a showdown vote on the bill March 5.

The subcommittee has been considering various proposals, mainly the legislation submitted for the Eisenhower Administration by Attorney General Brownell.

Today's vote was reported to have lined up Chairman Hennings (D., Mo.) of the subcommittee and Senators O'Mahoney (D., Wyo.), Watkins (R., Utah), and Hruska (R., Neb.) in favor of cutting off hearings and taking a vote March 5. Opposed were Senators Johnston (D., S. C.) and Ervin (D., N. C.).

Passed by House In '56

The legislation is aimed against what its sponsors call the deprivation of Negroes of their civil rights, including voting rights, in some states. Southern critics have said it is unnecessary and would undercut States' rights.

Last year the House passed a bill patterned after the Administration's request, and a Senate judiciary subcommittee did likewise, but it never got out of the full Senate Judiciary Committee. The House didn't pass it until July 23, four days before Congress adjourned.

This year backers of the legislation moved early, hoping to get a bill before the Senate well ahead of adjournment, so as to weaken the force of an expected Southern filibuster.

If the Senate subcommittee approves a bill March 5 the legislation would still have to go through the full Judiciary Committee. The committee chairman is Senator Eastland (D., Miss.), who opposes it.

To Ask Public Hearings

Senators Johnston and McClellan (D., Ark.) said they would call for public hearings by the full committee. Johnston said the subcommittee majority, by limiting hearings, was "taking away the constitutional rights of the people, both colored and white, to be heard."

The House Judiciary Committee plans to end its hearings on similar legislation by February 26.

The Eisenhower program calls for a federal commission to consider civil-rights complaints, a new civil-rights division in the Justice Department, and authority for the Attorney General to bring injunctions to protect voting rights and other civil rights.

Frisco Confab Adopts Measure

WASHINGTON — The Democratic Advisory Council, meeting in San Francisco recently, strongly recommended action during the present session of the Congress on a broad civil rights program to eliminate discrimination.

The resolution, adopted by the Democratic Advisory Council, specifically urged Democratic members of the U. S. Senate and House of Representatives to "proceed, during this first session of the 85th Congress," to enact pending Democratic legislation to "eliminate discriminations of all kinds in relation to the right to vote and to engage in gainful occuations, and the other specific discriminations mentioned in the planks on Civil Rights embodied in Democratic platforms."

In an effort to mobilize wide public support on behalf of civil rights legislation, the Advisory Council's resolution directed that National Chairman Paul M. Butler, as Chairman of the Council, send a copy of the resolution to all Democratic officials on federal, state and local levels, as well as to all party officials and other interested persons.

The Democratic Advisory Council was originally created as the Democratic Advisory Committee last November. The meeting of the council in San Francisco was part of the two-day Democratic National Conference sponsored by the 11 western states.

The resolution said in part:

"The democratic members of the U. S. Senate and house of representatives are hereby urged to proceed, during this first session of the 85th Congress, to enact pending legislation introduced by democratic members in their unflagging efforts to eliminate discrimination of all kinds in relation to the right to vote and to engage in gainful occupations; and the other specific discriminations mentioned in the planks on civil rights embodied in democratic platforms. . ."

Copies of the resolution were authorized sent to federal, state and local democratic officials and interested persons.

ONLY A TRACE OF DEMAGOGUERY

Journal + Constitution

Georgians Gave Sober Civil Rights Testimony

Atlanta, Ga. P. 9-E

By HAROLD DAVIS

Sun. 3-3-57

Washington.

WITH AN EXCEPTION or two, the testimony on civil rights legislation given at the Capitol by Georgians was marked by decorum and great reserve.

The trace of demagoguery that appeared here and there was greatly outweighed by the sober presentations given by most of the state's spokesmen.

The brilliant appearance of Charles Bloch of Macon before House Judiciary Subcommittee No. 5 on Feb. 7 was well covered by the press.

The testimony of the rest of the Georgians was not so well covered. Some of the reporters had to leave Washington to go to Thomasville with President Eisenhower.

In reading over the presentations made in the press's absence, however, it is evident that the Georgians were trying to accentuate the positive.

"TONED IT DOWN"

Critics of Sen. Talmadge may find it hard to believe, but that solon talked almost an hour before the Senate subcommittee on constitutional rights on Feb. 16 and never once mentioned the words Negro, segregation, or Communist—three of the expressions heard most frequently in civil rights discussions.

Asked about this, Mr. Talmadge said he thinks the content of what he said was about the same as what he said on the stump in Georgia last fall. "I just toned it down to fit the forum I was addressing," he said. Sen. Talmadge was later invited to appear before the House Judiciary Subcommittee. He had his aide, Ken Turner, go in his stead and incorporate the same testimony into the House record.

Other presentations before the House group were made by Congressmen Lanham, Davis, Forrester, Flynt, Brown, and Landrum, and Georgia Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook. With a deviation here and there, most of these talks were on a high plane.

Although those who testified are satisfied with what they said, they don't think they convinced the committee.

"I could make a speech that would do credit to William Gladstone or Daniel Webster any day," said Sen. Talmadge, "and it wouldn't change a vote in the House or Senate."

The solons hope that by continually presenting the South's viewpoint, they can slowly convince people in other parts of the nation that the South does, indeed, have a critical problem—one that deserves sympathetic understanding rather than continual exploitation for political purposes (although there is plenty of that on both sides.)

The only direct advantage won by the testimony was due to its length—not its content.

NOT FAR WRONG

The hearings started Feb. 4. The subcommittee hoped to have the bills in the House for action by Feb. 15. The South spoiled this by dragging out the testimony through Feb. 26. Now the measures will not be ready for a House vote before March 15.

However, they will likely pass that body a day or two later.

When the bills come up in the Senate, there will be a Southern attempt to talk them to death. When this comes to pass, the time won before the House subcommittee will be important.

No Southern senator is ready to admit publicly yet that the civil rights bills will probably pass this session of Congress. But they think privately that Minority Leader William F. Knowland of California wasn't far wrong when he said the bills will get through this time, regardless of whether the South makes a stand with a filibuster.

South Gains in Rights Fight

Journal + Constitution

Sun. 3-17-57 P. 8-C

Atlanta Ga.

SOUTHERN DEMOCRATIC congressmen are making slow but noticeable progress in their stalling action against the administration's civil rights bill.

They gained a little more time to regroup their forces when the House judiciary committee adjourned until Monday without a final vote.

Before getting this respite, the Dixie congressmen pushed through three amendments that should make the bill less objectionable to the South. Their margin of victory was only one vote, however.

The bill under consideration would create a civil rights commission empowered to investigate charges that citizens are deprived of their right to vote by reason of color, race or national origin.

The concessions won by the South are all the more significant when it is considered that a few days ago the Southern leaders were beaten back in their attempts to amend the bill, and the committee was hurrying to get it on the House floor.

One of the chief advantages of the delay tactics, besides getting the bill watered down, is that the Southerners have additional opportunities to present the South's point of view through valid rather than demagogic arguments. There's hope they might sway some of the Northern liberals who have little understanding of the South's problems and are not above using civil rights to advance their own political ambitions.

REAL CIVIL RIGHTS TEST IS DUE

Times P. 9-F

By JOHN D. MORRIS

Special to The New York Times.

New York

Sun. 2-10-57

WASHINGTON, Feb. 9—For the first time in decades advocates of Federal civil rights legislation are genuinely optimistic over the outlook for Congressional approval of what they call a "meaningful" program.

Periodic drives for enactment of bills to enforce the Constitutional rights of Negroes and other minorities have in the past been discounted by knowledgeable analysts, for the most part, as insincere gestures toward a powerful bloc of voters.

The widely held suspicion has been that a desire to make political capital was the pervading motivation and failure to legislate was a foregone conclusion.

Too Late

In that respect, last year's civil rights drive was no different from the others. The Republican Administration submitted recommendations too late to expect Congress to complete action before adjournment. The Democratic House of Representatives passed a bill too late to expect Senate concurrence. And Senators of both parties went through the motions, without any possible hope of success, of pulling parliamentary strings to bring a bill to the floor in the last hours of the session.

It seemed obvious to many impartial observers that all of this was a sham battle, aimed solely at making a record for one party or the other or one candidate or the other to win the support of Negro voters in the 1956 Presidential and Congressional elections.

This year the whole approach is different. There is a clear and firm determination among Congressional civil rights advocates to produce the goods. They have started work early with the definite intention of getting a bill to the Senate floor in time to make a genuine assault on the inevitable filibuster by Southern opponents. And they have obtained the sanction, though not the backing, of Senate Democratic leaders for such a test.

The changed situation is attributed to a number of factors.

Not the least of them is the large-scale shift of Negro voters to the Republican column in last year's elections, largely because Southerners hostile to civil rights legislation held positions of power in the Democratic Senate.

Leaders in Congress Oppose Filibuster

A campaign slogan circulated by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was:

"A Democratic vote is a vote for Eastland."

Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi, a militant advocate of white supremacy, is the Democratic chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, which has jurisdiction over civil rights bills.

Northern Democrats are hopeful of regaining Negro support for the party by demonstrating that Senator Eastland and other Southerners cannot block civil rights legislation against the efforts of a determined majority.

Ground Given

Other factors include signs that the Southern bloc may be unable to sustain a successful filibuster if a determined effort is made to break it. There has also been some ground-giving by the N. A. A. C. P. and other organizations, which over the years have been fighting for civil rights goals of a scope so advanced that a majority of Congress, regardless of party control, would not go along.

Practically all of these organizations have now united behind President Eisenhower's relatively moderate program as a "meaningful" first step. This gives Congress the opportunity to act without being damned for doing too little.

The President's program is identical with last year's. Its keystone is a proposal to authorize Federal prosecution of anyone who intimidates or coerces voters in an election involving Federal office.

Other Provisions

The Administration also proposes to allow private citizens to go directly to a Federal court with denial-of-rights complaints, permit the Justice Department to seek Federal court injunctions on behalf of persons deprived of civil rights and authorize the department to bring suit against conspiracies to violate civil rights.

About twenty Southern Senators are prepared to participate in a filibuster with the aim of preventing a vote on such a program if it reaches the floor. Civil rights Senators have an understanding with the Democratic leaders, including Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, that a real opportunity to break the filibuster and pass a bill will be afforded them early in the session.

Their strategy will be to wear down the opposing orators by holding the Senate in continuous session after a week or so of debate. They believe this can be done. The alternative, which may be tried in any event, is to limit debate by invoking closure, which requires sixty-four votes under present rules.

In the House

Like Senator Johnson, Speaker Sam Rayburn of the House is opposed to civil rights legislation but will not stand in the way of bringing the issue to a vote on the floor. Barring a possible hitch in the Rules Committee, it now seems certain that the House will pass a bill patterned closely on the Administration's proposals.

The immediate problem is to get a bill to the Senate floor from Mr. Eastland's Judiciary Committee without too much delay. Dilatory tactics are likely to be employed in the committee despite the apparent desire of a majority to report a bill after reasonable consideration. But those in charge of civil rights strategy are voicing confidence that the committee will act in time to assure a Senate showdown in April or May after a three to five week struggle on the floor.

10 1957

Today in National Affairs

Civil-Rights Issue Cited As Behind Filibuster Fight

By DAVID LAWRENCE

WASHINGTON, Jan. 7.—Back of the present controversy in the Senate as to whether debate shall be limited or unlimited is a larger battle over "civil rights" legislation, shortly to be pressed for passage, which would give the Federal government police rights in the states never before granted by any law of Congress. Perhaps another way of describing it is to say that it is a battle over constitutional rights.

Lawrence

Time was when every state in the Union sent two Senators to Washington specifically to protect the rights of those states.

Today, no matter how vigorously the Senators from the Southern states may protest against the loss of the constitutional rights of their own states, an arbitrary majority of the Supreme Court of the United States can apparently take away those rights. Hence, there is a great risk to the South in allowing any laws—abridging the rights of the states—to be passed by the Senate which would be put up to the present Supreme Court to rule upon as to constitutionality. For the Supreme Court has revealed itself in decision after decision in recent months as ready to cut down the rights of the states to govern themselves in matters of education and the maintenance of order—both of which have long been recognized as issues for state governments and courts to handle.

Abuses of power lead to further abuses of power. The Constitution doesn't spell out the limits of every right or privilege, so it is up to the Supreme Court to interpret them. Until now the court has been a judicial body. It has paid attention to precedents in law as laid down from time immemorial. But lately the court has taken "psychological" questions into consideration and has upset precedents of long standing because "public opinion" apparently feels that way. It's another tragic example of the doctrine of the end being cited as justifying the means.

Under the Nazi dictatorship in Germany in the 1930s, the German constitution was swept aside and instructions were issued to the courts to decide cases in accordance with "public sentiment." Legal precedents were disregarded. The late John W. Davis, in a speech at the time, bitterly criticized this as judicial tyranny.

Today American judges, using the power of injunction that has no limits placed upon it either as to time or scope, apparently may order citizens arrested and without jury trial, punish them if they appear to have violated the terms of a sweeping injunction.

Broadest Injunction

Precisely this situation has arisen in Clinton, Tenn., where a Federal judge has issued about as broad an injunction as has ever come from the judiciary. It has been used to arrest persons who were not parties to the original Supreme Court order such as local school boards and state governments. It has been construed so as to arrest citizens exercising their right of free speech. Cases of intimidation by one citizen as against another have arisen, but these have been hiterto handled by state courts and not by Federal injunction.

This has always been the constitutional rule. In fact, in February, 1950, the United States Circuit Court of Appeals of the Eighth Circuit held that the district court had no jurisdiction to enter a decree "enjoining the world at large" and that the defendants who were not parties to the original action in which the injunction was issued could not be adjudged in contempt. Judge Learned Hand of the Second United States Circuit Court of Appeals ruled the same way in a notable case.

Now the South, fearing that a new set of "civil rights" laws may be passed, is disturbed about what may be done with the broadened power of judicial injunction. So the Southerners in the Senate are not going to let any new laws on "civil rights" get through Congress, even if they have to block them by filibusters and delaying tactics.

Protecting Minority

No legislative body in the world has been as careful to portect the rights of the minority in its ranks as has the United States Senate. "Filibustering" has been denounced again and again as obstructive, but those in the minority nevertheless have been able to stop impulsive action and the passage of many unwise measures by compelling a thorough discussion. A "cloture" can, under existing rules, be invoked to cut off debate whenever two-thirds of the Senators want to do so. The new effort is aimed at amending the rules so that a simple majority of forty-nine can override the will of forty-seven in the Senate.

The constitution provides that there must be a two-thirds vote to ratify a treaty—and often important rights of the states are involved. The constitution does not say whether a simple majority or two-thirds shall cut off debate in the Senate but says merely that each House of Congress shall adopt its own rules. Last week the Senate, by a simple majority vote of 55-to-38, refused to adopt a new set of rules. So the old rules still prevail and, as long as at least one-third of the Senators stand up for states' rights, they can by prolonged discussion prevent any bills from being voted on in the Upper House of Congress that could cut down the rights of the states.

CIVIL RIGHTS GROUP MAY HEAR COLEMAN

He And Patterson Slated Before House Unit

JACKSON, Miss., Jan. 28.—(AP)—The Governor and Attorney General of Mississippi, a stronghold of segregation, expect to testify in Washington against Federal civil rights legislation.

Gov. J. P. Coleman said Monday the Mississippi congressional delegation has "insisted" on the appearance of himself and Atty. Gen. Joe T. Patterson before a House Judiciary Subcommittee.

The subcommittee, headed by Representative Emanuel Celler (D., N.Y.), has no Southern members, the Governor noted at his news conference. Governor Coleman specifically said he and Mr. Patterson were asked to testify "in opposition to" the legislation.

Governor Coleman said he understood four days of hearings are planned but that no dates have been set. He said he has notified House Speaker Sam Rayburn and Mr. Celler that he and Mr. Patterson will be available to testify.

Before being elected Governor, Mr. Coleman as attorney general wrote the majority of Mississippi's new laws to uphold segregation. He has often said Mississippi is the only state which has not given ground on segregation and expressed belief the state will not.

CIVIL RIGHTS HEARING WILL OPEN MONDAY

Coleman, Patterson To Talk At Washington

From The Commercial Appeal Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, Feb. 1.—Gov. J. P. Coleman, Atty. Gen. Joe T. Patterson and Representative Frank E. Smith (D., Miss.) are among Mississippi witnesses who will appear to testify on Federal civil rights legislation at hearings starting Monday before a House Judiciary subcommittee.

Alabamans who already have said they will appear include Atty. Gen. John Patterson and his chief assistant, McDonald Gallion, Judge George C. Wallace of Clayton, State Senator Sam Engelhardt of Shorter, and Rev. Fred Gray of Montgomery a Negro leader in the Montgomery bus integration dispute.

The subcommittee clerk said that thus far no witnesses have said they will appear from Arkansas, Tennessee, Louisiana, Kentucky or Missouri.

Last year, Atty. Gen. George McCanless of Tennessee appeared before a Senate subcommittee in opposition to all civil rights bills then pending. He questioned both their constitutionality and necessity.

The hearings will commence Monday, and are expected to last through the week and possibly into the following week, despite efforts to limit them to four days. The subcommittee clerk did not specify which days particular witnesses will appear. Governor Coleman and Mr. Patterson are expected to appear Tuesday or Wednesday.

HENNINGS DEFEATED ON CIVIL RIGHTS PLEA

Two Moves To Rush Decision Lose In Committee

From The Commercial Appeal Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, Jan. 30.—Senator Thomas C. Hennings Jr. (D., Mo.) Wednesday lost two attempts to expedite consideration of civil rights legislation.

The Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, which he heads, voted 5 to 2 against immediate approval of his omnibus civil rights bill which includes the Administration's program.

The subcommittee then voted 4 to 3 against limiting public hearings on the legislation to two weeks, starting Feb. 12.

Only Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney (D., Wyo.) supported Senator Hennings' proposal for immediate approval of his bill. Voting against it were Senators Sam J. Ervin Jr. (D., N. C.), Olin D. Johnston (D., S. C.), Roman L. Hruska (R., Neb.), Arthur V. Watkins (R., Utah), and William Langer (R., N. D.).

The effect of the action was to delay Senate consideration of civil rights legislation. The full Judiciary Committee must approve it after it clears the subcommittee. It then goes to the Senate.

Senator Hennings is supporting his own bill, which, while it includes Administration proposals, also contains other features. Most Republicans are for the Administration bill in preference to the Hennings Democratic measure.

The Hennings bill would provide for a Federal civil rights commission and a civil rights division in the Justice Department. It also would give the attorney general additional power to protect voting and other civil rights, permit civil action in civil rights cases, and make lynching and bodily attack on members of the armed forces a Federal offense. The Administration measure omits lynching and attacks on armed forces members.

Senator Hennings said he will continue to press for action on his bill and will hold hearings day and night if necessary to expedite consideration, after hearings begin Feb. 12.

A House judiciary subcommittee will open hearings Feb. 4 on the Administration bill. The House subcommittee has limited its hearings to four days.

STATE TO SPEAK ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Hodges Sending Ed Scheidt to Capital to Present N. C. Views There

Governor Luther Hodges wants to make sure North Carolina has its say on civil rights legislation being considered by a Congressional committee in Washington.

The Governor said yesterday at his press conference that Motor Vehicles Commissioner Ed Scheidt will testify next Tuesday before the House Judiciary Committee which is looking over a civil rights bill.

"Six or seven" North Carolina congressmen had wired him "in the last 72 hours", urging that he join them in demanding public hearings on the civil rights bill, the Governor said.

The North Carolina delegation had informed him, Governor Hodges said, that the House Judiciary Committee chairman, Rep. Celler of New York, wanted to bring out the bill without any public hearing.

The Governor said he had wired

Celler and Speaker Sam Rayburn of the House urging that public hearings be held.

Scheidt will testify as the State's chief officer of law enforcement. His Motor Vehicles Department includes the State Highway Patrol.

Scheidt, whose experience includes 21 years' service in the FBI, said last night he was "in the process of getting together remarks I will make before the committee."

What he will have to say to the Congressmen will deal with the "effects of the civil rights bill on law enforcement," he said.

News + Observer

He said he regards the civil rights bill "as detrimental to the best interests of law enforcement."

Governor Hodges called the Eisenhower Administration's civil rights bill "a Pandora's box of legislation that would create a lot of confusion in the way of arrests and lawsuits in the country.

The bill has nothing to do with true civil rights," the Governor said.

Fri. 2-1-57

No decision has been reached on when the U. S. Senate will hold hearings on the bill, but North Carolina will have somebody there when it does, Governor Hodges said.

Senator Sam Ervin will keep him informed on the Senate's handling of the bill. the Governor said. Ervin is a member of the Judiciary committee which will pass judgment on the bill in the Senate.

Civil Rights Bills . . .

This Session, Congress May Act

By Robert C. Albright

Post + Times Herald P. 15-A
Washington D.C.
Sun. 1-31-57

Albright

CONGRESS now is going through the seasonal though generally unproductive motions of calling up and considering a civil rights program, with one important change in form: This session something may come of it.

Political pressures, stemming mainly from important shifts in the Negro voting pattern in the last election, already have changed the outlook for enacting at least a minimum program from "fair" to "good."

The big, unanswered question at this stage is not if civil rights legislation of some sort can pass, despite determined Southern Senate opposition, but whether the legislation ultimately cleared will have any meaning.

What constitutes a "meaningful" program currently is a matter of dispute, even among liberals. The only point all appear agreed upon is that the entire civil rights matter is going to be so thoroughly debated that nobody will be fooled, least of all the Negro voter.

What are the proposals now in the hopper? What are the arguments for and against? Which bills have the best prospects for passage?

Capitol filing cabinets are so cluttered with civil rights measures at this point, that only two or three major groups can be dealt with in this space:

- The four bills generally known as President Eisenhower's civil rights program. They passed the House last session but died in the Senate. This year they stand a chance to pass both.
- The four measures generally known as the "Hennings bills." These cleared a Senate Judiciary subcommittee last year but died in the full Judiciary Committee. They represent a bipartisan attempt to combine both Administration and Democratic proposals.
- A number of more advanced civil rights proposals, put forward by Democratic liberals — generally in combination with the President's plan. Inclusion of the highly controversial FEPC bill in this omnibus measure probably dooms it.

THE President's program—which Democrats insist is little more than a pickup of some of the old Truman proposals—is, in one form or another, common to all of these plans. For that obvious reason, and because it affords the best middle ground for a compromise, it would appear to have the best chance of passage.

Here are it's major features: (1) A bipartisan commission to investigate civil rights violations; (2) A Civil Rights division in the Justice Department; (3) New "right-to-vote" safeguards and (4) Authority for the Attorney General to seek preventive relief in the courts in civil rights cases.

Would this constitute "meaningful" legislation in the sense that minority groups would accept it as a major contribution to civil rights?

Spokesmen for these groups say definitely yes if all four provisions are enacted in the form they were submitted. The danger is that the program may be reduced to a hollow shell in running the legislative gantlet. The subpena authority, they argue, might be withheld from the bipartisan commission, leaving it able to accomplish little more than a private inquiry agency could. Or the Attorney General might be denied the proposed new power to obtain an injunction if necessary to assure the right to vote to any individual.

The so-called voter participation features of the President's plan go to the heart of the Negro problem in the South.

A bipartisan investigatory commission, with power of subpena, would be welcome to civil rights groups, but is not nearly so basic as the third and fourth points in the President's program.

These proposed sections do three things. First, they prevent anyone from threatening, intimidating, or coercing an individual in his right to vote, whether claiming to act under color of law or not. Second, they provide authority for the Attorney General to seek preventive injunctive relief for any individual on the spot, as well as damages after the offense. Third, they free an aggrieved person from exhausting state administrative and judicial remedies before turning to the Federal courts.

IN recommending these features, Attorney General Herbert Brownell has cited the case of three Negroes who in 1952 filed affidavits charging that a registar in a certain county in Mississippi refused to register them.

"Although the Mississippi statutes at that time required only that an applicant be able to read and write the Constitution, these affidavits alleged that the registrar demanded that the Negro citizens (some of whom were colleges graduates) answer such questions as 'What is due process of law'? . . . and . . . 'How many bubbles in a bar of soap?' " Brownell said.

"Now, we believe that if the Attorney General had the power to invoke the injunctive process that the registrar could have been ordered to stop these discriminatory practices and qualify these citizens according to Mississippi law without having to go to the criminal process."

The second point in the President's bill, creates an additional assistant attorney general who would be in charge of a new civil rights division. At present there is only a civil rights section in the criminal division of the Department.

Some congressional liberals, who do not think these proposals go far enough, say the Justice Department does not need to come to Congress to create such a division. They argue, moreover, that the Justice Department already has excellent facilities, including the FBI, for investigating civil rights infractions without setting up a new Federal commission. They will go along with these and other features of the President's bill, but describe them as, to say the least, "moderate."

Not so, say the Southern critics of the President's proposals. They stirred up quite a ruckus before the bill passed the House last session and are quite certain to raise Ned again in both Houses.

SOUTHERNERS SEE RIGHTS 'GESTAPO'

Times P. 12-C

Witnesses at House Inquiry Link President's Program to Soviet Police State

Fri. 2-8-57

New York

WASHINGTON, Feb. 7 (AP)—Southern witnesses denounced President Eisenhower's civil rights program today as containing the seed of a "Soviet type gestapo."

Critics from Georgia and Alabama opened such an attack before a House Judiciary subcommittee that Northern members protested against "inflammatory" statements.

"Enactment of this legislation," said Eugene Cook, Attorney General of Georgia, "would result in creation of a Federal gestapo which would hold needless investigations, pry into the affairs of the states and their citizens, and intimidate a majority of our citizens solely to appease the politically powerful minority pressure groups inspired by the Communistic ideologies of the police state."

Representative Henderson Lanham, Democrat of Georgia, appearing as a witness against the civil rights legislation, said "Stalin himself could not have conceived" as effective a surrender of local powers as the program would authorize.

Circuit Judge George C. Wallace of Clayton, Ala., told the subcommittee he was "not going to permit any unlawful interference by the Federal police in my district." He said he would "order the arrest of any Federal agent" who came into his judicial district and "demanded" a jury list.

Mr. Wallace said he was referring to an incident in which he said agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation "took over the courthouse" in Cobb County, Ga.

The chairman, Representative Emanuel Celler, Democrat of Brooklyn, told Mr. Wallace that this was a "high handed" statement. Mr. Celler said it was the duty of the F. B. I. to determine whether constitutional guarantees were being violated.

Representative Kenneth B. Keating, Republican of upstate New York, contended that the agents had gone into Georgia to determine whether Negroes were being systematically excluded from jury duty.

Mr. Lanham said, "The F. B. I. had no business there in the first place and the Attorney General was using the F. B. I. for political purposes."

Testimony favoring the legislation came from Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers, who said it was time for Congress to change its "do-nothing record" on civil rights.

Mr. Reuther contended that states, communities and labor unions were making progress in eliminating racial and religious discrimination and "only Congress has failed to act."

The union leader said there was a keen public awareness of delaying tactics by civil rights foes, and he said the prospect for "meaningful civil rights legislation" seemed better than in past years.

The legislation would do four things:

Create a Federal commission to investigate reported civil rights violations; create a civil rights division in the Justice Department headed by an Assistant Attorney General; set up new laws to protect votingrights, and permit the Government to use court injunctions against violations, and provide for civil damage suits where civil rights had been violated.

Mr. Celler said hearings would continue into next week.

Brownell Asks Civil Rights Act

United Press

Attorney General Herbert Brownell Jr. called on Congress yesterday to "get right down to business and pass" the Administration's civil rights bill.

"There hasn't been any important civil rights legislation for many, many years, and it's overdue," he said.

Brownell made the statement in a filmed television interview with Rep. Harold C. Ostertag (R-N. Y.).

Brownell also told Ostertag he believed the Government's screening system would prevent Communists from slipping into this country under the Hungarian refugee program.

He said the refugees are checked "very carefully" twice —once in Austria and again on their arrival in this country.

A House Judiciary Subcommittee on immigration last week opened an investigation of the security aspects of the refugee program.

Immigration Commissioner Joseph Swing, the first witness, testified that of the 23,000 refugees admitted to this country, only 14 have been deported. Of the 14, he said, only three had subversive backgrounds.

President Eisenhower has called upon Congress this year to enact the four-point civil rights program he recommended last year.

The program calls for the creation of a presidential commission on civil rights, the establishment of a civil rights division within the Justice Department, a grant of authority to the Government to protect civil rights in the courts, and greater protection for minority voting rights.

The program passed the House last year but it died in the Senate in the face of a threatened Southern filibuster.

Another House Judiciary subcommittee plans to open four days of hearings Feb. 4 on the Administration's proposal and other civil rights bills.

Brownell said he does not see "any necessity for extended hearings" on Mr. Eisenhower's recommmendations inasmuch as they have been before Congress for more than a year.

Brownell told Ostertag that the right to cast a secret ballot is "the most important of all civil rights." He said enactment of the Administration's program would "give us the tools" and enable the department to protect that right.

IN WASHINGTON HEARING

Mississippi Civil Rights Foes To Give Testimony

JACKSON, Miss., Jan. 28 (AP) — The governor and attorney general of Mississippi, a stronghold of segregation, expect to testify in Washington against Federal civil rights legislation.

Gov. J. P. Coleman said today the Mississippi congressional delegation has "insisted" on the appearance of himself and Atty Gen. Joe T. Patterson before a house judiciary subcommittee.

The subcommittee, headed by Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-NY), has no southern members, the governor noted at his news conference. Coleman specifically said he and Patterson were asked to testify "in opposition to" the legislation.

Coleman said he understood four days of hearings are planned but that no dates have been set. He said he has notifed House Speaker Sam Rayburn and Celler that he and Patterson will be available to testify.

Before being elected governor, Coleman as attorney general wrote the majority of Mississippi's new laws to uphold segregation. He has often said Mississippi is the only state which has not given ground on segregation and expressed belief the state will not.

The governor also: 1. made peace with the press, apparently ending the squabble over barring reporters from recent conferences with legislators: 2. Said there is no ground for speculation.

A special legislative session will be called, and 3. said he hasn't decided whether to reappoint Claude I. Bruton of Jackson to the Workmen's Compensation Commission but that Bruton will continue to serve until the Senate convenes next January.

A peace pipe purchased at a dime store by W. F. Minor, capital correspondent for the New Orleans Times-Picayune, was passed around to formalize the declared peace between the governor and press. Minor and several newspapers had protested the closed-door policy on the legislative talks but Coleman maintained the conferences could not have been effective otherwise.

GAINS ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta (Ga.) Constitution, has been named national chairman of the Newspaper Committee for Brotherhood week. Louis B. Seltzer, editor, The Cleveland Press, is national chairman of the observance.

Jackson, Sr., completed a total of forty years of Navy and Federal Service when he was retired here this week as elevator operator of the 90 Church street offices. He served Admiral Radford when the admiral was an ensign in the Navy.

Esther Conifee, a product of Hunter college, is said to be the only Negro court reporter in the New York City Transit Authority. Recentl she placed first on the list out of 500 candidates to take the examination for Hearing Reporter for the state of New York.

Magic in African Art is the Segy Gallery exhibition opening the first of next month.

MD Medical Newsmagazine, a new monthly publication, has made its first appearance from its 60th street editorial offices. Editor-in-chief is Dr. Felix Marti-Ibanez.

"World News Roundup," a program which sparingly advances television news coverage so that overseas spot news reporting becomes an integral part of television news has premiered on CBS Television Network. It is heard from 3:30-4:00 on Sundays.

Dr. Morrill Moore, distinguished psychiatrist of Boston, Mass, author and former Fisk professor, is working on new manuscript since he returned from New Zealand.

H. H. Wilson company calls attention to the newly revised YEARBOOK AND GUIDE TO SOUTHERN AFRICAN AND YEAR BOOK AND GUIDE TO EAST AFRICA. Much of the information is unavailable anywhere else in the English language.

Scholarship aid valued at over $200,000 will be awarded to high school seniors this year by 23 cooperating privately-owned colleges in 11 states. Persons interested may secure information from the Fisk (liaison office) university, Nashville, Tenn. Invitations were extended for an eye-witness "Report from Montgomery" program presented at Port Chester Jewish Center by the Port Chester-Rye branch of the NAACP to launch the 1957 effort for its "Fighting Fund for Freedom."

Bids are in the mail for the American Friends of Liberian Soiree slated for the Renaissance Casino next Sunday afternoon.

Hit Stratton For Ignoring Rights

SPRINGFIELD, Ill. — Gov. William G. Stratton was taken to task late last week for completely ignoring the matter of civil rights on Monday when he outlined the program of his second four-year term of office in a 4,500 word-inaugural address delivered to an estimated 7,000 persons at the state armory.

Gerald D. Bullock, president of the Illinois Conference of NAACP branches, in a letter to the governor said:

"We consider this a very serious omission and call upon you to call, in a special message or otherwise, for the passage of civil rights legislation by the 70th session of the Illinois General Assembly and "to clearly indicate your support for such measures."

FEPC PLEDGE

The NAACP once more called the governor's attention to his campaign pledge of support for FEPC-equal job opportunities leg-

GOV. STRATTON

islation. Bullock in his letter said "Now is the time for action to place Illinois in the front rank of those states having effective legislation to combat racial segregation and discrimination. Far too long has Illinois lagged behind the times in this respect."

"Governor Stratton has once more shocked the modern world," said Bullock. "In an hour when thousands are praying for interracial amity he has repeated his performance of 1955 and snubbed Illinois' largest minority group, and has confounded that substantial body of Negro voters who voted Republican last November."

Stratton presented a comprehensive 13-point program of fiscal and general welfare reforms covering such diverse subjects as education and highway construction, mental health and judicial reforms.

He also paid tribute to the 68th and 69th general assemblies for their enactment of many of his earlier proposals, and applauded the prosperity of business and expansion of industry in the state.

Humphrey Is Ahead With 12

By ETHEL L. PAYNE

WASHINGTON—Nearly 60 bills on civil rights have been introduced thus far in Congress. High scorer in the Senate is Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D) Minn. with 12 bills.

Supporting the bills along with Houmphrey were Sens. Joseph Clark, Pa.; Paul Douglas, Ill.; Patrick McNamara, Mich.; James Murray, Montana; Matthew Neeley, W. Va.; Richard Neuberger, and Wayne Morse, Ore; John Pastore, R. I.; all Democrats and Sens. Irving Ives., N. Y.; William Langer, N. D.; and Thomas Kuchel, Calif., Republicans.

On the opening day of Congress, there was such a crush of bills introduced in the House (nearly 1500) that it was several days before they could be printed and several Congressmen vied for multiple bills on civil rights dropped into the hopper.

Reps. John Dingell (D) Mich., and William L. Dawson (D) Ill., each introduced six bills and joined in other concurrent bills as did Rep. Barratt O'Hara (D) Ill.

Congressman Isidore Dollinger (D) N. Y. had a score of five and James Roosevelt (D) Calif., set a record of seven. Republican John F. Baldwin, Calif., introduced one bill and Democrat William A. Barrett, Pa., set a mark of eight bills on civil rights. Rep. Edna Kelley (D) N. Y. dropped two into the hopper, one on travel and one on fair employment practices.

GUARD BIAS

Cong. Abraham Multer (D) N.Y. proposed H. R. 827, a bill to with-

hold Federal aid from National Guard organizations which practice discrimination and segregation on account of race and color. Republicans Peter Frelinghuysen, N. Y., and John Keating, N. Y., each introduced one.

Apparently Adam Powell was reserving his fire for later in the school construction bill which he plans to introduce. He got on board with just one.

Defender P.4

Most of the House bills embraced protection of the right to vote; establishment of a bi-partisan Congressional committee to strengthen laws covering criminal abuses and also an executive commission to investigate complaints of violation, and raising the Civil Rights section in the Justice Department to a full division with an assistant attorney general in charge; fair employment practices; anti-lynching; the abolition of the poll tax; and bills to amend and supplement existing civil rights statutes.

Cong. Dollinger asked for withholding of Federal funds from schools which discriminate against students because of race and color in his H. R. 161, and he also asked to withhold funds where there is discrimination in housing.

Congressman Roosevelt's package contained H. R. 438, a bill to strengthen the laws regarding convict labor; peonage, slavery, and involuntary servitude.

Back on the Senate side, the Humphrey bills included all of the above mentioned provisions, plus one for the protection to members of the Armed Forces in uniform against bodily attack, the same as members of the Coast Guard now have.

In addition to the Humphrey omnibus bills, Sens. Thomas Hennings (D) Mo., Joseph O'Mahoney (D) Wyo.; and William Langer (R) N. D., sponsored three bills on political participation; to reorganize the Justice Dept. for the protection of civil rights and one anti-lynching bill.

DIRKSEN BILL

On Jan. 7, Sen. Everett Dirksen (R) Ill., introduced S 83, a bill to provide further means of securing and protecting the civil rights of persons within the jurisdiction of the United States to the Committee on Judiciary.,

Dirksen was joined by Sens. Gordon Allott, Colorado; Frank Barrett, Wyo.; Glenn Beall, Md.; Wallace Bennett, Utah; John Bricker, Ohio; Prescott Bush, Conn.; John Marshall Butler, Md.; Homer Capehart, Ind.; Frank Carlson, Kans.; Clifford Case, N. J.; John Sherman Cooper, Ky.; Henry Dworshak, Idaho; Ralph Flanders, Vt.; Roman Hruska, Neb.; Irving Ives, N. Y.; William Jenner, Ind.; William Knowland, Calif.; Thomas Kuchel, Calif.; William Langer, N. D.

OTHERS SIGN

Thomas Martin, Iowa; Edward Martin, Pa.; Frederick Payne, Maine; Charles Potter, Mich.; William Purtell, Conn.; Leverett Salton stall, Mass. H;. Alexander Smith, N.J.; Edward Thye, Minn.; Arthur Watkins, Utah; Chapman Revercomb, W. Va.; Andrew Schoeppel, Kans.; and Alexander Wiley, Wis.; all Republican with the exception of Edward Martin of Pennsylvania.

Sen. William Knowland(R)Calif.; **introduced a proposed amendment to Rule 22 which would, in brief, allow two-thirds of those present to make changes. He was poined in this by Democratic Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson; but Sen. Paul Douglas (D) Ill., has already challenged this as unworkable, an said he would introduce his own modification for fillibuster.**

Ike Will Press For Civil Rights Bill, Says Brownell

Journal and Guide P.1 Norfolk, Va.

Special To Journal and Guide

NEW YORK — Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., revealed last week that Pres. Eisenhower plans to press the year for legilation "to provide authority to make civil rights a living force in our society, not merely an empty phrase."

Jet 2-2-57

Mr. Brownell made the announcement during a speech before the Westchester Republican county committee at the Hotel Commodore Thursday night.

HE SAID that the President's civil rights proposals "are designed to give real substance to the guaranties of the Constitution which guarantee equal protection of the laws to all our citizens."

He said the proposals will include:

1. Creation of a bi-partisan commission with subpoena powers to investigate charges that a citizen was deprived of his right to vote or subjected to undue economic pressure for trying to exercise his fran-

Special to Journal and Guide

chise.

2. Creation of a Civil Rights Division in the Department of Justice iwht its head appointed by the President.

3. Giving the government the right to have civil authority to seek injunctions in cases where civil rights are invaded.

4. Authorizing the government to prosecute individuals who attempt to prevent citizens from voting. At present the government can only move against government officals.

* * *

MR. BROWNELL declared that "we do not seek to change our Federal system which places primary responsibility for maintaining law and order on the states and local communities," but that the legislation sought "aims to stop practices and subterfugs by which our Negro citizens are deprived of their right to vote."

HENNINGS IS BALKED IN CIVIL RIGHTS DRIVE

Commercial Appeal

Senate Call Ends Committee Study Of Resolution

Wed. 1-23-57

HEARING LIMIT PROPOSED

Memphis, Tenn.

By MORRIS CUNNINGHAM

From The Commercial Appeal Washington Bureau

P.17

WASHINGTON, Jan. 22.—Senator Thomas C. Hennings Jr. (D., Mo.) Tuesday tried to force the Senate Judiciary Committee to speed its consideration of civil rights legislation, but was temporarily rebuffed.

A bell signaling the start of Tuesday's Senate session broke up a meeting of the judiciary committee and temporarily terminated consideration of the Missourian's resolution.

Will Renew Efforts

He announced he will renew his efforts at the next committee session, Feb. 4.

Meanwhile, in a reorganization of the judiciary committee and its subcommittees, four new members were named to the subcommittee on constitutional rights which handles civil rights legislation and which Senator Hennings heads.

Added to the subcommittee were Senators Sam J. Ervin Jr. (D., N. C.), Olin D. Johnston (D., S. C.), Arthur V. Watkins (R., Utah) and Roman L. Hruska (R., Neb.).

The new members left the subcommittee apparently 5-2 in favor of civil rights legislation. In addition to Senator Hennings, the other members are Senator Joseph C. O. Mahoney (D., Wyo.) and Senator William Langer (R., N. D.).

Foes Hold Power

The 5-2 lineup was only slightly better than the situation on the full judiciary committee. Of its 15 members, only its four Southerners are on record as opposing civil rights legislation.

Senator Hennings' resolution would require that hearings on civil rights bills be completed by Feb. 18 and the judiciary committee required to vote on the bills by Feb. 25.

The effect would be to move civil rights bills to the Senate floor comparatively early in the session when a Southern filibuster would have the least chance of killing them.

The Washington bureau of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People congratulated Senator Hennings in a telegram for his "prompt effort to seek favorable action on ciivl rights legislation."

The NAACP also sent a telegram to other members of the judiciary committee urging them "to remember that in August Senator James O. Eastland (D., Miss.) chairman of the Judiciary committee "boasted that he killed civil rights legislation (last year) in the committee" by having Senator Olin D. Johnson read a brief for five weeks."

Deifnite Curb Urged

"We urge that you vote for a definite time and termination date for civil rights hearings to prevent a repeat performance of the filibuster tactics," the telegram said.

Last year civil rights bills died in the Judiciary Committee after prolonged hearings and in the face of a threatened Southern filibuster in the closing days of the Senate session.

Senator Hennings said he was offering his resolution "so there will be a real opportunity for the United States Senate to vote on this matter."

The Missourian is sponsoring a series of civil rights bills which he says are stronger than President Eisenhower's proposals. They would create a Civil Rights Division in the Justice Department, establish a commission to investigate civil rights complaints, make lynchings a Federal offense and undertake to protect Negro voting rights. The President's proposals include all but the anti-lynching measure, but differ in provisions and penalties.

Target Date In Senate Fixed On Civil Rights

SEN. KNOWLAND
Target Date Set

March 1 Set For Opening Of Big Push

Advertiser Mon. 2-4-57 Montgomery, Ala. P. 1

WASHINGTON, Feb. 3 (AP)—Sen. Knowland (R-Calif) today put a March 1 target date on efforts to get President Eisenhower's civil rights program before the Senate for debate.

Knowland, the Republican leader, told reporters the Senate may have to "wear down" an expected Southern filibuster against consideration of the bill if the necessary 64 affirmative votes can't be mustered to muzzle debate.

By whatever means the end is accomplished, he said he is confident that civil rights legislation will be enacted in this session of Congress.

"I hope we can get a bill reported to the Senate by the Judiciary Committee by the end of this month," he said. "As soon as the Middle East resolution is out of the way, then we ought to turn our attention to civil rights."

Democratic leaders were reported less optimistic than Knowland about early Senate action. They apparently believed the civil rights measure would not be brought up in the Senate until late in April.

BEGINNING FEB. 12

Chairman Hennings (D-Mo) has ordered committee hearings on civil rights proposals beginning Feb. 12. Sen. Watkins (R-Utah), who voted against a proposal last week by Hennings to report a civil rights bill out of a Judiciary subcommittee without hearings, said he will oppose any effort to drag the hearings out.

The full Judiciary Committee is reported to favor action on civil rights legislation by an 11-4 margin.

Sen. Byrd (D-Va) served notice that Southerners are prepared to fight.

"We will make the best fight we are capable of making to prevent any action on these bills," Byrd said in an interview. "The proposal to permit taking civil rights suits directly into federal court is one of the most inquitous ever made in Congress."

WITHOUT JURY TRIAL

Under Eisenhower's proposals, the attorney general or even a private citizen could seek injunctions in federal courts to enforce school integration. Where injunctions are granted, violators could be punished for contempt, without jury trial.

Eisenhower's program also calls for creation of a presidential commission to investigate complaints of civil rights violations, establishment of a civil rights division in the Justice Department, and giving the attorney general increased powers to protect voting and other rights.

Hennings has proposed going further. He suggests an antilynching bill and a measure to make bodily attacks on uniformed members of the armed services a federal offense.

Byrd said Southerners are counting on 19 active participants in any filibuster that may develop. Dixie Strategy meetings to plan this fight have not been attended by Sens. Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, the majority leader, and Sens. Kefauver and Gore of Tennessee.

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IN PRESIDENT'S PLAN

Advertiser P. 1

States Told Rights Intact

Tues. 2-5-57 Montgomery, Ala.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 4 (AP)—Atty. Gen. Brownell declared today there would be no federal encroachment on states' authority in the administration's civil rights program. He urged passage of the legislation to "affirm the Congress' determination to secure equal justice under law for all of our citizens."

Brownell, first witness at a hearing called by the House Judiciary Committee, said the program is designed to protect rights guaranteed by the Constitution through civil action rather than by criminal prosecution as the law now requires.

There was every indication the program faces rough sledding in the House as well as in the Senate. Southern congressmen served notice they were ready to use all parliamentary devices to delay it.

Rep. Colmer (D-Miss) succeeded in blocking plans of the Judiciary Committee to meet while the House is in session. This may string the hearings out over some time.

Under House rules, all but three exempted committees must recess hearings when the House meets unless given unanimous permission to continue. The three committees exempt from the rule are Appropriations, Un-American Activities, and Government Operations. Colmer objected when Democratic Leader McCormack of Massachusetts requested unanimous consent for the Judiciary Committee to ignore the rule. Such requests usually are granted as a matter of course.

Still to be heard by the committee were a number of officials from Southern states. Rep. Willis (D-La) said they will offer "formidable" arguments against President Eisenhower's program.

The program, one of the major pieces of legislative business sent to Congress by Eisenhower, calls for laws to protect voting rights and provides for civil damage suits where civil rights have been violated, as determined by the courts.

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Congressman Boykin Named Zone Chairman

WASHINGTON, Feb. 4 (AP) — House members from Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana — all Democrats—today chose Rep. Boykin (D-Ala) chairman of their zone group and pledged an all-out fight against civil rights legislation.

The group also named Rep. Frank Smith (D-Miss) zone whip and Rep. Selden (D-Ala) secretary. The group agreed unanimously, members said, to make opposition to the proposed civil rights legislation their chief concern during the 85th Congress.

Crippling The Cops

Advertiser P. 4-a Tues. 2-5-57 Montgomery, Ala.

The Administration's civil rights proposal, which Senate Republican Leader Knowland says may be up for debate March 1, has aroused words of caution from some outside the South who fear the expansion of federal police powers.

For example, the California Peace Officers Association, at the urging of Police Chief William H. Parker of Los Angeles, has warned Congress that the plan "might seriously cripple law enforcement." Chief Parker said the Administration's plan, if enacted, "would put the police out of business."

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The President's plan includes the following recommendations:

¶ A six-member bipartisan commission to investigate civil rights problems.

¶ A civil rights divison headed by an assistant attorney general with the Department of Justice.

¶ Authority for the attorney general to bring civil injunction proceedings in behalf of aggrieved individuals.

¶ Authority for individuals to take civil rights grievances directly to a federal court.

If these are enacted, it is almost impossible to imagine a criminal case, involving whites or Negroes, in which the federal cops could not logically be asked to intervene.

"Liberals" normally recoil in horror from anything which moves us toward a "police state," but they suspend their alarm when such moves are stamped as being in the interest of oppressed minority groups.

However, no matter how lofty the motives, the delegation of such vast powers to a central government is risky business in a democracy.

Rights Plan Threatens No State, Brownell Says

By JOSEPH A. LOFTUS

(Copyright 1957 by The New York Times Co.)

WASHINGTON, Feb. 4—Civil rights legislation, supposed to be one of the explosive issues of this Congress, caused scarcely more than a couple of minor ripples as public hearings began today. There were signs, though, that the Southern Democrats were simply delaying their fire.

Attorney General Herbert Brownell was the opening witness before a House judiciary subcommittee that took a judicious approach. Brownell assured the committee the administration's civil rights program implied no encroachment on states' authority.

Rep. Celler (D-NY), Judiciary Committee chairman who is conducting the hearings, ran into trouble signs in the House itself.

In his behalf, Majority Leader John McCormack of Massachusetts asked unanimous consent for an exception to the rules so the subcommittee could hold hearings all day, even though the House is in session. Most hearings suspend for the day at noon, when the House meets.

Rep. Colmer (D-Miss), objected to the unanimous consent request. Celler was able to hold an afternoon session, however, because the House adjourned at 1:45 p.m. The request probably will be renewed tomorrow and may be blocked again.

Celler ordered tomorrow's hearing to start at 9 a.m., an hour earlier than usual. He is trying to complete the hearings in four days.

Colmer's objection indicated the Southerners plan to resort to parliamentary tactics if necessary to delay the civil rights legislation.

At the hearing the only questions with an emotional potential were asked by a nonmember of the subcommittee, Rep. Willis (D-La). Willis, a member of the parent judiciary committee, was permitted to sit with the smaller group as a courtesy.

Willis wanted to know whether the protection of voting rights was not traditionally and fundamentally a matter of states' rights.

Brownell said he would be delighted if the action of the states was vigorous in thsi matter but that it was not vigorous enough and the federal government should have remedies to proceed where necessary to protect these rights.

PRESSES HIS POINT

Willis pressed his point in several different ways and Brownell repeated he would have to disagree. "The authority of the federal government is just as basic as the state government's." A little later he added: "I think 165 years is long enough myself to get this thing working."

Willis also wanted to know whether Brownell would invoke the proposed injunction provision if a student came to him and complained that a school board was depriving him of his rights.

"I would say that I wouldn't last very long as attorney general if I tried to answer every hypothetical question," Brownell replied.

The exchange was carried on without any raising of voices or expression of bitterness.

FOUR MAIN POINTS

Brownell repeated the four principal proposals of the President, on which he testified last year, said none of these "would extend or increase the area of civil rights in which federal jurisdiction as defined by the courts exists today. . . . In asking the Congress to provide civil remedies we are not asking for new and untried powers nor are we asking for any extension of federal jurisdiction in civil rights cases."

With civil remedies, for example, the government could get an injunction to prevent a threatened disfranchisement of voters.

The administration program also would create a bipartisan commission to study the field of civil rights, create a civil rights division in the Justice department and create new laws to aid in the enforcement of voting rights.

Negroes Bid Eisenhower Help Integration Fight

ATLANTA, Jan. 11 (UP).—Sixty Negro leaders, asserting that "a state of terror prevails," urged President Eisenhower today to come South immediately and use the "weight of his office" to bring about compliance with integration rulings.

The Negro leaders called for Presidential help as bus service in Montgomery, Ala., was shut down and a "Molotov cocktail" was hurled at a Chattanooga, Tenn., bus. Two bottles of gasoline, both of which burst into flames, damaged the Chattanooga vehicle, but the driver and six passengers escaped without injury.

The statement by the sixty Negro leaders here was issued after a two-day meeting of integration forces from nine states. The meeting also called on Vice-President Richard M. Nixon to make a "tour of the South" similar to the one he made in Europe on behalf of Hungarian refugees.

Heading the group is the Rev. Martin Luther King jr., leader of the year-long Montgomery bus boycott whose followers finally won vindication when the Supreme Court overthrew Alabama Jim Crow seating laws.

The leaders disclosed they had sent a letter to the President asking him to come South at once and make a major speech in a major Southern city urging "all Southerners to abide by the Supreme Court's decisions as the law of the land."

Even as the Negroes called upon white Southerners to choose between "anarchy and law," a new showdown was shaping up at Tallahassee, which with Montgomery has been one of the main integration test centers.

Gov. LeRoy Collins of Florida revoked his emergency order which suspended Tallahassee bus service on New Year's Day as a safety measure. The city meanwhile has adopted a new ordinance making bus drivers responsible for assigning seats so as to provide maximum safety and "health" for the passengers.

This was seen in legal circles a means to continue segregation, in effect, but the Rev. C. K. tSeele, Tallahassee integration leader at the Atlanta meeting, said the Negroes planned to ride where they pleased.

Violence Continues In South

WASHINGTON (ANP) -- President Eisenhower will not make a public speech in the South on civil rights as he has been urged to do by anti-segregation leaders, the Justice Department announced last week.

The Department has just made public a letter disclosing that the President's assistant Sherman Adams wired the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. before inauguration day that "it was not possible for the President to schedule a speaking engagement such as you asked."

The Department further disclosed that it had rejected an "urgent" request for a conference between Attorney General Herbert Brownell and representatives of the Southern Negro leaders on transportation and non-violent integration.

The Assistant Attorney General Warren Olney wired King two weeks ago that the Department "well understands your interest and position in this matter and no conference is needed to make this clear."

He claimed that a conference at this time to discuss specific incidents of violence would neither be helpful nor appropriate.

While the Justice Department was making these denials to request of Souhern Negro leaders to move into this situation, homes and churches were continued targets for bombings. The same day the Justice Department announced its position on this situation, buildings on a bi-racial farm near Americus, Georgia were fired into. Between 10 and 12 shots were fired into buildings on Friday night, one narrowly missing a 11-year-old-girl.

On the previous Tuesday night seven bullets were said to have been fired into a tenant house on the same farm and another struck a car beside the house.

In spite of all the violence, the Justice Department suggested that the Southern leaders should report promptly to the FBI or the local United States attorney if there were was any evidence of Federal offenses.

The spokesman for Justice said the FBI has been investigating a series of bombing incidents in Montgomery to determine if any Federal statue was violated.

Crippling The Cops

The Administration's civil rights proposal, which Senate Republican Leader Knowland says may be up for debate March 1, has aroused words of caution from some outside the South who fear the expansion of federal police powers.

For example, the California Peace Officers Association, at the urging of Police Chief William H. Parker of Los Angeles, has warned Congress that the plan "might seriously cripple law enforcement." Chief Parker said the Administration's plan, if enacted, "would put the police out of business."

The President's plan includes the following recommendations:

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"Liberals" normally recoil in horror from anything which moves us toward a "police state," but they suspend their alarm when such moves are stamped as being in the interest of oppressed minority groups.

However, no matter how lofty the motives, the delegation of such vast powers to a central government is risky business in a democracy.

10 1957

Walter M. Dawson

His Fight Against Bias Beginning to Pay Off!

WASHINGTON—At the recent national convention of the NAACP, the Washington branch of the civil rights organization was cited for "uncovering discrimination in the General Services Administration and presenting these findings to the President's Committee on Government Employment Policy."

The man who made it possible for the Washington branch to receive this particular citation is Walter M. Dawson, an electrician for the General Services Administration in the nation's capital and husband of the well known opera singer and producer, Mrs. Mary C. Dawson.

Mr. Dawson came here 16 years ago on the promise of a Federal senior electrician's job, but was still holding a lesser job two years ago when he finally exposed the jim-crow situation in his building.

He said his color held him back—not any lack of qualification.

■

A PATIENT and quiet man, Dawson pointed out how efforts were made by his superiors to get him to resign. As for qualification, he passed civil service tests for the senior electrician's job (CPC-7) before he left Pittsburgh in 1941. It was on this basis that he was called to Washington.

Since arriving in Washington, he has taken the test again and scored a 95, obtained a master electrician's license in the District of Columbia, and taught electrical work at night to some of the CPC-7s, 8s and 9s in his section. All during this time, he was still rated a CPC-6.

Back in December, 1955, Mr. Dawson finally found the opportunity to tell his story:

"I was chief electrician for the Pittsburgh Housing Authority in 1941 when I got two letters and a beautiful telegram asking me to leave my home and work for my Government. I had taken the exam three years ago and had forgotten about it.

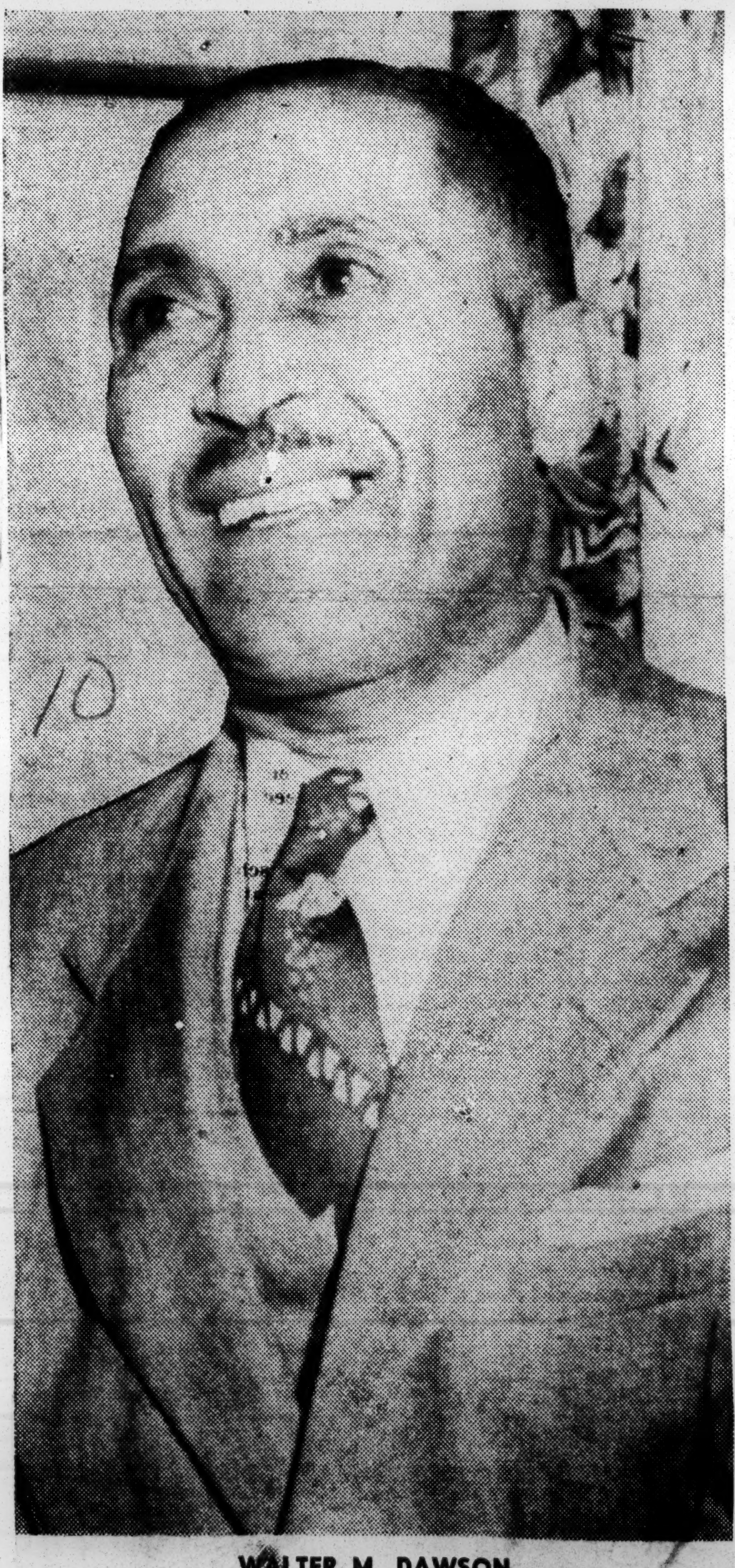
■

UPON REACHING Washington, he was sent to GSA and immediately, he said, "they started giving me down the country."

One of Mr. Dawson's superiors told him, "I've never seen a Negro good enough to be promoted to a 7."

They had Mr. Dawson cleaning fans back in 1955 and he says, "It's the lowest of jobs. When they want you to quit they put you on fans."

Thanks to Mr. Dawson, who was aided by NAACP lawyers, the case is on its way to the U. S. Supreme Court.



WALTER M. DAWSON

DEMOCRATIC COUNCIL HINTS IT WILL SEEK TOUGHER RIGHTS LAW

Commercial Appeal

Adopts What Is Described As No-Compromise Stand On Hot Party Issue

P. 1

SOUTH IS REBUFFED

Memphis, Tenn.

Formal Statement Will Be Issued Today — Economic Policy Of Administration Is Criticized

Mon. 10-21-57

By D. HAROLD OLIVER
Associated Press Staff Writer

WASHINGTON, Oct. 20.—The Democratic Advisory Council Sunday adopted what was described as a no-compromise stand on civil rights. It also directed its staff to study the need for recommending new legislation, possibly to cover other than just voting rights.

10

The 24-member council, which includes former President Truman and Adlai Stevenson, voted unanimously not to make public its civil rights statement until Monday. However several of the 17 members who met here Sunday indicated its tenor. Mr. Truman didn't attend the session.

Gov. Averell Harriman of New York, a strong supporter of civil rights legislation, said he was satisfied with the statement. He said it means the Democratic Party will never back down on civil rights.

Carolininan Oppose It

All Democratic National Chairman Paul M. Butler would tell newsmen about the civil rights statement was that one of two Southern members present voted against it. One member said the lone dissenter was Mrs. Benjamin B. Everett, North Carolina national committeewoman. The other Southerner reported present was Camille F. Gravel Jr., Louisiana national committeeman.

Governor Harriman said the council held up immediate publication of the civil rights statement in order to get a "better play" in the newspapers for an eight-page declaration against tight money and high prices.

The economic statement approved by the council criticized the Eisenhower Administration for what it called a "negative" policy to combat the "worst peacetime inflation" in history.

It called for a revision of the Administration's "tight money" policy, tax relief for small business, and price stability through firm notice to large firms that sound policy requires it. Also, the council said, collective bargaining should be conducted within the framework of present prices.

Little Rock Echoes

One council member said the civil rights statement, adopted just before the council ended two days of private sessions, reaffirmed a council declaration of Sept. 15 which criticized President Eisenhower's alleged lack of leadership in the Little Rock, Ark., school integration crisis. The September statement also said Gov. Orval Faubus' action in keeping Negroes out of the Central High School there with National Guard troops was not the position of the Democratic Party. That was nine days before the President ordered Federal troops into the city.

The statement approved Sunday also was reported to have criticized Mr. Eisenhower for not appointing by now the civil rights commission and a new assistant attorney general provided for in the Civil Rights Bill passed earlier this year by Congress.

It's No Compromise

Governor Harriman was asked whether the new statement represented a compromise of Chairman Butler's statement several months ago in Raleigh, N.C. Mr. Butler said then any threat of a third party from Southern Democrats would not deter the national party from continuing to take a strong civil rights stand.

"Absolutely no," Mr. Harriman said. "The issue has been made and the council is going to stand by it."

10 1957

BILL CALLED PERIL TO RIGHTS POLICY

Times P11-C

Sat. 4-6-57

Olney Sees Bid for Trial by Jury in Contempt Cases as Dangerous 'Device'

New York

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, April 5—A Justice Department official said today that bills pending in Congress to require jury trials in contempt-of-court cases would strike at the heart of the Administration's civil rights program.

Warren Olney 3d, Assistant Attorney General in charge of the criminal division, spoke at the annual conference of the National Civil Liberties Clearing House. This group is composed of various organizations, including the American Civil Liberties Union, B'nai B'rith and others interested in protecting the rights of minorities.

Mr. Olney appealed to them to "give whole-hearted support to the Administration civil rights program."

The legislation assailed by Mr. Olney was a bill introduced in the Senate by Senators James O. Eastland of Mississippi, Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and Harry F. Byrd of Virginia, all Democrats. A companion measure has been offered in the House of Representatives.

Would Require Trial

These bills would require a jury trial "whenever a contempt charged shall consist in willful disobedience of any lawful writ, process, order, rule or command of any court of the United States by doing or omitting any act or thing in violation thereof."

Mr. Olney said the proposals had been made "significantly by opponents of more effective enforcement of the constitutional prohibitions against official discrimination based on race or color." He called it a "dangerously deceptive proposal," and a "clever device to nullify" proposed civil rights legislation.

A vital aspect of the Administration program, Mr. Olney said, is the proposal to authorize the Attorney General to bring civil suits in cases of threatened violations of voting rights and other Federally guaranteed civil rights. These would be suits in equity that would not require a jury trial.

The use of equity procedures in civil rights cases would deprive defendants of their right to a trial by jury, according to some opponents of the Administration's program.

Associated Press

ATTACKS BILLS: Warren Olney 3d, Assistant Attorney General. He said bills in Congress to require jury trials in contempt-of-court cases would hurt Administration civil-rights program.

Right to Vote Stressed

Mr. Olney asserted that a "disastrous" effect of the proposal to require a jury trial in such cases would be to give juries "the completely novel power" to substitute their interpretation of the Federal Constitution and laws" for that of the Federal judges.

The "key civil rights is the right to vote," he said and added:

"Unhappily, there are areas in our country where by one device or another, substantial segments of the population are denied an effective voice at the polls."

He cited the equity procedure as a weapon the Government could use to prevent Negroes' being deprived of voting rights by a registrar of voters, for instance, who discriminated against them in the administration of a literacy test. Violation of the injunction would be contempt of court.

HOUSE GROUP URGES RIGHTS BILL PASSAGE

Times P.C

Wed. 4-3-57

WASHINGTON, April 2 (UP)—The House Judiciary Committee asked Congress today to bolster civil rights enforcement by enacting its version of the Administration's four-point program.

New York

A majority report on the bill, which the committee approved last month, held that there can be no denial of the fact that there is an existing need for an immediate strengthening of existing rights." It said the problem was "not a provincial one, but a national one."

Eight Southerners on the thirty-two-man committee, in a minority report, said existing rights laws "provide every remedy and protection" needed. The Southerners filed two minority reports denouncing the bill as a threat to state powers, state courts and the righ to trial by jury.

Advance copies of the majority and minority reports became available today. The committee plans to release printed copies tomorrow.

Meanwhile, Representative James Roosevelt, Democrat of California, introduced a resolution urging the Rules Committee to send the bill to the House floor for a vote.

If the committee showsc "undue delay," he said, he will start a move to force out the bill. He would need the signatures of 218 House members to move to discharge the committee from considering the bill.

Bills on Civil Rights Gain in the House, Face Senate Delay

Times

Tues. 4-9-57

New York, N. Y.

By C. P. TRUSSELL

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, April 8—Civil rights legislation made a definite gain in the House of Representatives today. There was, for the first time, an outlook for House action on the program next month.

P.1

However, the House has passed civil rights measures before. The harder road is in the Senate, where the privilege of unlimited debate has filibustered many civil rights bills to death.

But a chance for early action in the House would give Southern Democratic Senators less chance to stave off other business of the first session of the Eighty-fifth Congress and thus make their civil rights filibuster effective.

On the Senate side another delay—the third in three weeks—set in. The Judiciary Committee, headed by James O. Eastland, Democrat of Mississippi, a foe of civil rights legislation, failed to summon a quorum. Those who appeared waited for an hour and then gave up for a lack of authority to transact business.

Some persons at the Capitol called it a boycott, but a strange part of the situation was that opponents of civil rights appeared and supporters did not show up.

But on the House side, key opponents of the rights program were, they said, facing "the facts of life." Representative Howard W. Smith, Democrat of Virginia, an unrelenting foe, heads the Rules Committee. This committee decides what measures may go to the floor for decision.

Tues. 4-9-57

Committee Avoids Ruling

Today Rep. Smith was in a position to ward off a demand that immediate consideration be given to civil rights legislation. The committee adjourned a decision was made.

P.23

The committee adjourned by a vote of 6 to 4. Two Republicans joined four Southern Democrats to postpone a showdown on the question indifinitely.

It looked as though the committee might never decide. The vote appeared to be so firm that Representative Richard Bolling, Democrat of Missouri, suggested that it confirmed his suspicions that "a deal was on." He moved that the committee take up the matter and settle it promptly.

The chairman scoffed at the idea. However he did suggest that more senior members of the committee looked unfavorably upon the attempt of Rep. Bolling, one of the newer members, to override the committee's usual functions and control.

Two ranking Republican members seemed to confirm this premise with their votes. Representative Leo Allen, Republican of Illinois, who is chairman when the Republicans are in power, nad Representative Clarence J. Brown, of Ohio, the second ranking minority member, helped the chairman to adjourn the meeting. It appeared that they also would not like to be overridden by a junior member if the Republicans attained control.

However, after the sudden and decisive defeat of Mr. Bolling's drive for prompt action, a different mood set in. Representative Smith said there was no plan to keep the civil rights questions from a House decision.

The plan, instead, he said, was for the opponents of civil rights legislation to face the fact that a two-thirds majority of the Rules Committee favored the legislation.

But, he added, this legislation is highly controversial and requires a voting decision by full-strength proponents and opponents. Such a vote, he suggested, could not be taken with the Easter holiday coming up.

Before the next week-end, he said, members will be leaving town, and might not be back until April 29, when the holiday ends.

He announced that it was his intention to call hearings on the civil rights legislation during the first week of the return of the full force of members. This would be about May 1, the hearings, he said, will "not be too long," and so it appeared that the issue would reach the House floor in May.

Senator Thomas C. Hennings Jr., the Missouri Democrat who heads the Constitutional Rights Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, expressed "extreme disappointment that a quorum failed to appear for what he had hoped to be showdown on civil rights.

10 1957

Celler Urges Naming Of Rights Commission

International

The chairman of the House Judiciary Committee urged President Eisenhower yesterday to appoint the newly authorized Civil Rights Commission promptly to prevent "another Little Rock."

Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.) said the commission would provide a "blockade against demagoguery" by exposing "facts which are now shut away from public view."

He insisted: "With such a commission operating, it is obvious that no demagogue could hide behind the clouds of hate and prejudice. A commission's report of facts would weigh fact against fancy, the truth against libel, the law against passion."

Celler also called for speedy implementation of another section of the civil rights bill passed in the last session of Congress—designation of a special Assistant Attorney General for civil rights.

He charged in a statement prepared for a New York broadcast that the President has displayed a "regrettable silence on these two basic mandates of the Congress" and has failed to exercise "continuing firmness . . . that the laws of the land be upheld."

PARTY COUNCIL FIRM ON RIGHTS

Demos Adopt No-Compromise Stand, Report

By D. HAROLD OLIVER

WASHINGTON, Oct. 20 (AP)—The Democratic Advisory Council today adopted what was described as a no-compromise stand on civil rights. It also directed its staff to study the need for recommending new legislation, possibly to cover other than just voting rights.

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SATISFIED—HARRIMAN

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'TIGHT MONEY' HIT

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The statement approved today also was reported to have criticized Eisenhower for not appointing by now the Civil Rights Commission and a new assistant attorney general provided for in the civil rights bill passed earlier this year by Congress.

MOVES TO BROADEN

That bill confined itself to assuring voting rights to Negroes and other minorities, but several Northern Democrats have indicated they might move next session to broaden the act to cover other rights embraced in the old "Title 3," which were eliminated from the bill before passage. These rights may come within the scope of the Council staff study called for in the new policy statement.

Harriman was asked whether the new statement represented a compromise of Chairman Butler's statement several months ago in Raleigh, N. C. Butler said then that any threat of a third party from Southern Democrats would not deter the national party from continuing to take a strong civil rights stand.

"Absolutely no," Harriman said, allowing himself to be quoted. "The issue has been made and the Council is going to stand by it."

Civil Rights Backed by Democrats

(Copyright, New York Times News Service)

WASHINGTON, Oct. 20—The Democratic Advisory Committee reaffirmed a strong pro-civil rights stand today in the face of Southern threats to form a third party.

The group again criticized President Eisenhower for lack of leadership on the civil rights front and specifically for his failure to implement the legislation passed by the last Congress calling for appointment of a commission with fact-finding powers and an assistant attorney general for civil rights.

Gov. W. Averell Harriman of New York called the resolution a notice that the Democratic party would "never back down" from its support of civil rights.

Only one of the 16 committee members present dissented openly. This was Mrs. Benjamin B. Everett, North Carolina's national committeewoman. Other southerners present included Sen. Estes Kefauver of Tennessee and Camille F. Gravel Jr., Louisiana's national committeeman.

Text Withheld

The text of the civil rights declaration was withheld until tomorrow in the hope of focusing attention on another policy statement adopted today. This deals with economic growth, tight money and the cost of living. It charged the administration with responsibility for inflation and said price stability will not be achieved by the half-time, half-hearted, reluctant and uncertain administration we now have."

Informed sources said the Democratic statement on civil rights specifically reaffirmed the advisory council's delcaration of Sept. 15, which had been critical both of President Eisenhower and Orval E. Faubus, Arkansas' Democratic governor.

The original statement was made before federal troops were sent to Little Rock, Ark., to enforce court-ordered integration at Central High School, which had been blocked by Arkansas National Guardsmen placed there by Faubus. The use of federal troops was greatly criticized in the South, especially by Democrats, but the advisory council served notice today it was not backing down on its criticism of both the President and Gov. Faubus.

Dissension in Ranks

There has been dissension in the Democratic party because the council was set up as a policy-making group between national conventions. The party leaders in Congress, House speaker Sam Rayburn and Lyndon B. Johnson, both of Texas, Senate majority leader, declined to serve on the council.

In another step which may stir new trouble with the congressional leadership, the council directed its staff to study whether any new civil rights legislation should be enacted by the next Congress. The right-to-vote bill enacted at the last session was the first in the civil rights field in 82 years. Such bills usually have been defeated by filibusters of Southern Democrats.

Committee members were reminded that new talk of Southern bolts had been stirred by the declaration of Paul M. Butler, Democratic national chairman, in Raleigh, N. C., that the party would not be deterred from its stand on civil rights by any threat of a third party in the South.

Asked if the committee action today reflected any compromise from Butler's position, Gov. Harriman replied:

"Absolutely no. The issue has been made. The council and the party generally will stand by its position."

During the civil rights debate, mention was made of a resolution recently adopted by Midwestern governors who charged that Gov. Faubus had violated the 1956 Democratic platform which declared against use of force to interfere with the orderly processes of the courts.

The economic statement prepared by a committee headed by Dr. John Kenneth Galbraith, assailed the administration for adopting "highly negative" policies which had contracted the economy, favored big business over small business, and produced the "worst peacetime inflation in our history."

"To deal with inflationary increases in living costs the administration has had only one policy—the characteristically negative one of raising interest and tightening the money supply," the Democrats asserted. "This policy has failed for 19 months."

The economic declaration made no mention of a general tax reduction which many expect Democrats in congress to advocate in the next election year. The only reference to taxes was the statement that the "corporation income tax bears too heavily on the small firm, as the administration has itself admitted while declining to do anything about it."

The Democrats said the present price line ought to be held and that both labor and management should conduct collective bargaining negotiations in that framework.

"All Americans have a right to expect fair play on prices," the statement said. "The Eisenhower administration has excelled all others in our history in the number and length and piety of its lectures on public morality. It has been remarkably indifferent to the immoral robbery worked by what historians will call the Eisenhower inflation."

10 1957

Matter Of Fact

By Joseph And Stewart Alsop

WASHINGTON.

AMONG the milling throngs of would-be presidents on Capitol Hill, there are at least six serious potential candidates. If you examine the effects of the great civil rights battle on the political fortunes of each of these men, you are likely to reach a surprising conclusion. Every one of them, with one notable exception, has benefited in terms of 1960.

Civil Rights And 1960: Gains, Losses

The exception is Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson. Johnson says flatly that he does not want the nomination. This is, of course, standard operating procedure for all would-be candidates. But Johnson's closest associates believe him—with one proviso.

Johnson, they say, would agree to run if the only alternative was a candidate who would "tear the party apart." They name no names, but they obviously have in mind a man totally unacceptable to the South, like Gov. G. Menen Williams of Michigan, or possibly Gov. Averell Harriman of New York.

Even then, his friends say, Johnson would agree to run only if he felt confilent about his health. His friends are more worried about his health than they care to admit. Since the civil rights battle began, Johnson has worked a frenetic 16-hour day—hardly a regimen a cautious doctor would recommend for a rather recent heart attack victim.

But if Johnson's role in the civil rights fight has been bad for his health, it has been worse for his presidential chances. If he had not taken command of the forces fighting for a bill "the South could live with," the jury trial amendment would have been defeated. But just because this is so, the Northern liberals, never friendly to the Texan in any case, have been further alienated. And the liberals traditionally exercise a veto power at Democratic conventions.

WHEN the civil rights fight started, Johnson stayed in the wings and kept his mouth shut. That was the smart way to play the game, for a man who wanted to be president. Johnson is a very smart man indeed, and the fact that he moved front and center in the fight suggests that his friends may be right, and that he really does not want the grand prize.

The other serious potential Democratic candidates are Sens. Stuart Symington and Hubert Humphrey, who voted against the jury trial amendment, and Jack Kennedy, who voted for it.

Symington stayed carefully out of the limelight throughout the battle, but his vote will on balance help him, since his greatest drawback has been that the Northern liberals have tended to regard him as a Johnson man and a border state semi-conservative. Kennedy's vote, cast after much agonized soul-searching, will hurt him in the North, but it will attract Southern delegate support, on which his strategy is clearly based.

Humphrey's position is curious. He has not hurt himself badly with the Southerners (who generaly like him personally) with his fight against the jury trial amendment. Since 1948, he has been the Senate's "Mr. Civil Rights," and his stand was discounted in advance. "Hubert had to do it," the Southerners say.

Humphrey, moreover, is personally close to Johnson, and he is definitely not on Johnson's list of those who would "tear the party apart." Humphrey, who is really more a vice-presidential than a presidential candidate anyway, is therefore in a good position to become a ticket-balancer with a civil rights moderate—conceivably, Johnson himself.

As for Minority Leader William Knowland, there has been a lot of talk that his prestige has suffered. Actually, his dogged earnest fight, even though unsuccessful, gave his candidacy precisely the liberal coloration it had badly needed.

BUT the man who may profit most of all is one who took no overt part in the civil rights debate—Vice President Richard Nixon. For Nixon's role in persuading the President to take a strong stand against the jury trial amendment was no secret to anyone.

On the contrary, the Southerners and their allies regard Nixon, rather than Knowland, as the real villain of the piece.. Johnson's recent blast at Nixon is expected to be the prelude of a concerted Democratic attack, whose theme will be that the Eisenhower administration is playing low politics with civil rights, with Nixon as the behind-the-scenes Western demagogue.

Such an attack could rather easily make Nixon, especially in the eyes of Negro voters, the real hero of the civil rights battle. And just because (as Nixon has consistently preached in the Administration's inner circles) the Negro vote is the swing vote in the industrial North, Nixon could well emerge from the battle with more political profit than anyone else.

The Civil Rights Bill—II

[This is the concluding part of a summary of the civil rights bill passed by Congress. The first part appeared on this page Saturday.]

POWERS OF THE COMMISSION

The President may appoint a full-time staff director for the Commission and pay him up to $22,500 a year. The Commission may appoint "such other personnel as it deems advisable." It may not, however, use volunteers.

If it "deems advisable," the Commission may set up advisory groups within the states and consult with state officials.

Subcommittees of two or more members of the Commission may hold hearings and issue subpoenas "at such times and places" as the Commission desires.

If a subpoena is ignored, the U.S. attorney may apply to the local district court for an order forcing the witness to appear. If the court grants the order and the witness still holds out, he may be cited for contempt.

APPROPRIATIONS

There is hereby authorized to be appropriated . . . so much (money) as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this act.

PART II—AN ADDITIONAL ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL

The title is explanatory. There is no mention of the new assistant's duties, but it isn't likely that he will be looking for Weights and Standards violators.

PART III—TO STRENGTHEN THE CIVIL RIGHTS STATUTES

This is the part that brought on the storm. In its original version, Senator Russell found an obscure citation that would have permitted use of federal troops to enforce all Supreme Court decisions, including school integration. Even the bill's most ardent supporters professed surprise and disclaimed responsibility. The Senate knocked out the provision.

As it remains, Part III is innocuous.

PART IV—SECURING AND PROTECTING THE RIGHT TO VOTE

This forbids any person, "whether acting under color of law or otherwise," from interfering with any person's right to vote for national offices—president, vice president, presidential electors, senators, representatives and territorial delegates—at any general, special or primary election.

Whenever any person has engaged, or there are reasonable grounds to believe that any person is about to engage, in any act or practice which would deprive any other person of any right or privilege . . . [to vote], the attorney general may institute . . . a civil action or other proper proceeding for preventive relief, including any application for a permanent or temporary injunction, restraining order, or other order.

The district courts of the United States shall have jurisdiction of proceedings instituted pursuant to this section and shall exercise same without regard to whether the party aggrieved shall have exhausted any administrative or other remedies that may be provided by law.

Any person cited for alleged contempt shall have the right of court-appointed counsel if he is unable to provide his own.

PART V—TRIAL BY JURY

Southern senators, led by Senator Ervin of North Carolina, waged a long fight to secure jury trials in cases of criminal contempt. In the end, they prevailed by a vote of 51-42.

Jury trial is not assured in all criminal contempt cases—only if the penalty imposed by a judge is more than $300 in fines or 45 days in jail. Thus a person fined $301 or sentenced to 46 days in jail may demand and get a *de novo* trial by jury. A person fined $1 less or sentenced to one day less hasn't that right.

Civil contempt is another matter. It carries no trial by jury. Civil contempt is imposed to get compliance with a court order. Criminal contempt is punishment for failing to comply.

QUALIFICATIONS OF FEDERAL JURORS

This provides that any person 21 years or older is eligible to serve as a federal grand or petit juror unless: He has been convicted of a crime carrying punishment of one year or more and his civil rights have not been restored; he is unable to read, write, speak or understand the English language; he is mentally or physically incapable of rendering jury service.

That is the civil rights law—the first passed by Congress since Reconstruction days. The South should know it, for it must live with the law—or harsher successors—for a long time.

Civil Rights Top Issue In Labor

"Labor rights and civil rights are cut from the same cloth," explained Jacob Siegel, Jewish Labor Committee of Chicago Chairman, in a statement regarding the labor conference on civil rights "A Better Life for All-Labor's Challenge to America," to be held at Hotel Sherman, Saturday, Nov. 16. "The history of labor unionism and civil rights is based upon seeking redress of individual grievances."

Siegel stated further that the list of program speakers and panel members is now complete with the addition of Marvin Hook, executive vice president, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America; Ralph D. Robinson, Assistant Director, U. A. W. Region 4; Leroy Shackelford, First Vice-President, Chicago Division Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; and Mary Herrick, Research Director, American Federation of Teachers.

U. S. Senator Paul H. Douglas has been invited to address the expected 700 labor union delegates. Other speakers include Charles S. Zimmerman, AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee Chairman; Roy Siemiller, General Vice-President, International Association of Machinists; Arthur Goldberg, General Counsel, United Steelworkers of America; Stanley L. Johnson, I. S. F. D. Sec.-Treas.

Phil Ross, Chicago Joint Board Chairman, Hatters, Cap and Millinary Workers; Theodore Robinson, chairman, Cook County CIO Council Housing Committee; Samuel Smith, chairman, Chicago Joint Board, Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Harry Kurshenbaum, Assistant Joint Board Mgr. Textile Workers Union.

Charles G. McGowan, president emeritus, Int. Brotherhood of Boiler-makers and Blacksmiths; Peter T. Schoemann, General President, United Asso. of Plumbers and Pipe Fitters; John J. Murphy, Secretary, Bricklayers International Union, and Milton P. Webster, 1st International vice-president, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

Olney Resigns As Chief U.S. Crime Fighter

By the Associated Press.

NEWPORT, R. I., Sept. 18.—Warren Olney resigned today as chief of the Justice Department's criminal division, effective Oct. 15. President Eisenhower praised him for dedicated service in the civil rights field.

Mr. Olney's resignation as an assistant attorney general was announced at the President's vacation headquarters.

In the Eisenhower-Olney exchange of correspondence made public by the White House, Mr. Olney gave no specific reason for resigning and said nothing about his plans for the future.

But in accepting the resignation with deep regret, the President said he appreciated that Mr. Olney is leaving for "compelling personal reasons" which were not spelled out.

"The highly dedicated service that you have rendered as head of the criminal division of the Department of Justice since January, 1953, and particularly in the field of civil rights, has been a real source of strength both to the Attorney General and to the entire administration in carrying out its responsibilities for just and effective enforcement of the nation's laws," Gen. Eisenhower wrote Mr. Olney.

In his letter to the President, Mr. Olney noted that the new civil rights law approved by Gen. Eisenhower Sept. 9 providesf or creation of a separate civil rights division in the Justice Department.

That and other provisions of the bill mean, Mr. Olney said, that "far more effective and healing remedies" become available in the civil rights field, "and with them a new distribution of responsibility within the Department of Justice must follow."

10 1957

22 groups urge Ike to name civil rights unit

Afro American P. 20

WASHINGTON

Urging President Eisenhower to appoint immediately an assistant attorney general and six commissioners "genuinely devoted to the advancement of civil rights," 22 organizations this week pledged full support to the civil rights bill which Congress passed.

In a joint statement, the organizations said they will give their "wholehearted cooperation in every effort to realize the purpose" of civil rights.

"This bill," said the statement, issued by the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, "can mean much or little depending upon the people President Eisenhower appoints to carry out its provisions, and the sincerity with which they devote themselves to the discharge of their responsibilities."

Sat. 9-14-57

THE GROUP also expressed its "thanks to those congressional supporters of civil rights in both parties who fought for a stronger bill and by their fight made this one possible, and to all the many others who once again demonstrated their devotion to civil rights through this long struggle."

Baltimore, Md.

COMPLETE TEXT of the statement is:

"The civil rights bill which Congress enacted Thursday night is the work of many people inside and outside Congress.

"We desire to record our thanks to these congressional supporters of civil rights in both parties who fought for a stronger bill and by their fight made this one possible, and to all the many others who once again demonstrated their devotion to civil rights through this long struggle.

"This bill can mean much or little depending upon the people President Eisenhower appoints to carry out its provisions, and the sincerity with which they devote themselves to the discharge of their responsibilities.

"If the President appoints an assistant attorney general and six commissioners genuinely devoted to the advancement of civil rights, the bill can become an important turning point in the struggle toward equality for all Americans.

"We urge the President to make such appointments and to make them immediately, so that the work of the Department of Justice and of the commission can be commenced at once. We pledge our wholehearted cooperation in every effort to realize the purposes of the legislation.

"We trust that the enactment of this law, the first in 82 years, will mark the beginning of a new era — an era in which the Congress of the United States will move steadily forward to secure to every citizen of the United States the rights guaranteed by the Constitution and the Supreme Court.

"For our part, we will continue unceasingly to press for the realization of the American ideal of equal rights, equal justice and equal opportunity for all Americans.

Individuals who signed the statement on behalf of their organizations are:

Earl W. Jimerson, president, and Patrick E. Gorman, secretary-treasurer, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, AFL-CIO;

Patrick Murphy Malin, national director, American Civil Liberties Union; John T. Blue Jr., director, American Council on Human Rights; Dr. John Slawson, executive vice president, American Jewish Committee; Shad Polier, chairman, executive committee, American Jewish Congress;

William R. Ming Jr., national chairman, American Veterans Committee; Joseph L. Rauh Jr., vice chairman, Americans for Democratic action; E. Raymond Wilson, executive secretary, Friends Committee on National Legislation; Hobson Reynolds, director, Civil Liberties Department, Elks; James B. Carey, president, International Union of Electrical Workers, AFL-CIO; Adolph Held, chairman, Jewish Labor Committee: Bernard Weitzer, national legislative director, Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America;

James B. Cobb, president, National Alliance of Postal Employees; Roy Wilkins, executive secretary, NAACP; David L. Ullman, chairman, National Community Relations Advisory Council; Mrs. William T. Mason, president, National Council of Negro Women; Dr. George D. Fleming, president, Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity; William Pollock, president, Textile Workers Union of America, AFL-CIO; Michael J. Quill, president; Transport Workers Union of America, AFL-CIO; Walter P. Reuther, president, United Automobile Workers, AFL-CIO; Francis Shane, executive secretary, Civil Rights Committee, United Steelworkers of America, Jacob Zukerman, president, The Workmen's Circle.

10 1957

Chicago Solon Seeks Rights Law

Defender Chicago, Ill.
Sat. 8-3-57

The judiciary committee of the Chicago city council Thursday voted to recommend passage of a civil rights ordinance for the city. The bill was introduced by Ald. Claude W. B. Holman, of the fourth ward.

The bill, which seeks "full and equal enjoyment" of all places of pubic accommodation, was discussed at a full meeting of the committee.

Violators would be subject to fines up to $200 for each day of violation, and the places of business where the violation occurred would be declared a public nuisance.

The bill specifies such as inns, restaurants, eating houses, soda fountains, soft drink parlors, taverns, roadhouses, clothing stores, hat stores, barber shops, department stores, shoe stores, bathrooms, restrooms, theatres, skating rinks, golf courses, golf driving ranges, concerts, cafes, and bicycle rinks.

Also, elevators, ice cream parlors, railroads, omnibuses, buses, stages, airplanes, street cars, boats, funeral hearses, and public conveyances on land, water or air, and all other places of public accommodation.

SENATE MAIL SHOWS:

Public Not Interested In Civil Rights Battle

Advertiser P.5-A
Montgomery, Ala.
Mon. 7-29-57

WASHINGTON, July 28 (AP)—Most Senators reported today that the folks back home are displaying little interest in the lengthy Senate battle over civil rights legislation.

Congress members traditionally judge the temper of their constituents by the volume of letters and telegrams dealing with controversial issues. With a few exceptions, the civil rights fight has not resulted in any significant increase in mail.

Among the exceptions are Sens. Russell (D-Ga) and Ervin (D-NC), who have been leading a band of determined Southern opponents of the House-passed bill.

Aides of Russell had baskets filled with mail "from all over the country."

"About one of every 30 opposes the Senator's position but most of this is anonymous," and aide said.

Ervin's office reported some pickup in mail volume "with only about one in 100 opposing the Senator's views."

EMOTIONAL ISSUE

When controversial and emotional issues are under consideration Senators often are deluged with mail and telegrams.

But attaches at the Senate post office said there has been no sharp increase in mail of the kind which in the past has required hiring of extra help.

Capitol Hill veterans said mail always declines in the hot summer months and this may account for the lack of volume on civil rights.

Sen. Knowland (R-Calif), who has been floor leader for the bill, reported some increase in mail, but less than he received on budget reductions.

Sen. Kuchel (R-Calif), reported "some increase in mail with writers about evenly divided for and against the bill."

Sen. Douglas (D-Ill), heading Northern Democrats supporting the bill, also reported a light mail compared to past controversial issues. He said most of it supported his stand.

500 MINISTERS

Sen. Dirksen (D-Ill) said "I've had several that were signed by a large number of persons. One telegram supporting the bill carried names of 500 ministers."

Sen. Lyndon B. Johnson (D-Tex) reported a fair volume of mail. "Most of it was reasoned," he said. "There were almost no bitter or violent letters."

Sen. Carlson (R-Kan), from a border state with thousands of Negroes, said "I've had only three letters."

Sen. Javits (R-NY), a freshman Senator said civil rights had been "our biggest item of correspondence recently."

Sen. Ives (R-NY) reported "133 pro letters and 61 con in the past two weeks." This was fair under the New York State average on past controversial issues.

PUSHING AMENDMENT

Sen. O'Mahoney (D-Wyo), who has been pushing a jury trial amendment, reported "a tremendous mail with most of them supporting my amendment. Some lifelong Republicans wrote me they are through with a party that opposes jury trials."

Sen. Mansfield (D-Mont) reported only a few letters and most of them for the civil rights bill.

In Senate Speech

Journal & Guide

Byrd Sees Many Ghosts Under Civil Rights Bed

Sat. 7-27-57 Norfolk, Va. P.3

By ROBERT COLEMAN

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Speaking in the Senate on Tuesday, the 16th, Harry Flood Byrd, senior Senator from Virginia, continued his "filth flinging" tactics at the President of the United States, Chief Justice Earl Warren, the proponents of the civil rights bill, and the rest of the country not in agreement with him in general.

Closing his argument in a fit of emotional breast-beating, Senator Byrd said:

"This whole iniquitous bill is a refutation of our entire American jurisprudence.

"Appeal after appeal has been made on the floor of the Senate to avoid emotionalism in this debate. I represent a great Commonwealth which, within the memory of some of our people, was Military District No. 1 in the United States. We have felt the heavy heel of federal dictatorship on our throats far more than any conquered foreign country. From recent decisions by the Supreme Court, bombastic edicts by lesser federal judges, the attitude of the Federal Attorney General, and the obvious motivations behind this bill with its iniquitous provisions, it is clear to me that we are on the verge of return to federal political autocracy."

* * *

BYRD PRESIDES over and controls the largest and most vicious political machine in the United States. With the language quoted above, he made a deliberate, premeditated appeal to sectional, class and race hatreds, with falsehoods as his main weapon. His reference to Virginia as "Military District Number One" was an attempt to arouse the sleeping passions of the Civil War.

For Mr. Byrd to stand up in the United States Senate and claim that the South had suffered more than any conquered foreign country; more than the countries conquered by Hitler, or the countries conquered by Stalin, is to place him above all others who have headed the Ananias Club in the United States, and to set him down as an uninformed man, who does not know history, even that which occurred in his lifetime.

* * *

NO MORE demagogic appeal has been heard in the United States Senate during this storm of fanaticism and psycopathic breast-beating by the little men who represent the southern states in the United States Senate.

In the early part of his speech which lasted an hour, the Virginia machine boss undertook to show that Senator Richard Russell of Georgia, had in his distorted opening speech, shown that actually a reconstruction era statute was embedded in the civil rights bill intentionally, and that under this statute the federal government could send an army of the United States into the South to take over the government and to enforce the civil rights laws.

* * *

FOR THE past week the southern filibusterers have been trying to convince their colleagues and their constituents that President Eisenhower does not know what is in the bill, and does not understand it. In this connection Byrd also said:

"Of course, I have no documentary proof, and I suspect by design there is none, but speaking only for myself, I strongly suspect that the modern Thaddeus Stevens, now cloaked in the robes of the Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, has a thorough and complete knowledge of what could and would be done under the bill. And likewise, I suspect that the NAACP, one of the principal beneficiaries of his official acts, has at least a working familiarity with the provisions of the bill. I suspect also that the ADA, the NAACP's gold dust twin, has at least guilty knowledge of what the bill proposes."

Invective, falsehoods, muck and slime seems to be the stock in trade of the opponents of the Negro people in the United States Congress. Listening to their braying one would think they are burning up for a civil war.

Our Opinions

Our Crippled Civil Rights Bill

Upon close and careful examination of the 1957 civil rights Act, this legislation proves to be much weaker than we had previously suspected. The new authority conferred upon the Attorney General of the United States is restricted to prosecution of cases involving interference with the right of qualified citizens to vote in Federal elections. Defender 1.10

Under this Act the Attorney General "may institute a civil action or other preventive relief, including an application for a permanent or temporary injunction against persons engaged, or there are reasonable grounds to believe are about to engage," in denying the ballot to eligible voters in primary, special or general elections of candidates for the following offices: President, Vice-President, Presidential elector, Senator or Representative in Congress. But the new law does not cover state primaries or elections of state, county and local officials. Chicago Def.

The qualified voters whose right to cast their ballots in intrastate elections is denied, must bring their private complaints to he local courts where the prospects for relief are slim. Though the Supreme Court, in a series of decisions that culminated in Terry V. Adams (1953), has consistently invalidated voting obstructions set up by the states, the complainant is not always financially able to appeal from the decisions of the lower courts.

The present Act specifies that the power of the Attorney General shall not extend beyond the protection of the rights of registered voters who wish to exercise them in Federal primaries and elections. This limitation is incorporated in the very text of the Administration's draft, and for obvious reasons no serious effort was made to remove it. Possibly one of the outstanding reasons was the fear that the absence of such a limitation might have invited strenuous and protracted opposition from the Southern bloc. An opposition so strong as to turn into a filibuster which would have made the passage of the rights bill this year all but a forlorn hope. Sat. 9-28-57

The group of the Northern "liberals" who defeated Section 3 (giving the Attorney General the power to enforce all of the Supreme Court's rulings on integration) would have fought with equal vigor any further extension of the Attorney General jurisdiction into state's primaries and elections.

This is unfortunate, for in many Southern communities local elections are more important to the Negro's welfare than are general elections. It is, therefore, quite apparent that the benefits of the 1957 civil rights Act have been grossly exaggerated.

Urges Ike Name Rights Group

10

By THOMAS B. ROSS

WASHINGTON — (INS) — The chairman of the house judiciary committee yesterday urged President Eisenhower to promptly appoint the newly authorized civil rights commission to prevent "another Little Rock." Defender

Rep. Emanuel Celler (D) N. Y., said the commission would provide a "Blockade against Demagoguery" by exposing "facts which are now shut away from public view."

He insisted: "With such a commission operating, it is obvious that no demagogue could hide behind the clouds of hate and prejudice. A commission's report of would weigh fact against fancy, the thattfuth against libel the law against passion." Chicago Def.

ASKS SPEED

Celler also called for speedy implementation of another section of the Civil Rights bill passed in the last session of Congress—designation of a special assistant Attorney General for civil rights.

He claimed the President has displayed a "regrettable silence on these two basic mandates of the Congress" and has failed to exercise "continuing firmness . . . that the laws of the land be upheld."

A statement prepared by the Brooklyn Democrat for a radio broadcast in New York (WINS) said the commission should be "representative of the major responsible segments of our country."

It should include, Celler said, an educator, a religious leader, representatives of labor, industry and the law, a woman and a Negro. Sat. 10-19-57

CALMING EFFECT

He added: "I believe that prompt announcement that such appointments will be made must, in and of itself have a calming effect. I believe that sober, intelligent and factual appraisal by such a commission would prevent another Little Rock. . . "

Celler said the commission and the special attorney general have "tremendous pertinancy" in guaranteeing the right to vote and in providing "preventive medicine" against mob violence.

Agency Asked On Civil Rights

NEW YORK, Oct. 14 (AP).—Representative Celler, Democrat of New York, called yesterday for prompt appointment of a civil rights commission and a nassistant Attorney General in charge of civil rights matters.

The commission and the division of the Justice Department, to be headed by a special assistant, were created by the civil rights bill Congress passed this year. Washington

Mr. Celler said in a talk prepared for broadcast over radio station WINS that "in all the talk, counter-talk, accusation and counter-accusation which surrounds the tragedy at Little Rock, there is a regrettable silence o nthese two basic manadates of the Congress."

He suggested that the civil rights commission, which under the law must be bipartisan and is limited to investigating and reporting on civil rights problems, should include an educator, a religious leader, representative of labor, industry, the legal profession, a woman and a Negro.

There have been some suggestions that President Eisenhower may wait until emotions aroused by the Little Rock desegregation crisis subside before appointing the commission. However, the White House has been officially silent. Any commission appointed n o w could have only interin status until the names of members are submitted to the Senate for confirmation in January.

Mr. Celler said, however, that even an interim commission appointed now could save valuable time by beginning the organization of the commission and its staff and that an announcement of appointments would "have a calming effect."

He suggested the commission might investigate the Little Rock occurrence, saying, "the good people of Arkansas are entitled, as is the rest of the country, to know the how and why of this tragedy . . . with such a commission operating, it is obvious that no demagogue could hide behind the clouds of hate and prejudice."

A STEP FORWARD FOR CIVIL RIGHTS

In 1864 the dying abolitionist, Owen Lovejoy, wrote to his friend William Lloyd Garrison about Abraham Lincoln: "If he is not the best conceivable President, he is the best possible. . . . And although he does not do everything that you and I would like, the question recurs, whether it is likely we can elect a man who would." The modern abolitionists, who have been gnashing their teeth over the Senate's failure to pass a civil rights bill as perfect as they would like to see, might do well to consider Lovejoy's gentle wisdom. For if a compromise bill, which now seems certain to pass, does not do everything they would like, it is undoubtedly the best possible that can now be got.

We think the Republicans are wise in giving up their fight for a tougher bill and concentrating on cleaning up the Senate's jury trial amendment, so as to make it apply only to civil rights cases. Its present blanket nature, in which it requires juries in all cases of criminal contempt, would create chaos in our whole judicial system, and President Eisenhower is right in his determination to veto it if it survives. But we assume it will not.

This would leave as the only opponents of the bill those civil libertarians who fear the law will have no teeth. They think the requirement of a jury trial for criminal contempt may make it meaningless because southern juries won't convict offending election officials. LIFE has opposed the jury-trial amendment on this and other grounds, and would still favor a stronger bill. But this one is what its critics still consider quite an advance.

But what the critics of the Senate bill overlook is that broad enforcement powers still exist under the civil contempt feature of the act, even as amended. Under it a federal judge would have the power to jail election officials for refusing to grant voting rights. He could do this without a jury. He could keep such officials in jail indefinitely until they purged the contempt by compliance. The judge could even, if he wished, require the registration to take place in his own courtroom before the offense would be purged.

The truly remarkable thing about this bill, in view of the very real powers it does contain, is that it ever got through Congress at all. It is even more remarkable that the South yielded to it without filibuster. It is the first real step forward in civil rights legislation in 82 years. Only the test of trial and experience will prove how effective the bill can be, but that experience also—as Harvard's Paul Freund has observed—will be the best basis for what subsequent strengthening may be needed. "If juries, put to the test, carry out their responsibilities," he says, "there will be a positive gain in the self-education that comes from sharing in the administration of justice. If the results should turn out otherwise, the climate of national opinion will be clarified by the experiment."

Civil-Rights Boiling Point

A bitter behind-the-scenes fight over enforcement of the civil-rights measure is likely to break out within the Administration if and when the bill becomes law.

On one side will be Vice President Richard M. Nixon. On the other, the Attorney General of the U.S.—Herbert Brownell.

Nixon wants the Justice Department to enforce the law with quick, mass action.

He wants Justice to send squads of investigators into the South at once to prosecute all infringements of Negroes' right to vote.

Nixon's aim is to back up his contention that stronger legislation is needed. He also wants to prove the Administration's good faith.

Moreover, Nixon has made advocacy of civil rights his political trademark.

Brownell prefers to move more cautiously. And he appears to be backed by Nixon's good friend, Deputy Attorney General William P. Rogers.

HOUSE APPROVES CIVIL RIGHTS BILL; SENATE MUST ACT

Vote Is 279-97 as Version of Upper House Passes With Jury Alteration

MAJORITY IS BIPARTISAN

Southern Foes Fight to End —Final Approval Seen by End of the Week

By WILLIAM S. WHITE
Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 27—The House of Representatives passed the compromise civil rights bill today by a vote of 279 to 97.

The measure as passed was the Senate version of the Eisenhower Administration's plan with an amendment—to which Senate leaders had consented—to modify the Senate's jury trial guarantee in criminal contempt cases arising from violation of Federal injunctions to protect the voting right.

The amended measure was sent at once to the Senate. It is expected to be debated there for two or more days, but probably will be accepted before the week is out, thus permitting adjournment of Congress.

Final Senate action will send the bill to the White House.

Administration spokesmen made plain that the President would sign it, though possibly criticizing it as inadequate. He would thus put into the laws of the United States the first major enactment of civil rights legislation in the eight decades since the Reconstruction era which followed the Civil War.

Bipartisan Majority

One hundred twenty-eight House Democrats and 151 Republicans accepted the Senate's basically Democratic text. Eighty-two Democrats, all Southerners, and fifteen Republicans stood to the end against it.

Thirteen Democrats from the old Confederate South—twelve Texans and one Floridian—backed the bill.

They followed the Texan leaders of Congress, Lyndon B. Johnson of the Senate and Speaker Sam Rayburn of the House, in breaking a Southern tradition of adamant resistance of nearly a century's duration and supporting Federal sanctions to protect the Negro's voting right in the South.

The other Southerners went down fighting, but without great bitterness and for the most part in a spirit of philosophic melancholy.

The compromise measure would:

¶Create a Federal civil rights [com]mission with subpoena p[owers]...

¶Establish a special civil rights division within the Department of Justice.

¶Empower Federal prosecutors, with or without the consent of the victim, to obtain Federal injunctions against actual or threatende interference with the right to vote.

Persons refusing to obey such injunctions could be imprisoned for civil contempt by a Federal judge, sitting without a jury, and held until they consented to comply.

...dure is likely to be employed in most of the vote deprivation cases—a point privately conceded even by critics of the jury trial amendment.

In instances of criminal contempt, where the judge's purpose is not to force compliance, but is simply to punish, there will be a qualified right of jury trial.

House Eased Requirement

The original Senate version made this right absolute. The amendment approved by the House and accepted by the Senate leaders provides that a judge may try a defendant without a jury, but that if he does so and subsequently passes sen-

tence of more than $300 in fines and forty five days imprisonment, the defendant has the right to retrial before a jury.

The Administration had resisted any form of jury trial. Its version of the bill, which had been approved intact by the House two months ago, would have applied the non-jury trial injunctive process to the enforcement of all civil rights, including the right to attend an integrated school. The Senate rejected such protection for all save voting rights; the House has now concurred in that judgment.

The House also altered — and the Senate will follow suit — a section of the bill providing penalties for the unauthorized disclosure of confidential proceeding before the proposed civil rights commission. The effect was to exempt the press, and radio and television reporting from any such penalties.

Speaker Rayburn, the son of a Confederate combat veteran, did not enter the debate, because there was no need.

Across the Capitol, his fellow Texan and protége, Senator Johnson, who family fought in both the Texas war for independence from Mexico and the War Between the States, took up the reins.

He appealed to the Senate, but primarily to the Southerners, to take final action without undue delay and thus make this "one of the most historic sessions of the Congress."

It had been necessary to qualify the Senate's jury trial proviso, he said, in order to get any bill at this session.

He declared:

"If this bill dies, it is my deep-seated conviction that it will be many years before we can once again approach this question in a spirit of give and take.

Shuns "Burning Issue"

"The result of super-heated partisanship—and it would be inevitable if this bill were killed—could be disastrous to our country and to every section of the country.

"We must realize that men have strong convictions on this issue. All of us must bow a bit if we are to have a reasonable solution rather than a burning issue."

These words clearly were addressed primarily to the Deep Southerners, who still had it in their power to resist the changes added by the House and to delay Congressional adably, to prevent any final action on civil rights.

Long Delay Doubted

However, the indications were that the hard core Southern Senators would speak long enough to make it abundantly clear that they opposed the bill, but not long enough to imperil either it or the general hope for adjournment by Saturday night.

The final debate of the House was limited to one hour.

Representative William Colmer of Mississippi, speaking for the irreducible Southern opposition, declared that the jury trial compromise was "worse than no jury trial at all," and amounted to "judicial blackmail."

He charged that the bill was "a political sop to a highly organized minority group."

The principal Democratic civil rights leader in the House, Representative Emanuel Celler of Brooklyn, recalled that he had fought against all softening amendments until it had become apparent that some compromise must be made to obtain any legislation.

He said the fight for a civil rights bill had been "a constant uphill obstacle race," but was ending with no great scars left —in an outcome that was "a great credit to representative government."

ADAM C. POWELL

Rep. Powell Happy Over Rights Bill

Defender P. 1
Chicago, Ill.
Sat. 9-7-57

BERCHTESGADEN, Germany—New York Rep. Adam Clayton Powell issued a statement here in which he declared that passage of the civil rights bill is "the second emancipation."

Democrat Powell, who supported President Eisenhower for reelection last year, said, "I am proud to have campaigned for one who kept every word to me after 80 years of political slavery."

Turning to his party's leader, the congressman declared:

"Under Adlai Stevenson this would not have happened as indicated by the votes to weaken the bill of pro - Stevenson senators, both North and South.

"This completely vindicates my support of President Eisenhower, regardless of what happens to me.

"It is now time for the big city northern Democrats to do some painful soul - searching on the struggle of the Negro for full citizenship."

CIVIL RIGHTS GAINS FOUND ACROSS U. S.

Times

Jewish Congress Reports Advances in Employment, Education and Housing

p. 59

The American Jewish Congress reported last night that major advances on civil rights had been made in the last several months in a dozen states.

These advances, a survey by the organization showed, were made despite resistance in Arkansas and in other Southern areas to granting full equality to all citizens.

The study, entitled "Summary of 1957 State Anti-Discrimination Laws," reported that a number of Legislatures—from Vermont to Washington—had enacted laws to outlaw discrimination in such fields as employment, education, housing and public accommodation.

The study, prepared by the organization's Commission on Law and Social Action, pointed out that Colorado and Wisconsin had amended their existing "voluntary" fair employment laws by creating effective enforcement procedures. San Francisco, the report showed, adopted a new fair employment law.

New laws relating to discrimination in education were adopted by Missouri, Washington, California and Illinois. Missouri repealed its school segregation laws. The study explained that Washington became the fourth state to be covered by a broad fair educational practices law. The others are New Jersey, New York and Massachusetts.

Housing Bias Fought

In housing, the survey reported that Massachusetts, Minnesota, New Jersey, Oregon and Washington, as well as the City of Los Angeles, had adopted legislation aimed against discrimination.

With the exception of Minnesota, the new housing laws prohibit discrimination in publicly assisted projects, the study said. It noted that Minnesota had set up a commission to study discrimination in housing during the next two years.

Laws aimed at ending discrimination in public accommodations were passed by Colorado, Illinois, Oregon, Vermont and Washington, the study said.

The survey concluded: "New 1957 laws against racial and religious discrimination significantly enlarge the area in which that evil is being effectively combated by legislation."

The report said that "perhaps the most significant aspect of the new statutes is the continuing trend toward reliance on administrative procedures rather than criminal penalties to enforce anti-discrimination laws."

10 1957

Georgians Hail Aid in Rights Fight

Constitution
Tues. 6-4-57
Atlanta Ga.

By ALBERT RILEY
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, June 3—Georgians fighting civil rights legislation in the House were encouraged today by a victory for the Southern viewpoint won in a committee skirmish over in the Senate.

The Senate Judiciary Committee, which has a civil rights bill before it, today adopted, 7 to 3, an amendment guaranteeing defendants the right of trial by jury in civil rights cases.

The House has an identical bill before it, without the trial by jury amendment, ready for debate beginning Wednesday. Southerners hope to push through a similar trial by jury amendment on the House floor.

PSYCHOLOGICAL BOOST

Thus, the Senate committee action today gave a psychological boost to the Southern fight in the House.

Rep. E. L. (Tic) Forrester of Leesburg, Ga., said he believed the Senate committee action has helped the South's cause. And Rep. J. L. Pilcher of Meigs, Ga., expressing pleasure at the Senate development, predicted the House will adopt the jury trial amendment.

"It pleased me very much," Forrester said, "to know that the Senate Judiciary Committee was unwilling to deprive defendants in contempt proceedings from the right of trial by jury.

"It is an astounding thing that the attorney general should ask for the right to bypass juries.

"SHOULD BE LEADER"

"The United States government should be the leader in providing jury trials instead of opposing them," Forrester continued.

"It is my sincere hope that a majority of the House will vote in favor of trial by jury. I will never believe that the Congress will deny that great right until by their vote they prove otherwise."

Meanwhile, it was learned that the Southerners have got a New York Republican to offer the trial by jury amendment next week on the House floor.

A Pennsylvania Democrat is reported to have agreed to join the Southern side in debate with a speech entitled "You Can't Sacrifice Principles for Expediency."

Constitution

Forrester reportedly is the Southern leader in charge of amendments, and his strategy appears to be one of getting as many Northerners as possible instead of Southerners, to offer amendments from the floor.

"I can't tell you how many amendments, if any, I will make," Forrester said. "I simply want to see that the amendments are offered. If I can get a Northerner or an Easterner to offer them, then that is the way it will be."

Forrester believes, however, that of even more importance than the jury trial amendment is another that would prevent the federal government from bypassing state administrative remedies in civil rights cases.

TALMADGE IS HOPEFUL

Sen. Talmadge also voiced satisfaction at the Senate committee adoption of the trial by jury amendment, and said, "I hope we can hold it; it looks pretty good."

Talmadge said, "the most elementary of civil rights is the right of trial by jury. I was gratified to see the action of the Senate Judiciary Committee.

"I am still opposed to the bill, because every civil right that American citizens have or need is guaranteed in the Constitution of the United States and a remedy is provided."

The timing of the Senate committee action appeared to have been a shrewd move by Southern senators to checkmate a power play by the administration on the House side.

PRESIDENT PLUGS PROGRAM

President Eisenhower lunched with Republican members of the House on Capitol Hill and plugged for his legislative program. Reportedly his emphasis was more on the program itself than on his controversial budget.

The timing of his appearance thus seemed significant, coming just two days before the House begins the debate on civil rights. Attorney General Brownell sent a letter to three House members opposing a jury trial amendment.

Psychologically at least, the Senate Judiciary Committee action appeared to have partially offset the administration pressure.

P.1

FIGHT ON RIGHTS MEASURE BEGINS

Times Picayune
New Orleans, La.

Southerners Lose Move to Derail Bill in House

Fri. 6-7-57

By EDMOND LE BRETON

WASHINGTON, June 6 (AP) — Southerners lost a tense parliamentary battle to derail the civil rights bill today. They settled down to fight it section by section as the House pushed toward a decision next week.

P.1

The immediate threat to the bill was a point of order raised by Rep. Howard Smith (D-Va), Rules Committee chairman whom other opponents of civil rights legislation refer to as "the coach."

Speaker Rayburn (D-Tex) ruled against Smith's point, which would have sent the bill back to the Judiciary Committee and probably killed any chance of passage this year.

Open Oratorical Fire

Then the Southerners, attending in force, opened up oratorical fire on the bill, centering especially on what they say is a provision for sending accused violators of civil rights injunctions to jail without jury trial.

Rep. Celler of New York, principal Democratic manager of the bill, replied that jury trial requirements would interfere with courts' ability to enforce their orders. He said trial of contempt cases by the judge alone is standard procedure under most federal statutes and a variety of state laws, such as those on alimony and child custody.

And he said an Alabama jury on May 30 acquitted two white men of bombing a Negro house after "the defense pleaded its case on hold-the-white-line grounds."

Supporters of the civil rights bill which is backed by President Eisenhower, expect the House to pass it. A similar measure got House approval last year, but died in the Senate.

General Debate to Proceed

Under the timetable finally adopted today, the House will devote tomorrow and Monday to general debate on the measure and begin considering amendments Tuesday. It conceivably could reach the final vote Thursday.

Smith's surprise attack on the bill was based on a contention that the Judiciary Committee had violated a basic House rule when it sent the measure to the House with a report that did not cover all the contemplated changes in present law.

He argued that the committee's report, while lengthy, did not specifically point out to members how the proposed addition of another assistant attorney general to the Justice Department modifies present statutes, and contended the measure omits the usual specific provision that such an assistant must be a lawyer.

Smith said the report did not definitely note as a change in law an exemption from conflict-of-interest statues for persons to be employed by the proposed civil rights investigations commission.

Rayburn Rules Against Point

When Rep. Keating (R-NY) said Smith had ample opportunity to point out any such omissions while the Rules Committee was leisurely considering the bill, Smith fired back that he had at no time been "willing to lend any aid in the passage of this nefarious bill."

After a brisk debate divided on sectional rather than party lines, Rayburn ruled that the instances cited by Smith were additions rather than amendments to existing law and that in its report on the "substantive" changes the bill would make the committee had complied with the rule.

Meanwhile, in a Senate speech, Sen. Robertson (D-Va) told the Senate that Eisenhower is doing a disservice to the "cause of constitutional liberty" in backing the legislation.

Robertson said he had hoped that when the President became "aware" of the significance of some of the proposals "being made under the label of civil rights" he would denounce them. But the senator recalled that at a recent news conference, the President had described the bill as "a very moderate thing."

Dixie Loses Tense 'Rights' Fight Round

Post-Herald
Fri. 6-7-57
B'ham, Ala.

Point Of Order On Jury Trials Center Of Storm

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Post-Herald

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P.2

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Ike To Blame If South Loses Out, Davis Says

Constitution Fri. 6-7-57 Atlanta, Ga. P. 6

By ALBERT RILEY
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, June 6—If Southern congressmen lose their jury trial amendment fight on the civil rights bill, the blame can be placed squarely on President Eisenhower, in the opinion of Rep. James C. Davis.

Overruled by Speaker Sam Rayburn in their surprise parliamentary move to knock the bill off the floor of the House today, the Dixie lawmakers concentrated their fire not on the bill itself but on the jury trial issue.

DIXIE RESIGNATION

Southern resignation that the House will pass the bill in one form or another was typified by a remark made in debate by Rep. Dies (D-Tex).

Attacking a provision of the bill in an exchange with Rep. Celler (D-NY), Dies said, "I assume the bill will pass."

In the face of a strong Northern counterattack against the jury trial argument, Davis said the jury trial amendment has no better than a 50-50 chance of adoption.

"It all depends on how much pressure the White House puts on" to get the amendment defeated, the Georgian added.

Davis was one of the four-man Southern strategy board that attempted by a preliminary maneuver to knock the bill off the floor today.

They argued that the House Judiciary Committee, in reporting the bill out favorably, had failed to comply with what is known as the Ramseyer rule. This rule says a committee report on legislation must clearly show what existing laws are being amended or repealed by the bill under consideration.

Rayburn ruled that the committee had complied with the Ramseyer rule.

House members traditionally are reluctant to criticize a ruling by the speaker, but Davis said later, "I was very firmly convinced of our position on the point of order. I had studied it very carefully and had precedence to support our position."

If Rayburn had ruled in favor of the Southern contention the bill would have been sent back to the Judiciary Committee, and Davis said that would have meant its death for this session.

NEW TACTICS

But, defeated on this point, Davis joined his strategy board colleagues, Reps. Smith (D-Va), Colmer (D-Miss), and Willis (D-La), in working out other tactics.

Rep. E. L. (Tic) Forrester, Georgia member of the Judiciary Committee, joined in questioning Celler as the New Yorker held the floor for more than an hour in the opening debate, urging passage of the bill.

The little Leesburg member also moved about on the floor of the House, conferring with his colleagues. Other Georgia members listened intently to the debate in the tense chamber, with Rep. Iris Blitch leaning forward to catch every word. Rep. Paul Brown has a speech ready for delivery if he could get the floor.

Davis appeared not to be perturbed over an agreement that was reached between the proponents and opponents of the bill to shorten the general debate from three to four days.

Under this agreement, the Southern side agreed not to hold a Saturday session of debate in return for gaining one day's time next week in considering amendments. That day will be a holiday Wednesday so members can attend a naval functon.

Forrester, Rep. Carl Vinson and Rep. John J. Flynt Jr. are expecting to speak against the bill and for a jury trial amendment either tomorrow or next week.

SOUTHERNERS LOSE RIGHTS BILL ROUND

Commercial Appeal P. 1

House Is Pushing Toward Decision Next Week On Measure

Fri. 6-7-57 Memphis, Tenn.

By The Associated Press

WASHINGTON, June 6.—Southerners lost a tense parliamentary battle to derail the Civil Rights Bill Thursday. They settled down to fight it section by section as the House pushed toward a decision next week.

The immediate threat to the bill was a point of order raised by Representative Howard Smith (D., Va.), Rules Committee chairman whom other opponents of civil rights legislation refer to as "the coach."

Speaker Sam Rayburn (D. Texas) ruled against Representative Smith's point, which would have sent the bill back to the Judiciary Committee and probably killed any chance of passage this year.

Alabama Case Cited

Then the Southerners, attending in force, opened up oratorical fire on the bill, centering especially on what they say is a provision for sending accused violators of civil rights injunctions to jail without jury trials.

Representative Emanuel Celler of New York, principal Democratic manager of the bill, replied that jury trial requirements would interfere with courts' ability to enforce their orders.

And he said an Alabama jury on May 30 acquitted two white men of bombing a Negro house after "the defense pleaded its case on hold-the-white-line grounds."

Supporters of the Civil Rights Bill, which is backed by President Eisenhower, expect the House to pass it. A similar measure got House approval last year, but died in the Senate.

Time Table Adopted

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Representative Smith's surprise attack on the bill was based on a contention that the Judiciary Committee had violated a basic House rule when it sent the measure to the House with a report that did not cover all the contemplated changes in present law.

He argued that the committee's report, while long, did not specifically point out to members how the proposed addition of another assistant attorney general to the Justice Department modifies present statutes, and contended the measure omits the usual specific provision that such an assistant must be a lawyer.

Commercial Appeal P. 1

And Representative Smith said the report did not definitely note as a change in law an exemption from conflict-of-interest statutes for persons to be employed by the proposed Civil Rights Investigations Commission.

When Representative Kenneth B. Keating (R., N. Y.) said Representative Smith had ample opportunity to point out any such omissions while the Rules Committee was leisurely considering the bill, Mr. Smith fired back that he had at no time been "willing to lend any aid in the passage of this nefarious bill."

After a brisk debate divided on sectional rather than party lines, Mr. Rayburn ruled that the instances cited by Mr. Smith were additions rather than amendments to existing law and that in its report on the "substantive" changes the bill would make the committee had complied with the rule.

Eisenhower Rapped

Meanwhile, in a Senate speech, Senator A. Willis Robertson (D., Va.) told the Senate that Mr. Eisenhower is doing a disservice to the "cause of constitutional liberty" in backing the legislation.

Senator Robertson said he had hoped that when the President became "aware" of the significance of some of the proposals "being made under the label of civil rights" he would denounce them. But the senator recalled that at a recent news conference, the President had described the bill as "a very moderate thing."

Southern representatives, including Representative Edwin E. Willis (D., La.), Representative James C. Davis (D., Ga.) and Representative Jere Cooper (D., Tenn.), came to Mr. Smith's support. Civil Rights backers like Representatives Celler and Keating and John W. McCormack (D., Mass.) argued his point was invalid.

Representative Willis said the right to trial by jury is an institution that should be "as permanent and eternal as the Government itself."

Sufficient Votes Seen For Jury Proviso

WASHINGTON, June 6.—(AP)—Southern forces claimed Thursday that as of now they have sufficient votes in the House to add a jury trial proviso to the Civil Rights Bill.

Representative Thomas G. Abernethy (D., Miss.), whip for the southern forces, said a nose count by the southern zone whips indicated that "we have 240 votes for the amendment."

"Whether we can hold all of these we do not know," Representative Abernethy added. "There is considerable pressure on the Republicans, I understand, to oppose the amendment."

If all members of the House were present and voting, a total of 218 would insure adoption of such an amendment.

Southern strategy all along has been to force adoption of the jury trial amendment, similar to one adopted earlier this week by the Senate Judiciary Committee.

As the House bill stands, persons charged with violating injunctions in "right to vote" cases could be tried before judges on contempt charges. Under the southern-sponsored amendment, persons charged under these circumstances would be entitled to jury trials.

Some sponsors of the bill contend that adoption of such an amendment would greatly weaken the bill, since convictions would be difficult to obtain before southern juries.

House debate on the bill continues Friday.

Byrd's Bill Denounced By Olney

Post + Times Herald P. A-6 Sat. 4-6-57 Washington, D.C.

An Assistant Attorney General charged yesterday that a bill sponsored by Sen. Harry F. Byrd (D-Va.) is a "clever device to nullify" the Administration's Civil Rights proposals.

Warren Olney III condemned the bill as a "dangerously deceptive proposal" which would "emasculate" the proposed Civil Rights legislation.

The Administration's bill is designed to give the Justice Department new powers to start contempt proceedings against persons suspected of violating Civil Rights laws.

Byrd, along with Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss.) and Strom Thurmond (D-S. C.), have proposed an amendment to make jury trials mandatory in all contempt proceedings arising out of the Administration's program.

Olney said the Southern Senators' bill would give a jury "completely novel power to substitute their interpretation of the Federal Constitution and laws for that made in the very case before them by the Federal courts."

Olney spoke to the ninth annual conference of the National Civil Liberties Clearing House.

He said the "key Civil Right is the right to vote" but the Justice Department does not have the legal tools to deal with those sections of the Nation where substantial segments of the population are denied a voice at the polls.

The Administration's program would provide the tools, he said, but he warned of the Byrd-Eastland-Thurmond proposal and its "innocuous slogan of jury trial."

"It would create a right to jury trial in a wide variety of situations in which jury trial has never been known to law. . . . There is no Constitutional right to jury trial in either civil or criminal contempt cases," Olney said.

Civil Rights Bill Moves Up

Post-Herald B'hom, Ala.

Formal Debate Set Today, Ends Monday

Thurs. 6-6-57 P. 1

WASHINGTON, June 5 (U.P.)—The House gave President Eisenhower's civil rights bill another push up the legislative ladder today by agreeing to the ground rules under which it will be considered.

The chamber voted 290 to 117 for a resolution allowing four days of talk on the controversial measure with unlimited amendments permitted after the general debate ends.

Southerners made no move to change the ground rules or delay the resolution although they did vote against it. Last year, when a similar bill reached the House floor, the Dixie bloc tried to stall adoption of the rules for considering it.

This time, House leaders obtained an advance agreement to avoid a rules talkathon. The Southerners agreed not to resort to delaying tactics in exchange for a promise that formal debate would not begin until tomorrow.

The absence of fireworks in the preliminary stages did not mean the new measure was out of stormy water. Foes were standing by with about three dozen amendments to throw at the bill when the debate ends next Monday.

IMPORTANT AMENDMENT PROPOSED

Civil Rights Debate Like Three-Ring Circus

By HAROLD DAVIS

Washington.

THE CIVIL RIGHTS debate in the House of Representatives is like a three-ring circus.

The old-time country orators from the South are making the skylight ring with impassioned speeches. Politicians on both sides

Harold Davis' column appears regularly in the daily Atlanta Journal.

are scrambling to get their views into the Congressional Record. Many are having the Record print speeches which they never delivered The folks back home will never know the difference.

In the midst of this bedlam, a quiet move was made last week by Rep. George W. Andrews of Union Springs, Ala. Mr. Andrews offered an important amendment to the civil rights bill, one he said would put "the blood test of sincerity" on advocates of civil rights. But the speaker of the House threw it out on grounds that it wasn't germane.

SOURCE

Nevertheless, the Andrews proposal, if it ever becomes law, will help clear up the South's racial problems at the source rather than around the fringes.

Andrews wants the federal government to establish a human resettlement commission to help dissatisfied Negroes move out of the South to more congenial parts of the country.

This idea is not original with Andrews. It was championed back in 1949 by Richard Russell in the Senate. The Georgian may try to revive it again this year in the upper chamber.

But the Alabamian is already on the field. He has a version of his proposal in a House committee where unsympathetic members seem to be quietly putting it to sleep.

Still, Andrews works on.

"There is ample precedent for this bill," he says. "When we had the dust bowl back in the 30s, this government moved thousands of Okies out to the West Coast because of economic conditions.

"And following World War II, we had the Displaced Persons Commission, after which my bill is patterned, under which the government brought into this country literally thousands of people from foreign countries."

Simply, the Andrews measure provides for appointment of a commission by the President to set up as many regional and district offices as are necessary to carry out the intent of the legislation.

Negroes who want to move under its provisions must first prove they are hard workers. "We do not want to place a charge on any community," Andrews says.

Second, the applicant must declare he is "unhappy with local laws, customs, and traditions in the state where he then resides."

When he does these things, the commission would make him a long-term, low-interest government loan sufficient to move himself, his family, and his household goods to any state of his choice.

"And it will be the duty of the commission to assist him in finding a new home where he will be happy," Andrews declares.

HIGH PERCENTAGE

Last year, the New York Times made a survey which shows race tensions are most acute where the percentage of Negro population is high. In many Southern counties, colored people outnumber whites five and six to one.

At the same time, there are places elsewhere which have no appreciable Negro population. In Oregon, for example, the ratio of Negroes to whites is .0076.

A resettlement commission would reduce the South's colored population and tensions would invariably relax.

The bills sponsored by Andrews this year and by Russell in 1949 draw dull looks and wagging heads from solons north of the Mason-Dixon line. They just aren't good politics even though they would accomplish the objectives which all profess to favor.

Civil Rights Battle Shaping for Senate

Monday Passage in House Held Sure; Southerners Still Hope for 'Jury' Rider

By HAROLD DAVIS
Atlanta Journal Washington Correspondent

Atlanta Journal Bureau
1426 G Street, NW

WASHINGTON, D.C., June 15—With the civil rights battle all over but the shouting in the House of Representatives, the spotlight now shifts to the Senate.

In the House, the decisive round was fought Friday night when the representatives, by a 199-167 vote, killed the South's jury trial provision.

One more day of debate is scheduled on Monday before a tally comes on the whole bill. By Monday night, it will be all over with the bill passed just as the administration and the Liberal Democrats want it. In the House, the Southerners were hamstrung by the rules of the chamber. Filibustering is out of the question. A member almost has to get permission to make a speech.

* * *

IN THE SENATE, debate is wide open and cannot be shut off except by a two-thirds vote of all 96 senators. Senators can talk for hours on end unless cloture (or shut off of debate) is voted.

This year, however, the anti-rights Southern senators have a number of worries.

First of all, there is the danger cloture will be voted. Political pressure for the bill is such that many conservative senators may favor cloture, who otherwise would not.

Second, there is a chance that advocates of the bill may attempt to put it directly on the Senate calendar next Tuesday without ever sending it to Senate committee.

* * *

ALTHOUGH THIS would be difficult, liberal senators think that with the aid of a parliamentary ruling from Vice President Richard Nixon, it could be done.

If the liberals try this and succeed, the bill could come up very soon on the Senate floor. If they don't do it, it will go to the Senate Judiciary Committee where chairman James Eastland of Mississippi will slow down its progress considerably.

The Southern senators may stand a chance of getting a jury trial provision put on the bill in the Senate. Their arguments in favor of such an amendment have been effective there to an undetermined degree.

IF THE SENATE should pass the bill with a jury trial provision after the House has rejected one, the measure would go to a compromise committee composed of senators and representaties. The discord between the House and Senate versions would be ironed out there.

In the fight in the House, each of Georgia's 10 representatives got in the record against the bill. Most of them spoke several times.

House Kills Rights Trial Amendment

Northern Demos, Republicans Unite For Vital Victory

WASHINGTON, June 14 (AP) — Northern Democrats and Republicans teamed up in an important victory for President Eisenhower's civil rights bill today, smashing back an attempt to require jury trials in contempt cases.

The House vote on the key jury trial amendment was 199-167.

A score of Negroes looked on from uncrowded galleries during the count, which was conducted by tellers.

With that out of the way, the bill was well on the way to a ballot on final passage. But with an eye on ranks thinned by weekend departures, the leadership put that vote off until Monday.

ALL BUT ENDED

The battle all but ended today when Southerners, with a few outside recruits, failed to put across the amendment to make a jury trial mandatory for anybody accused of violating an injunction designed to enforce voting or other civil rights.

Members from Dixie contended civil rights can be enforced adequately under present law. They argued that the amendment merely would guarantee another basic right of Americans and make a bit more palatable what Rep. Cooley (D-NC) called "a dastardly measure" that was "conceived in putrid politics."

NEGRO MEMBER

Supporters of the legislation said the jury trial amendment would have destroyed the bill's effectiveness in the South.

A Negro member, Rep. Powell (D-NY), told the House:

"When American citizens are faced with juries in the Southern section of the United States we know that a colored citizen cannot get equal justice."

For strategy and vote getting purposes, backers of the amendment tapped a freshman Republican from the North, Rep. Russell W. Keeney of Illinois, to bring it before the House.

A former state's attorney and county and circuit judge, Keeney told the House that as the bill stood the United States would serve as plaintiff, prosecutor and judge of a person accused of depriving others of civil rights.

Joing with Keeny, Rep. Hoffman (R-Mich) said that "I don't propose to go and criticize any other section of the United States as being lawless." Hoffman said there is murder after murder in New York and New Jersey and the "record is full of beatings and murders that have gone unpunished in Chicago."

"It's a good thing to clean up your own house," he said, "before you travel around to the neighbors to tell them what to do."

The heart of the bill is a section empowering the U. S. attorney general to go direct to a federal court for an injunction to protect voting or other civil rights.

Nixon to Team With Knowland On Rights Bill

Journal + Constitution
Jun. 6-16-57
Atlanta Ga.

WASHINGTON, June 15 (UP)—Vice President Nixon and Sen. Knowland (R-Calif) are reported ready to team up in a drive to get Senate action on a civil rights bill that the House is about to pass.

P. 6-a

Knowland, the Senate Republican leader, and Nixon are cast as possible rivals for the 1960 GOP presidential nomination. Both appear to believe the nomination will be worth more to the man who gets it if they can get the Republicans credited with passing a civil rights bill.

The Knowland-Nixon stratey calls for a move by the senator as soon as a House-approved bill actually reaches the Senate—probably Tuesday—to keep it from going to the judiciary committee. The latter group thus far has bottled up similar legislation.

* * *

THIS SHORT-CUT could be accomplished either by an objection by Knowland to the bill's reference to committee or by a motion to put the measure on the Senate's calendar. Under the Senate's rules, this would require some expert timing by Knowland.

But before Knowland could make any move, he would first have to be recognized by Nixon in the latter's role as presiding officer. And, if a point of order were raised, Nixon's ruling would have some influence on the result.

Fifteen Democratic senators, headed by Douglas of Illinois, already have announced they will vote to keep the House bill in the Senate without committee consideration of it. Sen. Javitts (R-NY) said he wanted to be associated with them in that move.

Southern opponents of the bill have privately come to the conclusion that, with Knowland spearheading the drive and Nixon presiding, they are facing defeat in their efforts to keep the measure bottled up.

Because of the parliamentary situation, the Southerners cannot hope to filibuster the preliminary move. Debate can be shut off by a motion to table.

UNDERMINING CIVIL RIGHTS

Times 7-18-c
Newport
R.I. 6-21-57

At long last the civil rights bill will reach the floor of the House next week, having survived the slow and tortuous processes imposed upon it by its implacable enemies, who have used every device known to parliamentarianism to delay its progress for the past four months. Their trump card is still to be played; for in finally allowing the measure to move on, the Rules Committee gave it an "open rule"—which means it will be subject to potentially ruinous amendments.

A similar game is being played in the Senate, only even more slowly. In that body the measure has not yet been reported from Senator Eastland's committee. Other devices are being considered to get it out to the Senate floor, and if they succeed—an eventuality by no means certain—the silent filibuster that has already blocked it will doubtless erupt into the open. Despite all these difficulties, many Senators "in the know" seem to believe that some kind of civil rights bill may actually pass this session. But if it passes with the kind of crippling amendments that lie in wait for it on both sides of the Capitol, those who believe that the Constitution means what it says will have won hardly more than a Pyrrhic victory.

As it stands, the civil rights bill is an essentially moderate measure. The Administration asks for creation of a non-partisan study commission, for establishment of a civil rights section in the Department of Justice, for authority for the Federal Government to initiate injunction suits to prevent local officials from depriving citizens of their guaranteed civil rights and for special legal protection to permit free voting in national elections. The opposition is now concentrating on two major kinds of amendment: (1) a "right-to-work" provision that would be sure to alienate all labor and a great deal of liberal support for the bill and (2) a provision that would insure jury trials for persons accused of violating a Federal injunction against interference with the right to vote. It is the second of these two proposals that has a specious appeal based on the undoubted fact that jury trial is an important guarantee against arbitrary exercise of governmental power.

However, in this instance the requirement of trial by jury would unquestionably mean that in large sections of the country the orderly enforcement of the law protecting voting rights of minority groups—specifically the Negro—would be hopelessly undermined. The result would be that the violator of the law would be the person protected, not the victim.

Use of the injunction without jury trial in many kinds of Federal action is normal, not exceptional. As the American Civil Liberties Union points out, "to grant jury trials in the civil rights legislation would protect officials who are failing to do their duty in protecting the constitutional rights of citizens." Any official who carries out his sworn obligation to uphold the Constitution need have no fear of the injunctive process.

House Clears Way For Vote On Rights Bill

Post-Herald
Jun. 6-15-57
B'ham Ala.

Non-Record Tally Has Amendment Losing By 199-167

P. 1

WASHINGTON, June 14 (UP) — The House handed President Eisenhower a crucial victory today by beating down a stubborn Southern drive to attach a jury trial amendment to his civil rights bill.

The 199 to 167 vote apparently cleared the way for passage of the bill itself next Monday. It then would go to the Senate where Dixie senators are prepared to try to talk it to death if it ever reaches the floor.

The House vote followed daylong arguments in which administration forces charged that the jury trial amendment would wreck the whole bill. Proponents said it was necessary to protect the traditional rights of all Americans.

Southerners fighting the civil rights measure had spent six days building up to today's showdown which came on a nonrecord teller vote in which members are counted as they pass up the aisle.

Although the amendment drew its heaviest support from the Dixie bloc, it was sponsored by a freshman Republican congressman from the North—Rep. Russell W. Keeney (Ill.), a former state judge.

It would have guaranteed a trial by jury, instead of a federal judge, for persons accused of violating court orders sought by the government under the bill to protect voting and other civil rights.

The House took up the amendment under an agreement calling for a final vote on the entire bill by 6 p.m. EDT Monday. It was expected to pass but not until the Southern bloc wages a further fight for other amendments.

At one point in the long controversy it appeared the Southerners would win their battle for the jury trial amendment. But the tide turned when the administration swayed many Republicans against it.

Southerners, nevertheless, fought up to the last minute. Rep. Martin Dies (D., Tex.) charged that objections to jury trials showed "prejudice against the South."

Dies said these objections were based on the fear that Southern juries would not convict any violators of court orders in the civil rights cases. He said no evidence was produced to show that federal juries in the South "will not do their duty."

Rep. Toby Morris (D., Okla.) told his colleagues "if you don't allow jury trials it is going to come back and haunt you."

But Rep. James Roosevelt (D., Cal.) said that if the amendment were added, violators would "feel free to laugh at orders of the court."

Backers of the bill tried and failed earlier to get the jury trial amendment ruled out without a vote.

Post-Herald

In a surprise move, Rep. Emanuel Celler (D., N. Y.), floor manager for the bill, challenged the amendment as "out of order."

P. 2

But Rep. Aime J. Forand (D., R. I.), who was presiding, held the amendment was pertinent.

Celler, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, based his challenge on a ruling given when the House considered the Volstead, or prohibition, law years ago. Celler said an identical jury trial amendment was ruled out of order then because it dealt with penalties and not legal procedures.

But Keeney argued that the amendment, and in fact the whole bill, deals with procedures for handling complaints of civil rights violations. Forand agreed with his view.

Keeney said "it has always been my firm belief that a jury is a component part of any court."

Rep. John M. Vorys (R., Ohio) drew a burst of applause from Northerners when he summed up the argument against the Southern-backed jury trial amendment as follows:

"We deny a jury trial to a union man under the Taft-Hartley law. We deny a jury trial to a businessman under the anti-trust laws. We deny a jury trial to a man or woman in a divorce or alimony suit . . .

"What makes a jury trial so sacred that we must give it to a Southerner who is trying to keep someone, probably a Negro, from voting. What makes it so sacred? Nothing!"

Forged document

News 7-8-c
Jun. 6-23-57

CONG. HOWARD SMITH of Virginia kept the civil rights debate in the House of Representatives on a high plane. He discouraged race-baiting and vituperation. Other congressmen followed his lead.

However, one unfortunate document was put in the Congressional Record by Cong. Thomas Abernethy of Mississippi, who discovered an alleged Communist-Jewish plot to "inflame the Negro minority against the whites."

The document was supposed to have been written by Israel Cohen, whom Abernethy described as a leading Communist in England in 1912. The document read:

"We must realize that our party's most powerful weapon is racial tension. By propounding into the consciousness of the dark races that for centuries they have been oppressed by the whites, we can mould them to the program of the Communist Party. In America we will aim for subtle victory. While inflaming the Negro minority against the whites, we will endeavor to instill in the whites a guilt complex for their exploitation of the Negroes. We will aid the Negroes to rise in prominence in every walk of life, in the professions and in the world of sports and entertainment. With this prestige, the Negro will be able to intermarry with the whites and begin a process which will deliver America to our cause."

Abernethy didn't know it, but there was no Communist Party in 1912. There was no Israel Cohen in politics in England at that time. There was no book such as Abernethy described known to the British Museum or the U. S. Library of Congress or the Union Catalogue. Furthermore, the words "guilt complex" are a very recent phrase, not used in 1912. In other words, somebody put across a forgery.

GOP cheerful

REPUBLICAN SPIRITS in Congress have revived. Relations are much more cheerful between the Hill and the White House. Teamwork over the civil rights bill is considered partly responsible.

"The 1958 campaign is already under way," confided House Republican Chief Joe Martin at a recent White House parley at which was discussed the great job he did of expediting civil rights action.

Senate GOP Leader Bill Knowland, who dragged his feet early in this session, now seems determined to make a better-late-than-never battle.

"I still think there's a chance to beat a Southern filibuster. But win or lose, we'll fight it out," he told the president.

Both Ike and his postmaster general, Arthur Summerfield, made strong pleas for Summerfield's bill to increase postal rates, a measure bitterly fought by big magazine publishers. Ike told the GOP leaders:

"We are badly in need of this extra revenue to improve the postal service. I sincerely hope Congress will not put off action until next year."

Reported House Leader Martin: "I think I can predict that the House will act this session. We'll get a rule for the postal bill after the furor over civil rights has quieted down."

Reported the more dubious Knowland: "We have a good chance for action in the Senate, too, if we get it from the House sometime soon."—(c).

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10 1957

Smathers Sees "Modified" Civil Rights Bill Passing

Daily World Wed. 1-23-57 Atlanta, Ga.

P. 1

WASHINGTON — (INS) — Sen. George A. Smathers (D) Fla., predicted Tuesday that a "modified" civil rights program will be passed this year even though he and other Southern Senators probably will filibuster against it.

He also forecast revision of the filibuster rule within the next two years, and said he thinks southerners should "do something about retreating to a rule which we can hold."

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Smathers admitted that conservative southern senators have been meeting secretly with Sen. Richard Russell (D) Ga., to discuss possible civil rights legislation and revision of the filibuster rule.

COURSE OF ACTION

He also conceded that there was considerable disagreement among them over what course of action to take, but denied there was any split as such, among them.

The Florida Democrat said the disagreement concerns the "degree" of change Southerners are willing to accept in their traditional stand on these matters.

He told panelists on the Mutual Radio Network program, "Reporters' Roundup," That "We all want to preserve" free speech in the Senate. He said the question now among senators is "how far to go with it and where and when to make the fight."

Senators indicated he is willing to support Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson's proposal to change the filibuster rule so as to permit talkathons to be cut off by a two-thirds vote of senators present and voting. At present it takes a two-thirds vote of the entire senate membership—or 64 votes.

RULE CHANGED TO

Northern liberals led by Sens' Hubert H. Humphrey (D) Minn., and Paul H. Douglas (D) Ill., want the rule changed so that a simple majority could cut off filibuster.

On the matter of Civil Rights Legislation, Smathers said "the facts indicate that there are enough votes which would support a modified civil rights program and if it started early enough in the session. . . . There will be such a program passed."

He said he anticipates "there will be a form of filibuster" against such legislation and that he would join it if the program "infringes upon the rights of the states to operate in this field of segregation."

But he said he does not believe the filibuster "will be strong enough or there will be enough men participate in it to actually make it effective."

Pro-Civil Rights Stand Taken by 83 Democrats

Star Thurs. 5-30-57 Washington D.C. P. 6-A

By the Associated Press

Eighty-three House Democrats have issued a joint statement in support of the civil rights bill coming up for House debate next Wednesday.

They said they were "determined" to see enactment of "meaningful" civil rights legislation and added:

"We earnestly called upon our Republican colleagues to join with us in this determination."

They said Democrats couldn't pass the bill alone since Southerners "may find it difficult to support the bill."

Representative Celler, Democrat of New York, author of the civil rights bill in the House, said yesterday he had called a meeting of Democrats for June 6 to develop strategy on getting the bill passed and resisting crippling amendments.

G. O. P. Action Urged

"It is hoped the Republicans will call a similar meeting," Mr. Celler told reporters.

Representatives Roosevelt, Democrat of California; Thompson, Democrat of New Jersey; Metcalf, Democrat of Montana, and Boyle, Democrat of Illinois, met with reporters yesterday afternoon to explain the joint statement signed by 83 Democrats, mostly from the North.

The statement said the signers were determined to resist "crippling amendments" to the present bill. They said opponents of the bill thought they had found a "new secret weapon" in insisting there be an amendment guaranteeing a trial by jury for those who charged with violating court orders.

They said the addition of the amendment would make the bill meaningless.

They continued, "Unfortunately, the President has not backed up his recommendation with the kind of leadership which is needed to assure a legislative victory. Neither he nor his Attorney General has seen fit to reply to a request last week by Mr. Roosevelt that the administration speak out clearly on the controversial 'trial - by - jury' issue."

President Written

Mr. Roosevelt told reporters he had written the President asking him to make a public statement, together with the Attorney General, "which would make clear whether or not you felt that the 'trial-by-jury' amendment would make the civil rights bill practically ineffective as to its enforcement features."

In answer to a question, Mr. Roosevelt said he believed the jury trial amendment would destroy the bill. Asked if he thought that way because he believed Southern juries wouldn't bring in convictions, he replied, "Yes."

The Democrats' statement said the civil rights bill "will be defeated or crippled only if a deal is worked out between Southern members and some Republican members." It said "such a coalition has operated too often in the past."

Dixie Senators' 1956 Civil Rights Strategy Won't Work This Time

Post-Herald Wed. 6-19-57 B'ham Ala.

P. 2

BY GENE WORTSMAN
Post-Herald Correspondent

WASHINGTON, June 18 — Southern senators, slowly being backed to the wall, last year defeated civil rights legislation by outsmarting the opposition.

The same strategy—which actually was nothing more than routing procedure in most cases—won't work this time.

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But it bought civil rights opponents a year's grace in 1956.

Here is the story which, so far as can be learned, has never before been published:

The civil rights bill was nearing passage in the House.

Four Senate advocates of the bill, including Sens. Paul Douglas (D., Ill.) and Hubert Humphrey (D., Minn.) agreed that at least one of their number would remain on the Senate floor whenever the Senate was meeting.

When the civil rights bill came to the Senate, this member would ask that the bill not be sent to committee.

Instead, he would ask that it be put right on the list of bills ready to be debated and voted on in the Senate.

On the day the bill passed the House, Sen. Douglas was the man on duty for the liberal bloc.

Southern senators were aware of the plan.

Instead of a hard and fast counter-plan, the Southerners kept their lines flexible to meet whatever developed.

A few moments before the bill left the house on the way to the Senate, Democratic Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson (D., Tex.) telephoned Sen. Lister Hill (D., Ala.).

He said the bill was on the way to the Senate.

Johnson told Hill to come over immediately and preside in the absence of Vice President Richard Nixon.

Hill hurried to the Senate and took over the vice president's chair.

The civil rights bill was brought into the chamber.

Hill, as presiding officer, had the duty of sending the bill to committee.

Proper procedure was to say that, without objection, the measure would be referred to the Senate Judiciary Committee.

That is what Hill said.

But where was Douglas, the liberal who was supposed to object.

He wasn't present.

Douglas, mis-informed, had hurried to the House to pick up the measure personally and bring it back to the Senate.

Halfway down the corridor between the Senate and the House, Douglas passed the messenger who was hurrying the bill to the Senate.

But Douglas didn't know that.

As a result, neither he nor any of his cohorts were on the Senate floor at the strategic moment to try and stop the measure.

It went to the Judiciary Committee and that's where it stayed.

That won't happen again.

The civil rights bill again this week will come the Senate, and Vice President Nixon is expected to be in the chair.

Sen. William Knowland (R., Cal.) and more than a dozen liberal Democrats plus other Republicans will try to stop the bill from going to committee.

A Southern senator said today it looks bad for the South.

South Loses Bid To Derail Rights Action

Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. Fri. 6-7-57

WASHINGTON, June 6 (AP) — Southerners lost a tense parliamentary battle to derail the civil rights bill today. They settled down to fight it section by section

as the House pushed toward a decision next week.

The immediate threat to the bill was a point of order raised by Rep. Howard Smith (D-Va), Rules Committee chairman whom other opponents of civil rights legislation refer to as "the coach."

Speaker Rayburn (D-Tex) ruled against Smith's point, which would have sent the bill back to the Judiciary Committee and probably killed any chance of passage this year.

OPEN FIRE ON BILL

Then the Southerners, attending in force, opened up oratorical fire on the bill, centering especially on what they say is a provision for sending accused violators of civil rights injunctions to jail without jury trial.

Rep. Celler of New York, principal, Democratic manager of the bill, replied that jury trial requirements would interfere with courts' ability to enforce their orders. He said trial of contempt cases by the judge alone is standard procedure under most federal statutes and a variety of state laws, such as those on alimony and child custody.

BOMB CASES CITED

And he said an Alabama jury on May 30 acquitted two white men of bombing a Negro house after "the defense pleaded its case on hold-the-white-line grounds."

Supporters of the civil rights bill which is backed by President Eisenhower, expect the House to pass it. A similar measure got House approval last year, but died in the Senate.

Under the timetable finally adopted today, the House will devote tomorrow and Monday to general debate on the measure and begin considering amendments Tuesday. It conceivably could reach the final vote Thursday.

SURPRISE ATTACK

Smith's surprise attack on the bill was based on a contention that the Judiciary Committee had violated a basic House rule when it sent the measure to the House with a report that did not cover all the contemplated changes in present law.

He argued that the committee's report, while lengthy, did not specifically point out to members how the proposed addition of another assistant attorney general to the Justice Department modifies present statutes, and contended the measure omits the usual specific provision that such an assistant must be a lawyer.

Showdown On Rights

The right to trial by jury is established in three provisions of the Constitution. But English common law, U. S. statutes and a long list of court decisions have firmly established one broad exception to this right. Where court injunctions or restraining orders are violated, the courts have the power to punish offenders for contempt of court without a jury trial.

Last week a battle was on in Congress in which this power was a central issue. The battle involves the Administration's civil rights program. This is the situation:

The Administration program is aimed particularly at protecting the right of the Negro to vote. It would create a commission to investigate infringement of civil rights, set up a special division in the Justice Department to handle civil rights cases, and empower Federal courts to issue injunctions to prevent violations of voting rights and to punish on contempt charges those who disobey such injunctions. Under existing law the Federal Government can take action only after the right to vote is denied. By the time the action is completed the vote (or the right to register) generally is lost.

Last week, after six days of debate, the Administration bill was ready for passage in the House. The decisive battle came on a key jury trial amendment which was defeated 199 to 167, foreshadowing the measure's approval tomorrow. Two more battles are expected before the bill comes to a vote. One is on an amendment to remove a provision that would allow the Federal Government to intervene in civil rights cases, even though all state remedies have not been exhausted. This is the "state's rights" amendment. The second is a move to return the bill to committee. Both are expected to be defeated.

Senate Prospects

But the major battle is still ahead in the Senate. There the Judiciary Committee has approved an amendment requiring jury trials in contempt cases arising out of civil rights injunctions.

Senator Sam J. Erwin Jr., North Carolina Democrat who led the fight for the amendment, argues that it is no more than a proper guarantee of "constitutional and legal safeguards erected * * * to protect all Americans from governmental tyranny."

Leading the fight against the amendment is Senator Paul H. Douglas, Illinois Democrat. In a Senate speech last week he cited the "great reluctance * * * of Southern jurors to convict white men for offenses against Negroes." He pointed out that (1) only qualified voters were allowed to serve on juries in most Southern states, and (2) most Southern Negroes were prevented from voting by the poll tax, pressure by whites, or quasi-legal devices. Thus, he maintained, the amendment "will nullify * * * the right-to-vote provisions of that bill in direct proportion to the discriminations against voting that now exist."

President Eisenhower has taken a strong stand against the amendment. At his news conference ten days ago he opposed any attempt to limit the power of the courts to punish those in contempt of court. He said:

> I have been struck by [former] Chief Justice Taft's remarks on a similar effort * * *. He stated that if we tried to put a jury trial between a court order and the enforcement of that order, that we are really welcoming anarchy. * * * I would take his opinion * * *.

However, Washington observers doubt that increased protection for Negro voting rights is in the offing. If the bill as amended passes in the Senate it will have little effect. If the amendment is killed on the floor the chances are that a Southern filibuster will bury it for the remainder of this session.

Dixie Senators Win A Delay In Rights Fight

News + Courier
Charleston S.C.
Tues. 6-25-57

Minor Victory Won't Put Off Action On Bill

By Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON, June 24—Southern senators won another delay on the civil rights issue in the Judiciary Committee today.

The relatively minor victory will not prevent the Senate from taking up the rights issue next month, because of the vote last week to keep the House-approved rights bill away from the Senate committee by placing it on the calendar where it can be reached at any time by majority vote.

But supporters of civil rights legislation would still like to get the Senate bill out of committee before the debate starts, in order to deprive the opposition of the argument that the Senate should not act while its committee still was deliberating on the subject.

CHANCES REDUCED

The chances for getting the Senate's own bill to the floor were reduced by today's action in the committee, which voted 7-5 to lay it aside temporarily and take up instead a bill affecting meat packers.

Sen. Everett Dirksen (R-Ill.) fought the motion by Sen. Joseph C. O'Mahoney (D-Wyo), to sidetrack the rights bill. He said the committee had agreed to keep that bill before it until it was disposed of. Even if the meat packers bill should be disposed of when the committee meets again Monday, it will be two weeks before the committee can get back to the civil rights bill, he pointed out.

But four Southern senators—Chairman James O. Eastland (D-Miss.), Olin D. Johnston (D-S. C.), Sam J. Ervin Jr. (D-N.C.) and John L. McClellan (D-Ark.)—and two Republicans, Alexander Wiley of Wisconsin and Arthur V. Watkins of Utah, joined O'Mahoney in supporting the motion and it prevailed.

VOTE AGAINST

Voting against it in addition to Dirksen were Sens. Thomas C. Hennings (D-Mo.), nominal author of the administration's rights bill; Estes Kefauver (D-Tenn.), John Marshall Butler (D-Md.) and H. Roman Hruska (R-Neb.).

Asked if he thought the Senate committee ever would report out a rights bill, Eastland told reporters he was "not a prophet." But Johnston said he was "unalterably" opposed to sending a committee-approved bill to the floor, and Eastland said that the South Carolina senator "and all others" will be given full opportunity to express their views on every phase of the bill and matters relating to it.

Meanwhile, one of the rights bill's principal supporters, Sen. Paul Douglas (D-Ill) told the Senate Rules Committee he believes it will be virtually impossible to pass a "meaningful" rights bill this year or so long as the senate keeps on its books its present "cloture" rule.

Civil Rights Bill Doomed By Filibuster

News + Observer
Sun. 6-23-57
Raleigh N.C.

WASHINGTON, June 22 (AP)—Sen. Ives (R-NY), a supporter of the administration's civil rights bill, said today he thinks it is doomed by an expected Southern filibuster.

Although Southern foes of the legislation sometimes shy away from using the word filibuster, Sen. Ellender (D-La) showed no such delicacy in pledging an all-out fight against its passage.

Short Cut.

He said that any motion to take up the measure, placed on the Senate's calendar two days by a parliamentary short cut, "will bring forth prolonged debate—to be blunt, a filibuster."

The bill, already passed by the House, was placed on the Senate calendar by a 45-39 vote in an unusual maneuver sparked by Senate Republican Leader Knowland of California. Thus the bill bypassed the Senate Judiciary Committee, where a companion measure has been bottled up since mid-March.

However, Senate leaders have entered into an agreement not to try to call the bill up for debate before July 8.

Ives' remarks were prepared for broadcast over 13 New York TV stations. It was an interview transcribed prior to the Senate vote placing the measure on the calendar.

Doubt Expressed.

However, he said "I don't believe we are going to be able to get it passed if we succeed in getting it on the calendar."

Under the free debate permitted in the Senate, he said, "our Southern friends could start a filibuster today and keep filibustering right on through Dec. 31st and prevent any action on anything here if they wanted to do it."

The only way a filibuster can be broken in the Senate, other than by sheer physical exhaustion, is to secure the votes of 64 senators, or two thirds of the entire membership.

Lawmaker Says Bill To Create Racial Strife

News + Courier
Tues. 6-11-57
Charleston S.C.

WASHINGTON, June 10 (AP) — Rep. Frank Smith (D-Miss) told the House today that if the civil rights bill were enacted "it will serve to destroy civil liberties instead of protecting them."

He added that "it will create far more racial strife than it will eliminate. It will gravely endanger our system of constitutional liberties."

Smith said the greatest abuse which the bill would establish into law would be the denial of the right of trial by jury to those charged with violations under the act.

Proponents of the bill, he said, contend that trial by jury in the South has not been effective and contend that "the end they have in view excuses the evil they propose."

"This philosophy has no place in a democratic society," Smith said. "The principles on which our government has progressed to its position today are not to be swamped by time or vicissitudes, or we would have lost our liberties long ago."

The bill, Smith said, would give far greater power to the attorney general of the United States "than has ever been conceived necessary."

Ballot Called Best Way to Get Rights

World-Telegram + Sun
New York
Sat. 5-25-57

By ROGER STUART,
Staff Writer.

WASHINGTON, May 25.—Good government in general and civil rights in particular can ~~best be promoted~~ by working through one of the two major political parties, a leadership conference sponsored by the National Council of Negro Women was told here today.

"Without sacrificing our identity as individuals or as a group," declared Mrs. Sadye Carter Williams of Yonkers, special assistant to the Federal Housing Administration, "we have to find practical methods to obtain our civil rights by the device offered us—the ballot."

Mrs. Williams, who served as assistant campaign manager of the New York State Republican Women's Division last fall, said that she did not "underestimate the service nonpartisan organizations have performed and may still perform," but added:

"I am suggesting to you, however, as individuals and as leaders in your home communities, that your forthright participation in civic and political affairs is the best way to assure good government for all the people, including your own."

2 Down-30 to Go:

House Foils Moves To Kill Rights Bill

The first two attempts to wreck or kill the Administration-backed civil rights bill were badly beaten in the House, which was in the process of considering about 30 remaining amendments as this issue went to press.

Both attacks were led by Republicans. After four days of debate, Rep. Clare E. Hoffman (R-Mich.) moved to strike the bill's enacting clause, which would have had the effect of killing the measure. His motion was shouted down by voice vote.

Motion Beat Down

The next assault came when Rep. H. R. Gross (R-Ia.) offered an amendment to strike out the bill's provision establishing a new commission on civil rights. The commission would have subpoena powers and be charged with investigating complaints of denial of voting rights.

Gross' motion was beaten down on a standing vote of 127 to 88. Debate on the amendment was cut off after running more than two hours on a motion from Rep. Emmanuel Celler (D-N. Y.), majority leader for the bill. Celler's motion was carried 121 to 89.

The first southern move came as Rep. George W. Andrews (D-Ala.) moved to substitute a "human resettlement commission" for the proposed civil rights commission. The Andrews commission would administer a program of helping Negroes move from states practicing segregation to other states.

Rep. Aime J. Forand (D-R. I.), presiding officer of the House for the civil rights debate, ruled that Andrews' amendment was out of order and dismissed it without letting it come to a vote.

Would Work Hardship

Then the House tentatively approved by a vote of 116 to 89 a minor amendment that would restrict the subpoena powers of the commission to within state boundaries. As written, the commission could hold hearings around the country and subpoena witnesses from any point within the judicial circuit in which it was sitting.

Some circuits comprise as many as five states and Rep. J. Carlton Loser (D-Tenn.) contended that it would work a hardship if witnesses were compelled to travel as far as from El Paso to Miami Beach, even though the government would pay travel bills.

At this point, the House let the civil rights fight lay over for a day to permit members to attend a naval review at Hampton Woods, Va.

The main fights still to be faced are southern-backed amendments to require jury trials in civil contempt cases and to add a national "right-to-work" provision banning the union shop. Adoption of either would probably result in the defeat of the legislation.

Rep. Robert L. F. Sikes (D-Fla.) complained that the House is "wasting two weeks discussing something we have no expectation we shall see written into law." He said that "the bill is going to die in the Senate. All of us anticipate that."

The Senate Judiciary Committee under the chairmanship of Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss.) is still "considering" amendments to the bill favorably reported out by its civil rights subcommittee many weeks ago. Sen. Everett M. Dirksen (R-Ill.) has charged that a "committee filibuster" is under way.

Ask Fast Action On Pay Legislation

Declaring that "federal-postal pay legislation can only be defeated by delay," the AFL-CIO Government Employes' Council called on all members of the House to sign a petition to discharge the House Civil Service Commission from further consideration of the bill.

"The petition now lacks fewer than 50 names to complete the necessary majority to bring the legislation to the House floor," the council said.

The renewed drive to pry the measure loose in the House came as the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee approved legislation to give $500 annual raises to most postal workers and between $310 and $500 to other federal workers under civil service.

Sen. Richard Neuberger (D-Ore.), who heads the sub-committee, said that "until the government is either willing or able to take steps necessary to control the upward spiral of living costs, it has an obligation to see that the pay of its employes keeps pace with inflation."

RIGHTS BILL FOES GAIN NEW DELAY

Final Action by House Set for Today With Passage of Full Program Likely

By C. P. TRUSSELL

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, June 17—Southerners in the House of Representatives today won another delay of final action on President Eisenhower's civil rights program. Passage of the measure virtually intact appeared certain.

The crucial voting had been set by previous arrangement for 6 P. M. tonight. Southerners, however, kept their delaying battle going further. It was planned to demand a reading of an "engrossed" copy of the bill before the last votes were taken. Engrossing is an overnight job at the Government Printing Office.

Representative John W. McCormick of Massachusetts, the majority leader, beat Southern foes of the bill to the draw. He obtained unanimous censent for a postponement of final voting until tomorrow. An engrossed copy of the legislation will be on hand then.

House to Meet Early

The House will meet an hour earlier than usual—at 11 A. M.—to call the roll on the remaining important issues: first, a motion to recommit the bill to the Judiciary Committee with instructions to insert a guarantee of jury trials to defendants accused of defying orders forbidding denial of civil rights in specific cases and perhaps a prohibition against Federal Government entry into a case until all state court remedies have been exhausted, and then the final passage.

The Senate, meanwhile, appeared to be on edge in expectancy of the arrival of the House bill tomorrow. Plans were made to try to call up the House bill, as passed, and work on it, rather than the Senate version of the President's program that has been landlocked in the Senate Judiciary Committee since January.

Morse Balks Liberals

Senator William F. Knowland, the minority leader, appeared to be poised to try to bypass the reluctant committee by calling the House bill to a floor showdown at once.

Such an operation involved the Senate's respect for its committees, required a favorable ruling from Vice President Richard M. Nixon, as presiding officer, and faced a certain filibuster. A filibuster is the use of endless debate to kill a bill.

Senate liberals were heavily for trying to bypass the Judiciary Committee, headed by Senator James O. Eastland, Mississippi Democrat, who is a foe of civil rights bills. They had one important defector, Senator Wayne Morse, Democrat of Oregon, one of the Senate's most ardent and active proponents of civil rights.

Mr. Morse said that he would not be a party to bypassing a committee.

Other liberals, headed by Senators Paul H. Douglas, Democrat of Illinois, and Hubert H. Humphrey, Democrat of Minnesota, decided to go ahead with the bypassing move. Others of their group were hesitating, however.

Many highly involved parliamentary tactics must succeed to snub a Senate committee. Much depends upon the ruling by the Vice President. It might mean that Mr. Knowland, who is mentioned constantly as a possible opponent of Mr. Nixon for the Presidential nomination at the next Republican National Convention, could put Mr. Nixon in a dilemma.

The Vice President, as is Mr. Knowland, is trying to get a civil rights program to the Senate, which has been a graveyard for such measures. It appeared that Mr. Knowland was hoping that Mr. Nixon might rule that the House civil rights bill could go before the Senate.

But the Congressional Reorganization Act of 1948 prescribes that a bill coming to the Senate from the House should be referred to an appropriate committee. This might mean that both the Senate and House bills could be locked up by the Eastland panel.

Foes Suffer 2 Losses

On the seventh day of House consideration the Administration's program had been approved tentatively. Only three minor amendments had been put into the measure. Opponents had lost two attempts to get a guarantee of jury trials for persons accused of violating injunctions designed to restrain them from violating the civil rights of citizens.

The opponents of the program was scheduled to try for a third time tomorrow, on a roll-call vote, but no one at the Capitol expected them to win.

Today, the defenders of the bill, led by Representative Emanuel Celler, the Brooklyn Democrat who is head of the Judiciary Committee, and Aepresentative Kenneth B. Keating, ranking minority member of the committee and floor manager for the measure, beat off all of the proposed amendments that they viewed as weakening the program. It appeared that the final House vote would be similar to that taken last year when a civil rights program won by a vote or 279 to 126.

In today's fighting the South lost its battle for "states' rights" under the program. It sought to prevent the Attorney General from instituting injunction proceedings until all remedies of state courts had been exhausted. Under the bill the Attorney General could step in whether state remedies had been tried or not. The proposal sponsored by Representative John H. Ray, Republican of Staten Island, lost by a vote of 146 to 127.

With the program heading toward a Senate filibuster, a Senate subcommittee set out to examine the possibilities of weakening the Senate's requirement for closure. Closure, if adopted, limits Senate debate. But as the rule is now written it requires the votes of sixty-four members, a two-thirds majority of the whol membership.

Tackling this subject was a subcommittee composed of Senator Jacob K. Javits, Republican of New York, and Senator Herman E. Talmadge, Democrat of Georgia. It appeared that an unbreakable deadlock had set in even before these gentlemen met.

House Clears Way For Vote On Rights Bill

Non-Record Tally Has Amendment Losing By 199-167

WASHINGTON, June 14 (UP) — The House handed President Eisenhower a crucial victory today by beating down a stubborn Southern drive to attach a jury trial amendment to his civil rights bill.

The 199 to 167 vote apparently cleared the way for passage of the bill itself next Monday. It then would go to the Senate

where Dixie senators are prepared to try to talk it to death if it ever reaches the floor.

The House vote followed daylong arguments in which administration forces charged that the jury trial amendment would wreck the whole bill. Proponents said it was necessary to protect the traditional rights of all Americans.

Southerners fighting the civil rights measure had spent six days building up to today's showdown which came on a nonrecord teller vote in which members are counted as they pass up the aisle.

Although the amendment drew its heaviest support from the Dixie bloc, it was sponsored by a freshman Republican congressman from the North—Rep. Russell W. Keeney (Ill.), a former state judge.

It would have guaranteed a trial by jury, instead of a federal judge, for persons accused of violating court orders sought by the government under the bill to protect voting and other civil rights.

The House took up the amendment under an agreement calling for a final vote on the entire bill by 6 p.m. EDT Monday. It was expected to pass but not until the Southern bloc wages a further fight for other amendments.

At one point in the long controversy it appeared the Southerners would win their battle for the jury trial amendment. But the tide turned when the administration swayed many Republicans against it.

Southerners, nevertheless, fought up to the last minute. Rep. Martin Dies (D., Tex.) charged that objections to jury trials showed "prejudice against the South."

Dies said these objections were based on the fear that Southern juries would not convict any violators of court orders in the civil rights cases. He said no evidence was produced to show that federal juries in the South "will not do their duty."

Rep. Toby Morris (D., Okla.) told his colleagues "if you don't allow jury trials it is going to come back and haunt you."

But Rep. James Roosevelt (D., Cal.) said that if the amendment were added, violators would "feel free to laugh at orders of the court."

Backers of the bill tried and failed earlier to get the jury trial amendment ruled out without a vote.

In a surprise move, Rep. Emanuel Celler (D., N. Y.), floor manager for the bill, challenged the amendment as "out of order."

But Rep. Aime J. Forand (D., R. I.), who was presiding, held the amendment was pertinent.

Celler, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, based his challenge on a ruling given when the House considered the Volstead, or prohibition, law years ago. Celler said an identical jury trial amendment was ruled out of order then because it dealt with penalties and not legal procedures.

But Keeney argued that the amendment, and in fact the whole bill, deals with procedures for handling complaints of civil rights violations. Forand agreed with his view.

Keeney said "it has always been my firm belief that a jury is a component part of any court."

Rep. John M. Vorys (R., Ohio) drew a burst of applause from Northerners when he summed up the argument against the Southern-backed jury trial amendment as follows:

"We deny a jury trial to a union man under the Taft-Hartley law. We deny a jury trial to a businessman under the anti-trust laws. We deny a jury trial to a man or woman in a divorce or alimony suit . . .

"What makes a jury trial so sacred that we must give it to a Southerner who is trying to keep someone, probably a Negro, from voting. What makes it so sacred? Nothing!"

The Righteousness Of Civil Rights

Out of a condition where the consent of the governed was unheard of and the lack of representation hampered civil justice in its inquiry of equality among all the people alike, this country was born. It was never in the early concept of this nation that men should become rich and powerful in the light of impounding its economic effects and shaping a body politic whose requirements could make it immune from the recall of those it punished and whipped into line.

Following in that vein, the founding fathers were bent on providing such regulations and principles upon which to fortify the framework of the nation that righteousness might prevail and the country might endure as a free province founded upon free principles for a free people.

It would have seemed strange in these early periods, when men were just let loose from bondage and religious proscription, that in the same clime and upon the same pretext, there would be attempted certain discriminations, hardships and civic denial measured to another group of men because of their race, color and previous condition of servitude.

While slavery might have flourished for a time in the Southern states, it began "picking at the sheets," with the death rattle in its throat, the day it started out. A condition whereby men were to get their bread from the sweat of other men's brows at the disadvantage of their intellectual equipment circumscribed and regimented by an open denial of equality in educational advantage and their expression at the polls as to their consent and concern in their spiritual and physical welfare.

Civil rights in behalf of this group under discussion are the basic essentials only whereby this group could be orientated into that social fabric meant for the weaving of one strong republic which was to exist in the name and theme of one God, one country and one people, the only formula whereby a Democracy can exist in any sense.

The Primus King decision blew the lid from the white primaries, which by subtle design and twisted strategy were becoming the actual elections.

The Supreme Court in June, 1954 would tear the last of the veneer from the sham-battle of hypocricy and the feudal grounds of poverty glorified, in a decision outlawing segregation at the public school level.

In the tumult and the shouting around this decision, the strategy of some states to either openly evade or otherwise devise a scheme by which the law could be evaded, this administration, under God, has promulgated certain civil rights legislation, the only alternative left short of military occupation, to implement the righteousness of civil rights.

on a technical move when the House, which had been sitting as a committee of the whole for consideration of amendments, formally endorsed what it had done and for final vote. Only three sent the bill to the House proper minor amendments could be tacked on by Southern bloc during seven days of explosive debate. Four separate efforts to water down the measure by adding the controversial jury trial amendment were defeated.

efore a vote could be reached on the crucial issue of jury trials in contempt cases, a coalition of Republicans and northern Democrats had to beat back Thursday a number of crippling amendments.

Representative Martin Dies, Democrat, of Texas, offered an amendment to strike out the words "by reason of their color, race, religion, or national origin" in the section setting out the duty of the proposed bipartisan civil rights commission to investigate allegations that citizens were being deprived of their right to vote because of those things.

The Dies amendment was rejected on a standing vote of 119 to 139.

By Representative William Tuck, Democrat, of Virginia, an amendment to strike out the word "religion" in the same section, rejected on a standing vote of 106 to 114.

By Mr Hoffman, to insert the words "and have that vote counted" in the same section. The effect of the Hoffman amendment, which was adopted on a standing vote of 99 to 53, is to have the commission investigate not only the deprivation of the right to vote but also whether or not the votes are counted.

Mr Hoffman, who was against the bill was so taken aback at the House agreeing to his amendment that he asked for a teller vote but his request was made too late.

By Representative Bruce Alger, Republican, of Texas, a right-to-work amendment.

Mr Celler made the point of order that the union-busting amendment was not germane.

Mr Forand sustained the point of order. He said the bill has to do with "political rights" and Alger's amendment had to do with labor rights.

Dixie Maneuver Delays Final Action On Measure

WASHINGTON -President Eisenhower's four-point civil rights bill was tentatively approved by the House Monday, but a parliamentary maneuver by Dixie opponents of the bill delayed final action until Tuesday.

Postponement of the final decree which will decide the fate of the bill as proposed by Democratic Leader John W McCormack of Massachusetts after the southern opponents of the measure demanded an "enrolled, engrossed" copy of the bill before it went up for final passage. Printers had no such copy ready Monday night, so McCormack obtained a unanimous agreement to postpone the vote until 11 am Tuesday.

The bill--which would authorize the government to seek federal court injunctions to prevent civil right violations; create a civil rights division in the Justice Department; and add voting protection-- won tentative approval

10 1957

Civil Rights Backers Push For House Passage Today

Times New York Mon 6-17-57

Bill Faces Uphill Senate Fight Despite Knowland-Nixon Aid—Fulbright Supports Halt in Atom Tests

By ALLEN DRURY

Special to The :

WASHINGTON, June 16—The Administration's civil rights bill is scheduled to clear the House of Representatives tomorrow and head for a stormy and possibly fatal course in the Senate.

A coalition of Republicans and Northern Democrats that beat down Southern attempts to amend the measure last week is expected to win its final triumph in the House vote tomorrow on final passage, scheduled for 6 P. M. But the future of the bill from that point is in doubt.

The first clash of opposing forces in the Senate may come on Tuesday. The Senate Republican leader, William F. Knowland, and Vice President Richard M. Nixon then are expected to join in an attempt to place the bill directly on the Senate calendar without the customary procedure of sending it the Senate Judiciary Committee. The committee, under the chairmanship of Senator James O. Eastland, Democrat of Mississippi, and containing several other powerful Southerners, has been dawdling over a civil rights bill of its own since last January.

The Knowland-Nixon move almost certainly will meet strong Southern opposition. This might touch off an immediate filibuster—the endless debate designed to prevent a vote. But if the filibuster did not occur then, if the bill were placed directly on the calendar, a filibuster still would be inevitable when the Senate tried to take up the measure later on.

As in the House, opponents in the Senate are making their major battle on an amendment to required jury trials for persons judged guilty of contempt of court in cases involving denial of the right to vote. Such an amendment was defeated in the House Friday by an informal vote of 199-167, but it has already been written into the Senate version of the bill by the Senate Judiciary Committee.

House Southerners plan to offer about eight more amendments tomorrow, and also intend to demand a formal roll-call vote on the jury-trial amendment. But they concede their battle is practically over.

In another major field of policy—"tight money"—the Administration is not expected to fare so well as it has so far on civil rights. On Tuesday the Senate Finance Committee starts what its chairman, Senator Harry F. Byrd, Democrat of Virginia, calls the most exhaustive study of national fiscal practices in nearly half a century. Committee Democrats are ready to bear down hard on charges that the Administration has increased inflation with its policies.

New York

Byrd Voices Concern

Senator Byrd, appearing in a television interview recorded for WDSU in New Orleans, said the tight money and increased interest policies of the Administration had been "very serious." In a separate interview, Senator Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas said that the "hard money" issue "has become the number one domestic question before our people."

Mon 6-17-57

"It is imposing an increasing hardship on our businessmen, farmers and consumers," said Mr. Johnson, the Senate majority leader, "and Congress will have to devote considerable attention to it. One of our major tasks is to find some method of halting this steady drain on the pockets and wallets of our people."

First witness before the Finance Committee will be the retiring Secretary of the Treasury, George M. Humphrey. He may be asked to testify concerning his own financial status as well as that of the Government. One committee member, Senator Albert Gore, Democrat of Tennessee, has promised to question the Secretary about "the appreciation in value" of his personal stock holdings and other financial interests.

Mr. Humphrey will be followed by W. Randolph Burgess, the Under Secretary of the Treasury, and by William McChesney Martin Jr., chairman of the Federal Reserve Board. The committee then will seek the views of private economists and experts.

Senator Gore and other Democrats are expected to contend that high interest rates offered by the Treasury on Government bonds have driven up the cost of interest on the national debt and hurt various segments of the economy without succeeding in the ovowed aim of curbing inflation. A key point of the inquiry is expected to be some recent Treasury difficulties in refinancing the national debt.

In foreign affairs, the second-ranking Democrat on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, J. William Fulbright of Arkansas, said today that the United States should accept as "a first step" the Soviet Union's proposal to halt test explosions of large nuclear weapons for a stated period of time. He said this government should also consider as "inevitable" the necessity of beginning to look toward negotiations leading to eventual diplomatic recognition of Communist China.

Calls Press Wrong

Senator Fulbright appeared on the Columbia Broadcasting System television program, "Face the Nation." He criticized the press for having called the Senate's passage of the Administration's foreign aid authorization on Friday an "Eisenhower triumph."

"Who brought about the victory in the Senate," he demanded, "Mr. Eisenhower or Lyndon Johnson? The press is very unfair to call it an Eisenhower victory when Lyndon Johnson did all the work. The President doesn't know—may not know—very much about what's going on."

Senator Fulbright said he thought this Government should ask the Soviet Union to permit a high American official to appear on television in the Soviet Union as Nikita S. Khrushchev had done on "Face the Nation" two weeks ago in this country. He suggested that the Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, be used because "he excels in that type of argument."

Asked if he agreed with President Eisenhower's glowing praise of Mr. Dulles' achievements in a letter to the Secretary yesterday, Senator Fulbright, no Dulles admirer, snapped:

"President Eisenhower is a military man and I don't think he's qualified to pass judgments on such matters."

Rights Bill Battle On Senate Floor Looms Tomorrow

Constitution Wed. 6-19-57 Atlanta, Ga. P. 1

By ALBERT RILEY

Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, June 18—The stage was set tonight for a Senate battle beginning Thursday on civil rights legislation passed 286 to 126 by the House today over Southern protests.

Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson of Texas won a unanimous agreement whereby the controversial bill will be read the first time in the Senate Wednesday and the second time Thursday.

When the bill is read the second time, Northern liberals are expected to make an attempt to by-pass normal committee procedures and have the bill placed on the Senate calendar. This move is almost certain to touch off a Southern filibuster.

SKIRMISH AVOIDED

The agreement to give the bill a second reading Thursday averted a Senate floor skirmish tonight and gave the Southern forces one more day of delay on the measure.

Sen. Douglas (D-Ill), a leading civil rights advocate, agreed to the Johnson procedure only after the majority leader assured the Senate he had no intention of delaying a second reading by a recess maneuver.

Georgia's Sen. Russell, leader of the Southern bloc, also agreed and commented that he was glad Douglas "did not insist on more than the pound of flesh this agreement gives to the Knowland-Douglas axis."

LAST DITCH FIGHT

Just before the House gave its final approval to the bill today, a coalition of Republicans and Northern Democrats defeated a last ditch attempt by Southern forces to send the bill back to the House Judiciary Committee for a jury trial amendment. The vote on this motion was 251 to 158.

The bill was transmitted quickly to the Senate, but the upper cahmber could not officially receive it at once. The Senate was in executive session, considering an atomic energy treaty, and the civil rights bill was placed on the clerk's desk.

Johnson finally interrupted the treaty debate to announce his agreement on procedure, setting the stage for the Thursday action.

Constitution

NORTHERN ACTION

At this point, the Northern liberals are expected to make their motion to have the bill placed on the calendar instead of being sent to the Judiciary Committee headed by Sen. Eastland (D-Miss).

All indications are that Vice President Nixon will rule this can be done, in which case the Southerners are certain to appeal the ruling, and the fight will be on.

Sen. Knowland (R-Calif), minority leader, is expected to make the move to short-cut Eastland's committee, whereupon Georgia's Sen. Russell is expected to challenge the motion on a point of order.

The civil rights advocates, including Senators Douglas and Humphrey (D-Minn), don't want the bill to go to the Judiciary Committee where a similar bill has been bottled up for months.

The Southerners, in their fight to abide by traditional Senate committee rules and procedures, have picked up support from Sen. Morse (D-Ore), although Morse favors the bill.

When the bill went to the Senate today, Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson of Texas notified the senators of the House action and said it was his understanding that the bill would not be placed before the Senate until its return to legislative session.

GUARD AGAINST SURPRISE

But Senators Russell and Holland (D-Fla.), made sure that there would be no successful surprise move by the Northerners to leave the treaty debate and go abruptly into legislative session.

On a parliamentary inquiry, Russell got Vice President Nixon to agree that the bill could not be brought up in executive session. And then on a similar inquiry, Holland got Nixon to agree that the Senate could not put aside its pending treaty debate except by unanimous consent.

Holland then served notice that he would object to any such move and reassured the other senators that they could safely go to lunch while he stayed on the floor to watch for any surprise civil rights maneuver.

NEW RULES

In making his inquiry, Russell commented that he did so because "there seems to be some disposition to make the rules as we go along with respect to this specific legislation and allow regular rules to apply to other legislation."

Meanwhile, the Washington Bureau of the NAACP, in hailing House passage of the bill, issued a statement attacking Russell.

The NAACP bureau said Knowland's challenge of traditional Senate procedures offers a major opportunity to get action at this session of Congress.

RUSSELL'S POWER

"It is increasingly apparent," the NAACP said, "that the voice of Sen. Richard Russell, rather than precedent, is a powerful factor in determining how the Senate rules shall be applied."

Georgians in the House went down the line to the last vote in opposing the civil rights bill. All of them were present and all were recorded on the roll call as being for the futile jury trial motion to recommit and against the bill.

Rep. Iris Blitch, who was absent most of the day before because of illness, said she came to the House to cast her vote today despite a temperature of 102 degrees.

By Tentative Vote—

Post-Herald

House OKs Rights Bill

Tues. 6-18-57 P.1

B'ham Ala.

WASHINGTON, June 17 (UP)—The House tentatively approved President Eisenhower's four-point civil rights bill today but a parliamentary maneuver delayed final action until tomorrow.

Democratic Leader John W. McCormack (Mass.) proposed the postponement after Southern opponents of the bill, defeated in their efforts to kill or cripple it, reached into their bag of parliamentary tricks to delay the final vote.

Rep. James C. Davis (D., Ga.) said the Dixie bloc planned to demand an "enrolled, engrossed" copy of the bill before it went up for final passage. Printers had no such copy ready tonight, so McCormack obtained a unanimous agreement to postpone the vote until 11 a.m. tomorrow.

Tentative approval came on a technical move when the House, which had been sitting as a committee of the whole for consideration of amendments, formally endorsed what it had done and sent the bill to the House proper for a final vote.

Thus the bill survived seven days of debate with only three minor amendments. The Southerners were blocked in repeated efforts to water down the measure, including four separate attempts to put across the controversial jury trial amendment.

They were successful, however, in forestalling for one more day the almost certain passage of the bill. Under House rules, any member can insist on production of an enrolled, engrossed copy, which includes amendments in printed form, before final passage.

The bill would authorize the government to seek federal court injunctions to prevent civil rights violations; create a civil rights commission; establish a civil rights division in the Justice Dept., and add voting right protections.

Before adjourning the House:

—Rejected 182 to 118 a proposal by Rep. Robert W. Hemphill (D., S. C.) to provide that states not be deprived of their jurisdiction over elections.

—Shouted down an amendment by Rep. H. R. Gross (R., Iowa) to require the proposed commission to make interim reports to Congress.

—Rejected 189 to 132 an amendment by Rep. Walter Rogers (D., Tex.) to forbid the placing of any individual in double jeopardy for any one alleged crime covered by the bill.

—Rejected by voice vote an amendment by Rep. Timothy P. Sheeman (R., Ill.) to prohibit the commission from using unpaid volunteer workers.

—Rejected by a non-record vote of 163 to 141 a new jury trial amendment by Rep. Howard W. Smith (D., Va.).

—Defeated by voice vote a move by Rep. Clare E. Hoffman (R., Mich.) to eliminate the proposed civil rights commission and strike the authority for a separate civil rights division in the Justice Dept.

—Beat down 146 to 127 an amendment by Rep. John H. Ray (R., N. Y.) to keep the government from bypassing state courts in filing injunction suits.

—Rejected 118 to 108 an amendment by Rep. Overton Brooks (D., La.) prohibiting anyone accused of contempt for defying such an injunction from being tried outside the district where the offense occurred.

—Defeated 105 to 47 an amendment by Rep. L. Mendel Rivers (D., S. C.) to change the bill's title from the "Civil Rights Act of 1957" to the "Celler-Keating Political Act of 1957." Reps. Emanuel Celler (D., N. Y.) and Kenneth B Keating (R., N. Y.) are chief sponsors of the bill.

About the only comfort the Southerners got out of the proceedings was the approval of an amendment forbidding the proposed new commission from subpenaing witnesses outside their home states.

Undermining Civil Rights

(From The New York Times)

World B'ham, Ala. Wed. 6-5-57 P.6

At long last the civil rights bill will reach the floor of the House next week, having survived the slow and tortuous processes imposed upon it by its implacable enemies, who have used every device known to parliamentarianism to delay its progress for the past four months. Their trump card is still to be played; for in finally allowing the measure to move on, the Rules Committee gave it an "open rule"—which means it will be subject to potentially ruinous amendments.

A similar game is being played in the Senate, only even more slowly. In that body the measure has not yet been reported from Senator Eastland's committee. Other devices are being considered to get it out to the Senate floor, and if they succeed—an eventuality by no means certain—the silent filibuster that has already blocked it will doubtless erupt into the open. Despite all these difficulties, many Senators "in the know" seem to believe that some kind of civil rights bill may actually pass this session. But if it passes with the kind of crippling amendments that lie in wait for it on both sides of the Capitol, those who believe that the Constitution means what it says will have won hardly more than a Pyrrhic victory.

As it stands, the civil rights bill is an essentially moderate measure. The Administration asks for creation of a non-partisan study commission, for establishment of a civil rights section in the Department of Justice, for authority for the Federal Government to initiate injunction suits to prevent local officials from depriving citizens of their guaranteed civil rights and for special legal protection to permit free voting in national elections. The opposition is now concentrating on two major kinds of amendment: (1) a "right-to-work" provision that would be sure to alienate all labor and a great deal of liberal support for the bill and (2) a provision that would insure jury trials for persons accused of violating a Federal injunction against interference with the right to vote. It is the second o fthese two proposals that has a specious appeal based on the undoubted fact that jury trial is an important guarantee against arbitrary exercise of governmental power.

However, in this instance the requirement of trial by jury would unquestionably mean that in large sections of the country the orderly enforcement of the law protecting voting rights of minority groups—specifically the Negro—would be hopelessly undemmined. The result would be the person protected, not the victim.

Use of the injunction without jury trial in many kinds of Federal action is normal, not exceptional. As the American Civil Liberties Union points out, "to grant jury trials in the civil rights legislation would protect officials who are failing to do their duty in protecting the constitutional rights of citizens." Any official who carries out his sworn obligation to uphold the Constitution need have no fear of the injunctive process.

Civil Rights Nears Showdown

Post-Herald P.22 Wed. 6-12-57

House OKs President's Plan For New Bipartisan Commission

B'ham, Ala.

WASHINGTON, June 11 (UP)— The House handed President Eisenhower a first-round victory today by voting tentatively to create a new bipartisan commission to investigate alleged civil rights violations.

But Southern Democrats fighting the measure also won a victory when they pushed through an amendment to the President's civil rights bill to restrict the subpena powers of the proposed commission.

Plunging into showdown voting on the controversial measure, the chamber also rejected an effort to kill the bill outright. Another plan to set up a commission to help relocate Southern Negroes in non-segregated states was ruled out of order.

House members gave tentative approval to the civil rights commission in rejecting, 127 to 88, a proposal by Rep. H. R. Gross (R., Iowa) to strike authority for it from the bill.

But they then adopted by a standing vote of 116 to 89 an amendment by Rep. J. Carlton Loser (D., Tenn.) to bar the commission from subpenaing a witness to testify outside his home state.

Adoption of Loser's amendment was greeted with applause from the Dixie lawmakers.

The chamber then quit work on the bill until Thursday when it will consider whether to further restrict the commission's proposed rules, duties and powers.

Loser's amendment would permit witnesses to be subpenaed to testify only at commission hearings in their own states. The original measure would have allowed them to be subpenaed anywhere in the United States but the House Judiciary Committee limited this to their judicial district.

The Gross proposal to eliminate the commission entirely was rejected following more than two hours of debate marked by cries of politics and Southern charges that Northern backers of the bill did not have clean hands on the discrimination issue.

The members finally voted 121 to 89 to choke off the talking on a motion by Rep. Emanuel Celler (D., N. Y.), chairman of the House Judiciary Committee which recommended the measure and a leading civil rights backer.

The earlier move to kill the bill outright was led by Rep. Clare Hoffman (R., Mich.) who proposed striking its enacting clause. He called the measure a "fraud," saying it would give the attorney general "dictatorial powers" and "doesn't protect any civil rights."

Rep. George W. Andrews (D., Ala.) offered the proposal to substitute a "human resettlement commission" for the civil rights investigating commission. It would have helped Negroes move from segregated to non-segregated states.

10 1957

Rights Bill Sent To House Floor; June Debate Seen

Constitution Wed. 5-22-57 Atlanta, Ga. P.1

By C. P. TRUSSELL

(Copyright 1957 by The New York Times Co.)

WASHINGTON, May 21—The House Rules Committee cleared President Eisenhower's civil rights program today for floor action.

The vote was 8 to 4, divided sharply between North and South, with Southerners losing. They expected this and made no effort to continue their long fight to prevent a House decision. Rep. Howard W. Smith (D-Va), chairman of this panel that serves as traffic director for House legislation, could have employed further delay tactics, but did not. He obtained percission to permit the leadership to get the rights legislation to the floor at any date after tomorrow.

WEEK OF JUNE 3

Rep. McCormick of Massachusetts, majority leader, predicted, however, that the civil rights fight would not start until the week of June 3. He also predicted that disposal of the legislation, expected to pass the House, would require about a week of debate and voting tests.

This was unusual in the House, which controls its debates sharply, in contrast with the Senate's use of unlimited discussion. After the four days of general debate in the House the bill will be read, section by section, for the offering of amendments. The Rules Committee recommended that there be no limitation on proposed amendments, as long as they were germane to the program.

FROM THE SOUTH

It was certain that many amendments would be offered from the South in an effort to tone down the program drastically. Only five minutes of debate are permitted as amendments are considered, but there is no limit upon the number that may be offered.

In fact, debate can be lengthened by the offering of pro froma amendments which consist only of motions to strike a word out of the bill. In a pinch a member might move to strike out the enacting clause of a bill, thus rendering it helpless.

Today the Rules Committee lined up as follows:

Those voting to permit the President's bill to go to the floor were Representatives Ray J. Madden (D-Ind), James J. Delaney (D-NY), Richard Bolling (D-Mo), Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. (D-Ill), and Leo E. Allen (R-Ill), Clarence J. Brown (R-Ohio), Henry J. Latham (R-NY) and Hugh Scott (R-Pa).

THOSE OPPOSING

Southerners opposing were Representatives Smith (D-Va), chairman; William M. Colmer (D-Miss), Homer Thornberry (D-Tex) and James W. Trimble (D-Ark).

On the Senate side, civil rights legislation had made gains, but concededly weak ones. Yesterday the committee rejected a Southern proposal that three-fourths of the rights program be eliminated from the Senate bill, leaving only a right-to-vote provision. *P.12*

Still standing before the Senate Judiciary Committee was a proposed amendment that would make the right to work equal with the right to vote. This remained the "unfinished business" when the Senate panel assembles Monday.

If this amendment is beaten there were prospects that others would be introduced to prevent the committee from entertaining a motion to set a date certain for final votes on the Senate bill.

Even though the program eventually clears the Senate committee, headed by Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss), a foe of it, there still remained the problem of a filibuster.

Chances for passage of a civil rights bill at this session of Congress remained concededly slim.

Another proposed amendment waiting in line would seek to guarantee jury trials for persons charged with contempt of federal court injunctions restraining the right of majority groups to vote. Such injunctions could be instituted under the legislation against other alleged violations of civil rights.

Tonight the American Civil Liberties Union contended that a guarantee of jury trials could "fatally undermine the program." When "community sentiment blocks the enforcement of law."

The apparent inference was—as it has been charged in Congress—that juries in communities hostile to civil rights law might refuse to convict, while an injunction proceeding by the government could fill such gaps in prosecutions.

Key Parts Stay—South Move On Rights Bill Beaten

Post-Herald Tues. 5-21-57 B'ham, Ala. P.1

WASHINGTON, May 20 (AP)—The Senate Judiciary Committee today rejected a Southern proposal to knock out key parts of the Administration's civil rights bill.

The six-man majority was made of Sen. Kefauver (D., Tenn.) and five Republican senators: Wiley (Wis.), Watkins (Utah), Dirksen (Ill.), Butler (Md.) and Hruska (Neb.).

Voting for the proposal, by Sen. Ervin (D., N. C.), were Ervin and three other Southern Democrats: Chairman Eastland (Miss.), McClellan (Ark.) and Johnston (S. C.).

It was some sort of a surprise that the committee took any action today. This was the first voting test of strength recorded in the committee since a subcommittee approved the bill 4-2 on March 19.

Ervin's proposal aimed at dropping provisions which would:

Create a special division in the Justice Dept. to enforce civil rights laws.

Create a special commission with power to examine complaints of violation of civil rights.

Set up a system permitting injunction suits to protect a variety of civil rights.

If these provisions were dropped, the only thing left in the bill would be a section designed especially to protect the voting rights of Negroes.

The House Rules Committee has a vote set for tomorrow on clearing the bill for a vote in the House. Assuming it is cleared, a House vote could be expected by the end of this month, or early June.

Chairman Eastland said the next subject on the Senate Judiciary Committee list is the McClellan amendment to include a "right to work" amendment.

Bar Group Here Backs Rights Program; Urges Congress to Pass President's Plan

Times New York Sun. 5-12-57

The Committee on Civil Rights of the New York County Lawyers' Association has urged Congress to adopt the President's civil rights program.

Samuel J. Silverman, chairman of the committee, last week made public a committee report with the following conclusion:

"The program is a moderate one. It does not go as far as other proposals, which would include a Federal Fair Employment Practices Act and other features. It does, however, represent a significant advance."

The report was prepared by a subcommittee including Samuel D. Smoleff, Paul S. Gareen and Francis X. Walsh. It has been adopted by the full Committee on Civil Rights, which has been authorized by the association's board of directors to submit the recommendations to Congress.

The report reviews the provisions of the President's program. It then sets forth objections that have been voiced by opponents of the program and points in its favor that have been made by its supporters.

The review is based on the latest available House bill, which, with slight amendments, was approved by the House Committee on the Judiciary on March 18. It notes that a substantially similar Senate bill has been reported favorably by a Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights. The Senate bill now goes to the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, where delay is expected.

The report calls on the Judiciary and Rules Committees to advance the bills to a vote and on the Senate and the House to pass them.

Copies of the report were sent to the following committee chairmen in Congress—Senator James O. Eastland, Democrat of Mississippi, chairman of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary; Representative Emanuel Celler, Democrat of Brooklyn, chairman of the House Committee on the Judiciary; and Representative Howard W. Smith, Democrat of Virginia, chairman of the House Committee on Rules.

Other copies were sent to Senators Wayne Morse, Democrat of Oregon; Thomas C. Hennings Jr., Democrat of Missouri; Hubert H. Humphrey, Democrat of Minnesota and Paul H. Douglas, Democrat of Illinois; and Representative Kenneth B. Keating, Republican of upstate New York.

Dawson, Powell Miss Civil Rights Opener

Courier Pittsburgh, Pa. Sat. 6-15-57 P.3

By ALICE A. DUNNIGAN

WASHINGTON—Both Congressman William L. Dawson and Adam Clayton Powell were unable to take part in the opening discussion on civil rights legislation because of illness.

Dawson, Democrat of Illinois, has been absent from his post of duty for more than a month. But he returned to the House of Representatives in time to catch the final arguments on the bill.

Powell was undergoing a series of exhaustive tests at Bethesda Naval Hospital. He has been advised by physicians to rest at least another week.

Dawson, chairman of the House Committee on Government Operations, became ill in a committee meeting on April 30, and was carried to Bethesda for treatment.

House Rules Committee Closes Hearings On Civil Rights Bills

Advertiser Montgomery Ala. Sun. 5-19-57 P. 8-B

WASHINGTON, May 17 (AP)—The House Rules Committee ended its hearings on civil rights legislation yesterday after hearing a final blast of denunciations of the measure by Southerners.

The committee has agreed to meet Tuesday to vote on the measure. It is expected to send it to the House with provisions for several days of debate.

The committee conducted nine days of hearings on the measure, backed by President Eisenhower and opposed by most Southern legislators, including Rules Committee Chairman Howard Smith (D-Va).

The length of the hearings was unusual, but not a record for the committee. In all, it has kept the bill approved by the Judiciary Committee under its jurisdiction about a month.

Rep. Ashmore (D-SC) said at today's session that Eisenhower "does not know what is in this bill—he is not a lawyer and has only had it explained to him by one who is prejudiced."

Ashmore made it clear he was speaking of Atty. Gen. Brownell. He said Brownell "is political adviser to this administration and this bill is politically inspired."

Rep. Grant (D-Ala) urged the Rules Committee to "permit the bill to go to sleep in this committee." If members favorable to it force it out by discharge petition, he said, "that would not be your responsibility or mine."

Rep. Selden (D-Ala) said the bill violates a principle that "the only safe repository of power is the one closest to the people themselves."

Kefauver Helps Defeat South Move on Rights

Constitution Tues. 5-21-57 P. 1 Atlanta Ga.

WASHINGTON, May 20 (AP)—The Senate Judiciary Committee today rejected a Southern proposal to knock out key parts of the administration's civil rights bill.

The six-man majority was made of Sen. Kefauver (D-Tenn) and five Republican senators: Wiley (Wis), Watkins (Utah), Dirksen (Ill), Butler (ND) and Hruska (Neb).

Voting for the proposal, by Sen. Ervin (D-NC), were McClellan (Ark) and Johnston (SC).

It was some sort of a surprise that the committee took any action today. This was the first voting test of strength recorded in the committee since a subcommittee approved the bill 4-2 on March 19.

WOULD DROP 3 PROVISIONS

Ervin's proposal aimed at dropping provisions which would:

Create a special division in the Justice Department to enforce civil rights laws;

Create a special commission with power to examine complaints of violation of civil rights; and set up a system permitting injunction suits to protect a variety of civil rights.

If these provisions were dropped, the only thing left in the bill would be a section designed especially to protect the voting rights of Negroes.

The House Rules Committee has a meeting set for tomorrow on clearing the bill for a vote in the House. Assuming it is cleared, a House vote could be expected by the end of this month, or early June.

RIGHT-TO-WORK AMENDMENT

Chairman Eastland said the next subject on the Senate Judiciary Committee list is the McClellan amendment to include a "right to work" amendment.

This amendment would outlaw any labor contract which requires labor union membership as a condition for getting or keeping a job.

Sen. Humphrey (D-Minn), an outspoken supporter of civil rights legislation, said tonight Congress is not likely to enact it before this year's adjournment.

Humphrey gave his estimate during a radio interview (Mutual—Reporters' Roundup). He was asked "who is responsible for the delay and reluctance of the Democratic-controlled Congress to act on civil rights."

Humphrey said it was a "bipartisan sin," and went on to predict that before this Congress "completes its work—though not necessarily this year," it will make "a substantial advance in the civil rights field."

A reporter asked if next year appeared "more likely" and Humphrey replied that he had to say with regret he "imagined that would be true."

10

Civil Rights Clears Hurdle In Committee

Advertiser P. 1 Wed. 5-22-57 Montgomery Ala.

WASHINGTON, May 21 (AP) — Northerners of both parties pried President Eisenhower's civil rights bill out of the House Rules Committee today. An 8-4 committee vote cleared the measure for House debate, likely to begin the first week of June.

The rules group allotted four days for general debate on the bill, which had been blocked in committee for weeks y a startegy of delay by Southern opponents.

House members will be given a free hand to offer amendments, however, and Southerners are certain to propose changes which would cripple or eliminate key provisions.

Rep. McCormack of Massachusetts, the House Democratic leader, and others have predicted the bill will pass the House by a comfortable margin, as did a similar measure which died in the Senate last year.

BIGGEST OBSTACLE

The Senate once again presents the big—perhaps insurmountable obstacle to backers of the bill. A Southern filibuster there is a virtual certainty which has prompted even some optimistic supporters of the measure to predict it won't clear the Senate this year.

There have been indications the Senate Judiciary Committee will keep the bill bottled up in that branch until the House acts. Sen. Eastland (D-Miss), an outspoken foe of the bill, heads the judiciary group.

If the bill clears the House but not the Senate, the Senate could take it up again next year without the necessity of further House action. This would be possible because the life of the 85th Congress extends through next year.

NORTH-SOUTH LINES

Today's Rules Committee vote, taken at a closed session, reportedly was strictly along North-South lines. This was the reported lineup:

For clearing the bill — Reps Madden (D-Ind), Delaney (D-NY) Bolling (D-Mo), O'Neill (D-Mass), Allen (R-Ill), Brown (R-Ohio), Latham (R-NY) and Scott (R-Pa).

Against — Reps. Smith (D-Va), Colmer (D-Miss), Trimble (D-Ark and Thornberry (D-Tex).

Southern House members are sure to press for an amendment that would guarantee a jury trial for persons accused of violating civil rights injunctions issued by federal courts. Contempt cases of this nature are usually heard by a federal judge.

Advertiser

The injunctions envisioned in the bill would stem from a grant of authority to the attorney general to go directly into federal courts with cases involving alleged violations of voting and other rights.

P. 8-A

This authority, one of the bill's major provisions, also is expected to be the target of a Southern amendment.

Another likely amendment, which has gotten more attention in the Senate, would attach to the bill a "right to work" provision prohibiting union shop contracts.

CIVIL RIGHTS

Other provisions of the bill would set up a civil rights division in the Justice Department and create a special commission to investigate civil rights problems.

The House is not expected to begin debating the measure before June 3.

The American Civil Liberties Union today declared it opposes any attempt to require jury trials in contempt cases arising from injunctions involving voting rights. A resolution unanimously adopted by its board of directors said:

"While there is always need to guard vigilantly against the misuse of government power. . . there is also need to prevent weakening the power of our courts to uphold the law of the land. The right of equal treatment under law is fatally undermined when community sentiment blocks the enforcement of law."

10

Civil Rights Bill Imperils Unions, Huddleston Warns

Advertiser Montgomery Ala. Fri. 5-17-57 P. 1

WASHINGTON, May 16 (AP)—Rep. Tuck (D-Va) said today President Eisenhower "flagrantly reneged" on his campaign pledges on states' rights by advocating the civil rights bill now before Congress.

Tuck, a former governor of Virginia, quoted from what he said was a speech by Eisenhower in Richmond to the effect that the federal government was created by the states, and that depriving states of rights created a danger to freedom.

Tuck told the House Rules Committee that in 1952 "at least the candidates nominated by the Democratic Party told us where they stood. We thought the Republican candidates told us where they stood."

Then, repeating the argument made by many southerners against the civil rights bill, Tuck said: "No President in history has more flagrantly reneged on his campaign promises than the present occupant of the White House."

The Rules Committee is holding hearings on a proposal to bring the civil rights bill up for House action.

Rep. Huddleston (D-Ala) said that if the civil rights bill were enacted, it would give the U.S. attorney authority to intervene in labor - management disputes as well as those arising from racial tensions.

Huddleston, who represents the industrial Birmingham district, said the bill would "put labor-management relations into politics . . . enable a political minded attorney general to destroy either labor or management."

Rep. Hemphill (D-SC) said the provisions for a commission which could accept voluntary help in investigating civil rights violations could provide "a vehicle on which Communists could travel into the federal courts."

10 1957

'Rights' Backers Foresee Victory In House Today

Donnybrook Is Expected In the Senate

Constitution Mon. 6-17-57 Atlanta Ga.

By ALLEN DRURY

(Copyright 1957 by The New York Times Co.)

WASHINGTON, June 16 — The administration's civil rights bill is scheduled to clear the House tomorrow and head for a stormy and possibly fatal donnybrook in the Senate.

P. 1

A victorious coalition of Republicans and Northern Democrats that successfuly beat down all Southern attempts to amend the measure last week is expected to win its concluding triumph when the House votes at 6 p.m. tomorrow of final passage. But the future of the bill from that point forward is in doubt.

The first clash between the opposing forces in the Senate may come Thursday, when Senate Republican Leader Knowland (Calif) and Vice President Nixon are expected to team up in an attempt to place the bill directly on the Senate calendar without the customary procedure of sending it to the Senate Judiciary Committee. The committee, chairmanned by Sen. Eastland (D-Miss), and containing several other powerful Southerners, has been dawdling over a civil rights bill of its own since last January.

The Knowland-Nixon move almost certainly will be met by strong Southern opposition. It could conceivably touch off a filibuster at once. Even if it did not do so, and even if the bill were placed directly on the calender, a filibuster — endless debate to prevent a vote—would still be inevitable when the Senate tried to take up the measure later on.

As in the House, opponents in the Senate are making their major battle on an amendment requiring jury trials for persons judged guilty of contempt of court in cases involving denial of the right to vote. Such an amendment was defeated in the House Friday by an informal vote of 199-167, but it has already been written into the Senate version of the bill by the Senate Judiciary Committee.

House Southerners still plan to offer about eight more amendments tomorrow, and also plan to demand a formal roll-call vote on the jury-trial amendment. But they concede their battle is over for all practical purposes.

In another major field of policy —"tight money"—the administration is not expected to fare so well as it has to date on civil rights. The Senate Finance Committee starts on Tuesday what its chairman, Sen. Byrd (D-Va), calls the most exhaustive study of national fiscal practices in nearly half a century. Committee Democrats are ready to bear down hard on charges that the administration has increased inflation with its policies.

Sen. Byrd, appearing in a television interview recorded for WDSU in New Orleans, said the tight money and increased interest policies of the administration have been "very serious." In a separate interview, Senate Majority Leader Johnson (Tex), said the "hard money" issue "has become the number one domestic question before our people."

"It is imposing an increasing hardship on our businessmen, farmers and consumers," Johnson said, "and Congress will have to devote considerable attention to it. One of our major tasks is to find some method of halting this steady drain on the pockets and wallets of our people."

First witness before the Finance Committee will be retiring Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey, who may be asked to testify concerning his own financial status as well as that of the government. One committee member, Sen. Gore (D-Tenn), has promised to question the secretary about "the appreciation in value" of his personal stock holdings and other financial interests.

Humphrey will be followed by W. Randolph Burgess, the undersecretary of the Treasury, and by William McChesney Martin Jr., chairman of the Federal Reserve Board. The committee will then seek the views of private economists and experts.

Sen. Gore and other Democrats are expected to charge that high interest rates offered by the Treasury on government bonds have driven up the cost of interest on the national debt and hurt various segments of the economy without succeeding in the avowed aim of curbing inflation. A key point of the inquiry is expected to be some recent Treasury difficulties in refinancing the national debt.

In foreign affairs, the second-ranking Democrat on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Sen. Fulbright (Ark), said today that the United States should accept as "a first step" the Russian proposal to halt test explosions of large nuclear weapons for a stated period of time. He said this government should also consider as "inevitable" the necessity of beginning to look toward negotiations leading to the ultimate diplomatic recognition of Communist China.

Fulbright, appearing on the CBS-TV program, "Face the Nation," was shardly critical of the press for calling the Senate's passage of the administration's foreign aid authoriaztion on Friday an "Eisenhower triumph."

"Who brought about the victory in the Senate," he demanded, "Eisenhower or Lyndon Johnson? The press is very unfair to call it an Eisenhower victory when Lyndon Johnson did all the work. The President doesn't know—may not know—very much about what's going on."

DORIS FLEESON

A Dim Outlook for Civil Rights

Jury Trial Rider Viewed as Fatal Blow To Passage of Effective Bill on Issue

Evening Star Washington, D.C. Wed. 6-5-57

The addition of trial-by-jury guarantees in the new civil rights bill is only the latest of many devices Southerners have used to prevent enactment of such legislation or to prevent its effective use.

They believe that Southern juries will not convict defendants charged with denying voting and other rights to Negroes. It is a pattern drawn from the experience of many States with prohibition.

If the Southerners are right about their juries—and experience suggests that they are—the practical effect is plain. Contempt of court is the only weapon the Federal courts possess for enforcing their civil rights orders. If the right to decide such cases is taken from the judges who now have it and handed to juries, enforcement could become a dead letter, just as it was in many places during prohibition.

The beauties of the gimmick from the Southerners' point of view are numerous.

Every Senator in his heart believes that he is a constitutional lawyer of exceptional merit. Most Senators are actually lawyers, but even those who are not become convinced that they are experts on the Constitution. They enjoy chewing over just such points as trial by jury in contempt cases, and the jurists among them can readily be seduced from other considerations than the strictest and most rigid constitutionality.

There are in the Senate various inveterate postponers who sometimes cloud up but never rain. A respectable-appearing reason for not taking any really drastic step which might annoy a large group of people is their meat.

There are the cynics who like to be on both sides of every issue. They would not want to be caught voting against civil rights because it might be politically inadvisable, but they have no convictions about the issue.

On both sides there are, of course, groups of men who do have strong convictions for or against segregation and the right of Negroes to vote, the latter being the crux of the present bill. It is now generally agreed by those who have fought for equal rights for Negroes that, once they are protected in the right to vote, they can win the rest for themselves.

There are Democrats who do not want such a bill to pass in a Republican administration lest that party get a permanent political advantage among Negro voters, who already have shown signs of straying from their allegiance to the Roosevelt-Truman successors.

Yet it is a fact that most, though not all, of the fervor for civil rights is among Democrats, despite their Southern wing, and that Republicans in a tacit alliance with Southern conservatives have long furnished the Southern minority with the votes it needed in this field. The quid pro quo in the alliance is Southern votes in tax, fiscal and money matters.

The present maneuvers and votes on the civil rights legislation are not necessarily final, but the outlook for a truly effective measure seems dim. In assessing the trial-by-jury feature, proponents are citing the story of what happened in Montgomery, Ala., only last week where two men were tried for bombing Negro homes and churches.

The confessions of both defendants were admitted in evidence by the local court. But the jury turned them loose.

The Senate's Still The Big Block To 'Rights'

News P. 18-A

BY JAMES FREE
Washington Correspondent
The Birmingham News
B'ham Ala. WASHINGTON

Sun. 6-16-57

THE CONGRESS over the years has wasted more time in argument over civil rights bills than on any other single issue, and 1957 certainly is no exception.

Thousands of man-hours already have been devoted to this controversial subject in both the House and the Senate this year. And the end is not yet in sight in the Senate. Some sort of flurry on the Senate floor can be expected when the House-approved civil rights bill comes over. There may be a filibuster. Whatever happens, most observers here think the Southern senators can stall off Senate passage of a bill the remainder of this session.

If things work out this way, another year will have passed with a lot of talk and no final, definite action by the Congress.

Why has this general pattern been followed year after year? Why can't the majority of legislators, who say they are for civil rights bills, get one passed in the Senate as well as in the House?

If the Southern filibuster is really the only big obstacle left, why can't the pro-civil rights forces bring up a bill early enough in the session to beat a filibuster if they have to?

It Is 'Logical' That Civil Rights Could Pass

THIS REPORTER has been thinking a lot about these questions of late. Especially in the light of an increasing number of predictions that some sort of civil rights will is virtually sure to pass the Senate in 1958.

It does seem logical that, if a pro-civil rights majority can't beat a filibuster late in the first year of the 85th Congress, then it could succeed by returning to the attack early in the second year, in this case next year. And it is logical.

But we are dealing here not with logic, but with politics. And, after watching the civil rights battle maneuvers for some years, this reporter is convinced that:

1. Most of the backers of civil rights bills are far more concerned with credit than with cash on this issue. So long as they can go on the record, or get credit, as a champion of civil rights, they don't care whether civil rights bills actually become law or not. In fact, the longer such bills are pending and debated the longer these legislators can be champions of civil rights.

Better Than 50-50 Chance For Defeat In Any Year

2. THE SOUTHERN senators who oppose civil rights bills will continue to have slightly better than a 50-50 chance of defeating them in any given year so long as (a) a staunch enemy

Mississippi's Eastland

of civil rights bills like Sen. James O. Eastland of Mississippi is chairman of the Judiciary Committee; and (b) so long as Senate Democratic Leader Lyndon Johnson of Texas continues to cooperate with Southerners on this issue as he has done to date.

As a leader of Senate Democrats from all parts of the country, and as a potential candidate for the Democratic nomination for president in 1960, Johnson cannot afford to side openly with the Southerners on civil rights. But there are countless ways that Johnson can and does help.

Committees Can't Meet Without Special Approval

FOR EXAMPLE, the Senate meets every Monday at noon, while the House at times adjourns from Friday to Tuesday. And it is no mere coincidence that Monday is the day that the Senate Judiciary Committee meets each week. Thus, if Chairman Eastland and a handful of Southern colleagues on the committee can hold up action on any civil rights proposal until the Senate meets at noon, then the Mississippian can bang his gavel and adjourn the meeting. For committees cannot meet while the Senate is in session unless the chairman has sought and obtained special permission to do so.

Aside from the fact that Texas is more Southern than Northern in its civil rights outlook, Texan Lyndon Johnson is very conscious of the fact that he owes his present position as leader of the Senate Democrats primarily to the sponsorship of veteran Dixie stalwarts like Sens. Richard Russell of Georgia and Lister Hill of Alabama.

So, our concluding word to any reader who may be excited about what the House does about civil rights bills is this: Keep calm, the House has passed such bills before and will do so again. The Senate is still the Southern stronghold, and no overwhelming force is yet in sight.

THE CONGRESS

Time

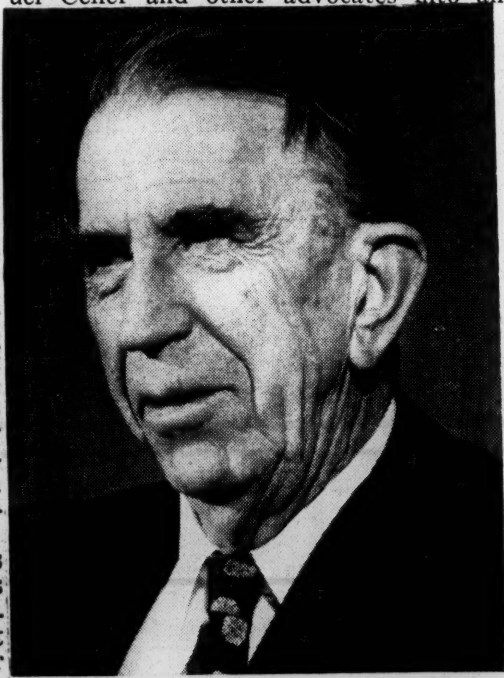
June 17 '57

Civil Fight on Civil Rights

In the South's unflagging battle against civil rights legislation, House Rules Committee Chairman Howard Smith has been serving as a quietly effective Dixie doodler. Virginian Smith bottled civil rights in committee for two months until a majority forced it out. When the measure reached the House floor last week, "Judge" Smith took command of Southerners marshaling to defeat or disembowel it. The bill's backers steeled themselves for diatribe and delay, quorum calls and quixotic demands. But with gaunt, mild-looking Howard Smith calling the shots, they were never more wrong.

Before the House sat as a Committee of the Whole to debate civil rights, Smith issued a two-part order of the day. His 100 Southern Congressmen were to concentrate fire behind an amendment calling for jury trials in contempt cases—a device of North Carolina's Senator Sam Ervin Jr. that would effectively gut the bill while piously pretending to preserve venerable jury-trial rights (TIME, May 6). They were to fight the battle with calmness and consideration, said Smith.

On the Double. Acting on his orders, Southern orators zeroed in on the jury-trial gimmick, forced New York's Emanuel Celler and other advocates into an



Walter Bennett

STRATEGIST SMITH
Dixie doodling in dead earnest.

uncomfortable posture of constant defense. Between speeches they clapped friendly arms around Republican shoulders, added private pleas to public petitions in behalf of the amendment. When the Southerners hinted that they could sniff 240 votes in favor of their amendment, Administration forces were flabbergasted and alarmed.

To Capitol Hill on the double, to win back doubting Democrats, came skirmishers from the A.F.L-C.I.O., the American Civil Liberties Union, the Society of Friends, B'nai B'rith and the N.A.A.C.P. Doubting Republicans received telephone calls from aides of Attorney General Herbert Brownell. Presidential Administrative Assistant I. (for Isaac) Jack Martin hurried over from the White House, stationed himself on the Republican side of the House lobby to buttonhole members.

On the Wane. Toward week's end "Judge" Smith's balm began to wear off. Attempting to toss out the bill on a technicality, Smith was firmly overruled by House Speaker Sam Rayburn. Better still, unofficial nose counts by whips of both parties found all but about 40 of the 200 Republicans and more than half the 234 Democrats still prepared to vote down the jury-trial amendment. But as debate continued toward this week's crucial voting, a new wedge was driven in the pro-civil-rights ranks. The driver: no less an advocate than Harlem's Adam Clayton Powell. "Why send Pennsylvania and Ohio Democrats to Congress," he wrote fellow House members, "if they must take their orders from the middlemen who serve the White Citizens' Councils?"

Rising for an angry answer, Ohio's Wayne L. Hays drew applause by declaring that "there is no person in the United States . . . who is doing more to divide Negro citizens from other citizens than the gentleman from New York." Powell's letter, added Hays, almost persuaded him to support the jury-trial amendment. Dangling a foot over the side of his chair, Howard Smith smiled contentedly.

Civil Rights Bill Attacks Foiled

Post-Herald

Fri. 6-14-57

2 Dixie-Sponsored Revisions Beaten

B'ham Ala.

WASHINGTON, une 13 (AP)—The House continued to wrestle with the civil rights bill today, with supporters of the legislation winning two trials of strength.

P. 1

An attempt to attach a "right to work" amendment to the bill was ruled out of order after a brisk debate.

Another amendment, which would have stricken all references to race, color and creed from a section of the bill on the right to vote, was defeated 139-119. It had been strongly supported by Southerners.

Meanwhile Vice President Nixon met in his office with two prominent Negro pastors from Alabama to discuss racial problems.

Secretary of Labor Mitchell sat in on the conference in the vice president's Capitol office just off the Senate chamber, with the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. and the Rev. Ralph G. Abernathy, leaders in the long boycott by Negroes of buses in Montgomery.

There was no immediate statement on what took place at the meeting, but it was considered significant because Nixon, as presiding officer of the Senate, may have to rule on any attempt to bypass the Senate Judiciary Committee with any civil rights legislation passed by the House.

A civil rights bill has been locked up in the Judiciary Committee for months, and Southern senators would like to see it stay there.

The "right to work" amendment was offered by Rep. Alger (R., Tex.). It would have included in the bill a provision against any labor contract requiring union membership as a condition for working.

Rejection of the move to strike all references to race, color and creed from the bill came earlier. Rep. Dies (D., Tex.) offered the amendment, saying there was "too much emphasis on these words."

* * *

Jury Amendment Gains Strength

WASHINGTON, June 13 (U.P.)—Rep. Armistead Selden (D., Ala.) said today that a "substantial number" of congressmen have been won over to a civil rights amendment proposing jury trials in cases of criminal contempt.

The 6th District representative said his committee of three, including Rep. John Bell Williams (D., Miss.) and Rep. Robert Ashmore (D., S. C.), is contacting personally every member of the House to urge backing for the amendment.

10 1957

Southerners Lose Their Bid For Civil Rights Jury Trials

News & Observer Raleigh, N.C. Sat. 6-15-57

P.1

WASHINGTON, June 14 (AP) — Northern Democrats and Republicans teamed up in an important victory for President Eisenhower's civil rights bill today, smashing back an attempt to require jury trials in contempt cases.

The House vote on the key jury trial amendment was 199-167.

A score of Negroes looked on from uncrowded galleries during the count, which was conducted by tellers.

Nearing Passage.

With that out of the way, the bill was well on the way to a ballot on final passage. But with an eye on ranks thinned by weekend departures, the leadership put that vote off until Monday.

The battle all but ended today when Southerners, with a few outside recruits, failed to put across the amendment to make a jury trial mandatory for anybody accused of violating an injunction designed to enforce voting or other civil rights.

Members from Dixie contended civil rights can be enforced adequatly under present law. They argued that the amendment merely would guarantee another basic right of Americans and make a bit more palatable what Rep. Cooley (D-NC) called "a dastardly measure" that was "conceived in putrid politics."

Supporters of the legislation said the jury trial amendment would have destroyed the bill's effectiveness in the South.

A Negro member, Rep. Powell (D-NY), told the House:

"When American citizens are faced with juries in the Southern section of the United States we know that a colored citizen cannot get equal justice."

Accusing enemies of the bill of "hypocrisy and dishonesty," Powell said that "a minority in this country has made up its mind that under no circumstance is it going to allow colored citizens the right to vote."

For strategy and vote getting purposes, backers of the amendment tapped a freshman Republican from the North, Rep. Russell W. Keney of Illinois, to bring it before the House.

A former state's attorney and county and circuit judge, Keeney told the House that as the bill stood the United States would serve as plaintiff, prosecutor and judge of a person accused of depriving others of civil rights.

"And just to be sure the defendant gets convicted," he said, "they strip him of his right of trial by jury."

There are rumblings against the proposal, he said, on grounds that "in some parts of the United States they wouldn't get the right kind of trial by jury."

"I submit to you," Keeney said, "that trial by jury is the American thing, the American system, the American way of life."

Joining with Kenney, Rep. Hoffman (R-Mich) said that **"I don't propose to go and criticize any other section of the United States as being lawless." Hoffman said there is murder after murder in New York and New Jersey and the "record is full of beatings and murders that have gone unpunished in Chicago."**

"It's a good thing to clean up your own house," he said, "before you travel around to the neighbors to tell them what to do."

The heart of the bill is a section empowering the U. S. attorney general to go direct to a federal court for an injunction to protect voting or other civil rights.

In addition, as urged by Eisenhower, the measure would set up a bipartisan commission, with a two-year life, to look into the whole picture of civil rights. It also would create a new civil rights division in the Justice Department under an assistant attorney general to investigate charges of civil rights violations.

House Starts Civil Rights Debate Today; Jury Trial Provision Raises GOP Anger

Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. P.1 Thurs. 6-6-57

By WILLIAM F. ARBOGAST

WASHINGTON, June 5 (AP) — House Republicans voiced strong opposition today to inclusion of a jury-trial provision in civil rights legislation which the House starts debating tomorrow.

Their views were expressed at a party conference held shortly after the House by a vote of 290-117 agreed to lay aside everything else for about seven days beginning tomorrow for a full-scale discussion of the controversial measure.

The House decided to spend four days on a general discussion of the civil rights bill, after which it will consider amendments. Leaders expect at least three days will be needed to dispose of amendments and obtain a final vote on the measure. They are aiming at sending the bill to the Senate by next Thursday.

It took the House just one hour to decide on procedure, and during that period Southerners warned of "Gestapo" and "Inquisition" procedures that they said might result if the bill becomes law.

Almost all of the 117 votes against even considering the bill were cast by Southern Democrats. The line-up on the resolution formally bringing the bill before the House was: 112 Democrats and 178 Republicans for, and 107 Democrats and 10 Republicans against.

The debate was concentrated on a proposed amendment to guarantee jury trials for persons accused of violating federal injunctions in civil rights cases.

Southerners, who are against the legislation in any shape, are supporting the amendment—which the Senate Judiciary Committee has approved. Without the amendment, Rep. Colmer (D-Miss) told the House, the Justice Department could set up "a veritable Gestapo" and conduct "a virtual Spanish inquisition."

Opponents of the amendment argued that trial by jury has never been provided in civil contempt cases in which the government was a party. Rep. Scott (R-Pa) called it "a right to violate the law" rather than a right to a jury trial.

Southern juries, the jury-trial opponents claim, would never convict persons accused of contempt for violating court orders designed to prevent infringement of voting and other rights.

Republican Leader Martin of Massachusetts, said a majority of the GOP would follow the suggestion of the President and oppose the amendment.

Eisenhower told his news conference today he recalled that William H. Taft, who was president and chief justice, once remarked that, "If we tried to put a jury trial between a court order and the enforcement of that order, that we are really welcoming anarchy."

While the Southerners have little hope of beating the bill in the House, they believe they have a fair chance to amend it. And they are confident that the Senate, as it has in the past, will either stifle the measure in committee or kill it with a time-consuming filibuster.

Advertiser P.2-A

The bill contains these four major provisions:

1. It would create a bipartisan commission on civil rights as a part of the executive branch of government.

Thurs. 6-6-57

2. It would set up in the Justice Department the post of assistant attorney general to head a civil rights division.

3. It would allow the attorney general to seek injunctions to prevent vilations of civil rights whenever he believed someone was about to violate them. Disregard of injunctions would be punishable as contempt of court.

4. It sets up new safeguards for voting rights.

Jury Trial OK Aids House Southerners

Post-Herald B'ham, Ala. Tues. 6-4-57

WASHINGTON, June 3 (AP)—Reps. Haley (D., Fla.), Huddleston (D., Ala.) and Forrester (D., Ga.) said today the Senate Judiciary Committee's action in writing a jury trial amendment into the administration's controversial civil rights bill will help them on the House side.

The House takes up the civil rights bill Wednesday with a vote likely sometime next week.

"The committee's action gives us a good chance of getting a jury trial amendment tacked onto the House bill when it comes up on the floor," Huddleston said.

P.26

"It definitely will help us," Haley said.

"It seems the Senate committee has awakened to the fact that this is not just an integration bill by any means. They've found out that basic matters are under consideration. People don't want to lose their trial by jury guaranteed by the Constitution," Haley said.

The Senate committee action was a defeat for the administration, which claims that such a provision would emasculate the legislation.

Forrester said the action would have a "salutary effect" on the House and that it was a recognition on the part of the Senate committee that principle should supersede expediency.

"Our chances of getting a jury trial amendment added on the House floor are greatly enhanced," Forrester said.

Efforts to have the jury trial amendment added to the bill in the House Judiciary Committee failed by a narrow vote.

Forrester said that he didn't think any lawyer members of the House, from whatever section, could fail to be sympathetic to the principle of trial by jury.

The Georgian said he believes that if the House does pass a civil rights measure, it will include the jury trial provision.

Sen. Talmadge (D., Ga.) expressed gratification at the Senate committee action. "The most elementary of civil rights is the right of trial by jury," he said.

Jury Trial Ban Aimed At White Southerners

The Charleston News And Courier

IN LINING up against jury trials for persons accused in "civil rights" cases, President Eisenhower may be on the popular side and perhaps eventually the victorious side. He is not, we believe, on the right side.

The News and Courier regrets to find the President of the United States seeking to weaken the guarantees of personal liberty that had been built into the fabric of the American Republic.

Today public opinion is exercised over possible loss of American safeguards for U.S. service men accused of crimes overseas. Several cases are in the news. Under agreements with host countries, the United States in certain circumstances yields jurisdiction over its soldiers, sailors and airmen to foreign courts. These courts operate under the laws and practices of the foreign countries.

The News and Courier concedes the justice of trying soldiers for off-duty peacetime offenses in civilian courts of the country where they are stationed. If foreign troops were stationed in the United States, we believe American citizens would demand that they be tried in American courts on charges of lawbreaking outside their military duties.

IN THE civil rights controversy within our own country, a new and special type of legal procedure now is being devised. In effect, the new procedure aims directly at white Southerners. A set of regulations, designed for the benefit of Negroes with the aid and guidance of the Negro racial lobby, would govern laws and customs heretofore controlled by the people of the states.

Whether or not these new regulations actually will benefit Negroes, or help the cause of genuine civil rights, is open to debate. We are not now debating that point. Our point today is protection of the civil rights of persons who may be accused in future of violating such regulations.

Unless trial by jury is so guaranteed, American citizens may be put into prison not on conviction by a jury of their peers, but on orders of a federal judge. This judge may be hand-picked and appointed for the specific purpose of carrying out a program that is against the principles and wishes of a majority of the people concerned.

Rep. Colmer of Mississippi, one of the South's most forceful spokesmen, described in Congress the civil rights measure as "a bill to extend the long arm of the federal government into your state, as well as my state, and further concentrate government here in Washington . . . Under this bill a veritable gestapo could be set up."

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER quoted former President and Chief Justice William Howard Taft as saying: "If we tried to put a jury trial between a court order and the enforcement of that order, we are really welcoming anarchy."

We are not familiar with the context of Mr. Taft's comment. He was a jurist of great learning and no doubt the application of his remark was sound. The overall drive to force unwanted racial laws down the throats of white Americans, however, is too big a subject to cover in one sentence spoken by a distinguished citizen.

We cannot believe that Mr. Taft would have denied jury trials to Southerners in cases that may be brought under the force bills now before Congress. Basic rights and basic liberties are involved here. The most charitable thing we can say about Mr. Eisenhower and other opponents is that they do not understand what they are doing to fellow Americans.

Abuse Of Jury Trial

EDITOR ALFRED D. MYNDERS IN THE CHATTANOOGA TIMES

RINGING applause greeted the acquittal of two young white men with bombing a Negro church in Montgomery. The 12 white jurors deliberated only an hour and 35 minutes. Both Raymond B. Bitt Jr. and Sonny Kyle Livingston Jr. had signed confessions.

Regardless of the verdict of acquittal, however, the atmosphere in the courtroom was charged with segregation feeling. The defense appealed for acquittal to give encouragement to "every white man, every white woman and every white child in the South who is looking to you to preserve our sacred traditions."

Is the bombing of Negro churches one of our sacred traditions?

The prosecutor told the jury that "Negro agitators would like nothing better than a verdict of acquittal."

Then he made his pitch to play upon the segregation sentiment which might have been held by some of those 12 white jurors. He said: "There is a civil rights bill pending in Congress, and it is sponsored by the NAACP. An acquittal here would do more thany anything I can think of to pass that bill."

The defense attorneys argued that the verdict would determine "our very civilization and our way of life in the South" and that it must "go down in history as saying to the Negroes that 'you shall not pass.'"

The defense attacked the Negro leaders and, as might have been expected, attempted to leave the impression with the jury that the Negroes themselves had bombed their churches. This, apparently, got nowhere, however.

Perhaps the prosecution spoke truth when it said that the verdict of acquittal might help the civil rights bills to pass in Congress. The right of the states to enforce their laws and the rights of "a trial by jury" in state courts on cases involving civil rights has strong validity.

But the Montgomery case will certainly raise arguments by proponents of the civil rights bills which are sponsored by President Eisenhower as to just what a "trial by jury" means in the South when the Negro question is involved. Here the prosecution as well as the defense waved the manner of segregation in a courtroom packed with people who seemed to think that segregation and not the bombing of churches was the issue involved. This trial by jury takes its place alongside the trial of the Emmett Till murder case in Mississippi.

Trial by jury is the foundation of our system of justice. Its integrity must be safeguarded.

Civil Rights Is Passed In House But Faces Filibuster By Senators

TWO-WEEK FIGHT ENDS

South's Jury Trial Amendment Beaten Down Again By Big Margin

By MORRIS CUNNINGHAM

From The Commercial Appeal Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, June 18.—The House passed President Eisenhower's four-point Civil Rights Bill Tuesday 286 to 126 after a battle lasting nearly two weeks.

A fourth and final effort to attach a jury trial amendment failed 251 to 158, a bigger margin than the 199 to 167 tally in one of the three previous non-record votes.

The House-passed bill was rushed to the Senate, where a motion is expected Thursday to bypass the Judiciary Committee headed by Senator James O. Eastland (D., Miss.) and place the bill on the Senate calendar.

Move May Succeed

This move—which Southerners insist is unprecedented and an opening wedge for legislative chaos — is expected to succeed after a flurry of opposition. In a showdown, only a majority vote is required for it to win.

The next move by proponents of the bill would be a motion to remove the bill from the Senate calendar for consideration by the Senate.

A Southern fillibuster apparently will start on this motion. However, the motion may be delayed until the Senate has cleared its calendar of a backlog of other legislation. This could mean two or three weeks.

Cloture must be invoked to break a filibuster. That requires the affirmative votes of 64 of the 96 senators. It has succeeded in the past only under great pressure.

After a bill is removed from the calendar, a new motion is required for final passage. That also i. subject to debate. Thus, a secon d cloture vote might be necessary to bring the bill to a final vote.

Backers Determined

The determination of the bill's backers was reiterated Tuesday by Senate Republican Leader William Knowland (Calif.) after a White House meeting with President Eisenhower.

He said he is ready to make a "prolonged fight, if necessary" to give the Senate a chance to express itself on the bill. He said the Senate should stay in session "as long as necessary" this summer.

The National Association for the Advanced of Colored People promptly hailed Senator Knowland's statement as heralding "a major opportunity to get action in this session of Congress."

Southerners credited White House pressure for holding Republicans in line on the final vote on the jury trial amendment in the House.

Dixie members had hoped that on a record vote they could reverse their three previous defeats on the amendment. They succeeded in maneuvering to obtain the record vote. But their hopes were shattered with the 251 to 158 vote.

Only 45 Republicans, five of them from Southern states, joined 113 Southern and border state Democrats in voting for the amendment. Arrayed against it were 139 Republicans and 112 Northern and Western democrats.

South Opposes Bill

With the exception of Tennessee, all of the 11 Southern state delegations from Virginia to Texas voted for the amendment as well as against the bill.

The seven Tennessee Democrats supported the amendment and opposed the bill. Representative B. Carroll Reece (R., Tenn.) voted against the amendment and for the bill. Representative Howard Baker (R., Tenn.), who did not vote, was paired for the amendment and against the bill.

Representatives Paul C. Jones (D., Mo.) and W. R. Hull Jr. (D., Mo.) joined Southerners in voting for the amendment and against the bill. All other Missouri members voted against the bill.

The six Kentucky Democrats voted with the Southerners. The two Kentucky Republicans, Representatives John M. Robsion Jr. and Eugene Siler, voted with the other side.

Southerners picked up four Oklahoma Democrats on final passage, but lost the votes of the fifth Oklahoma Democrat and the state's lone Republican.

The Southerners got no support on final passage from Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, Arizona, New Mexico or Nevada, states which once usually voted with the South on civil rights issues.

The 126 votes against the bill on final passage were cast by 107 Democrats and five Republicans from Southern and border states, and 14 Republicans from outside the South. Arrayed against them were 118 Democrats and 168 Republicans—all of them, with the exception of Tennessee's Mr. Reece, from outside the South.

Won 3 Amendments

In the nearly two weeks of battle in the House the bill's opponents won only three amendments. Only one was of any significance. Offered by Representative J. Carlton Loser (D., Tenn.), it would prohibit the proposed civil rights commission from subpenaing witnesses from outside their home states.

The jury trial amendment was the top issue in the House and is expected to be again in the Senate. It would guarantee defendants in contempt cases arising from the bill's injunctive powers trial by jury. As the bill now reads, they may be tried by the Federal judge who issues the injunction.

Clause On Economic Pressure Dropped As South Wins Round In Rights Battle

Advertiser Montgomery Ala. p 1
Fri. 3-15-57

WASHINGTON, March 14 (AP)—Southerners won House Judiciary Committee approval today of amendments to the proposed civil rights bill. The amendments struck out references to investigations of "unwarranted economic pressures" and economic and social developments.

The committee gave up plans to finish work on the bill this week. But proponents and opponents of the measure announced a "firm agreement" to conclude discussion and come to a vote Monday.

There was sharp division of opinion as to the effect of the amendments, which apply to the section of the bill defining the investigative authority of the proposed bipartisan Civil Rights Commission.

Rep. Willis (D-La), a leader of the Southern bloc in the committee, said, "this cuts the commission down to investigating violations of the right to vote—that's what it means."

But Rep. Keating of New York, senior Republican member of the committee and coauthor of the measure, said he thinks the amendment "weakens the bill, but not critically." He said he thinks there is authority under other sections for the commission to investigate organized efforts to infringe on civil rights by economic or social pressures.

Meeting for about four hours behind closed doors, the committee also:

Restored to the bill a provision for investigation of any voting rights violations based on religion.

Defeated a proposal to require the commission to consult state governors and attorneys general about investigations in their states.

Adopted one or two technical amendments described as non-controversial.

To Study Discrimination

Post-Herald B'ham, Ala.

Tampering With Bill to Examine Civil Rights Program Charged

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

The Civil Rights subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee has engaged in pointless tampering with the Administration's civil rights proposals in reporting the bill to the full committee. Particularly objectionable is its decision to exclude discrimination based on religion from the area to be studied by the proposed Commission on Civil Rights.

Tues. 3-12-57

One of the four points in the original bill was the establishment of a temporary bipartisan commission on civil rights to investigate charges of denial of voting rights or the imposition of "unwarranted economic pressures" on citizens because of race, color, religion or national origin.

For no apparent reason the Civil Rights subcommittee has voted to drop the word "religion." The full Judiciary Committee must now decide whether to approve the bill in its altered form or to return to its original language.

The attack on racism that has achieved so many successes in recent years has been firmly based on the principle that all forms of discrimination because of origin are equally evil, that as one thrives others are encouraged, and that as one is curbed all Americans move closer to full equality. Accordingly, the fair employment and other anti-discrimination laws adopted in many Northern and Western states, as well as the anti-bias Executive Orders issued by President Eisenhower and his predecessors, have uniformly applied to discrimination based on race, religion or national origin.

Further Bias

The validity of this principle is illustrated by the very situation which has prompted introduction of the Federal civil rights bill. While the predominant form of racism in the South today is directed at Negroes, there has been a distinct tendency within the White Citizens Council movement, to say nothing of the rejuvenated Ku Klux Klan, to spill over into anti-Semitism and anti-Catholicism. Organized economic boycotts and other "unwarranted economic pressures" against Jews and Catholics have already been threatened.

It would be most unfortunate if the commission, once established, found itself empowered to investigate charges of discrimination against Negroes but not against religious minorities.

The proposed change in the bill has nothing in its favor and much against it. The House Judiciary Committee will do well to decide the important civil rights issue before it on the basis of tested principle.

SHAD POLIER,
Chairman, Commission on Law and Social Action, American Jewish Congress.
New York, March 7, 1957.

Rights Bill 'Showdown' Is Coming

Post-Herald B'ham, Ala.
Wed. 3-13-57

Judiciary Committee Majority Wants It Before House Soon

By JACK STEELE
Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

WASHINGTON, March 12—The House Judiciary Committee began a "showdown" drive today to report out a civil rights bill this week over the opposition of Southern segregationists.

Chairman Emanuel Celler (D., N.Y.), said he will hold the committee in "continuous" daily sessions until it acts on the administration's civil rights program.

Southern committee members were reported to be ready to offer nearly 100 amendments to the bill—many of them obviously designed to delay action as long as possible.

But the committee's Northern majority, led by Chairman Celler and ranking GOP member Kenneth B. Keating (N.Y.), appeared confident that drafting of the bill will be completed this week—perhaps by Thursday.

House approval of the civil rights bill once it clears the judiciary committee is a foregone conclusion. A similar measure passed the House last year by about a two-to-one majority.

Major aim of the House drive is to send a civil rights bill to the Senate early in the session. The measure faces more formidable obstacles in the Senate, including the possibility of a filibuster on the floor.

An attempt also will be made today to get the civil rights bill before the Senate Judiciary Committee headed by Sen. James O. Eastland (D., Miss.).

Sen. Thomas C. Hennings Jr. (D., Mo), who heads a Senate subcommittee which also has completed hearings on the bill, will make the move.

He is expected, however, to run into a series of delaying moves led by Senator Eastland and other Southern members of the Senate group.

Civil rights advocates believe once the bill has passed the House they will be in a stronger position to pressure the Senate committee for action.

The administration's civil rights program already has been watered down slightly by a House judiciary subcommittee to make it more palatable to Southerners.

But committee members from Dixie are far from satisfied. Among the major changes they will propose in committee—and later again on the House floor—are amendments which would:

Guarantee jury trials for persons accused of criminal contempt for violating federal court orders.

Block federal courts from taking jurisdiction in civil rights cases until they have been passed upon by state or local courts.

Deny subpena powers to the Civil Rights Commission which would be set up under the bill to investigate complaints.

A hassle also is expected to develop over the elimination of the word "religion" from the subcommittee's draft of the bill.

Some committee members want to restore the word to make certain that the bill will apply to discrimination on religious as well as racial grounds.

Civil Rights Bills High On Agenda Of Balky Congressmen

Daily World
Sun. 4-28-57
Atlanta, Ga.

BY WILLIAM THEIS

WASHINGTON, — (INS) — Administration sources said Saturday that President Eisenhower will make a strong appeal for his new foreign aid program and other legislative goals after Congress returns to work Monday.

P. 1

The chief executive is scheduled to end his vacation in Augusta, Ga., on Tuesday. He reportedly has been advised that his personal intervention is needed to save his program in Congress.

The biggest problem before the legislators, now winding up a 10-day Easter recess, is whether they can cut Mr. Eisenhowers $71,800,000,000 spending budget deeply enough to ask a post-dated tax cut without injuring national security.

BATTLE OVER RIGHTS

But they also face battles over the President's civil rights and school construction bills, as well as over foreign aid.

The President has given the latter top priority, it was stated reliably, and will not "budge" on his stand that the revised assistance program is vital to American long-range interest. He has announced he will hold a bipartisan foreign aid conference soon after Congress reconvenes.

Republicans believes this will be followed by a nation-wide television-radio address on the subject.

On the budget issue, Senate GOP Policy Chairman Styles Bridges said he is confident appropriations can be slashed by three billions dollars, but conceded this would only partially reduce spending -- the key to a tax reduction.

Senate GOP leader William F. Knowland, of California, has pledged himself to work for a minimum three billion dollar spending cut. Some other top Republicans think this is too high a target. But all are agreed the President's budget will be lowered by at least one billion dollars.

Congressional spokesman are frankly "doubtful" about the chance of enacting civil rights legislation during this session of the 85th Congress. But an all-out effort will be made to get the bill out of the Senate Judiciary Committee, where it is now bottled up by Southern opponents.

AMENDMENTS THREAT

Southern Democrats have served notice they will fight to include in the bill an amendment preserving the right of jury trial for persons accused of interferring with voting rights. This battle could defer the ultimate showdown to a point where a filibuster might kill the bill.

Daily World P. 5

Civil Rights Bill Is at Crucial Point

Times-Picayune

But Moves Along Faster Than Others in Past

New Orleans, La.

By JOHN CHADWICK

WASHINGTON, March 31 (AP) — The Eisenhower administration's civil rights bill, chugging along in Congress, is now at a crucial point in its legislative progress.

So far it has moved along faster than civil rights bills in the past, bearing out the apprehensions expressed by Southern foes at the start of the session.

The House Judiciary Committee already has approved a bill substantially conforming to the administration's recommendations, but Rules Committee clearance is still needed. The House voted for the program last year in the final week of the session, and is expected to pass the bill again this year.

Approved Without Change

But the decisive battleground is in the Senate. There the administration's bill was approved without change March 19 by a Judiciary subcommittee, and it now awaits action by the full Judiciary Committee. This group buried it last year without a vote.

What the full committee does with the bill, and how quickly, may prove the key to the legislation's fate at this session of Congress.

Supporters of the measure are confident they have the votes to get it out of committee, but they are well aware that Sen. Eastland (D-Miss), the chairman, and other Southern senators on the committee are in a position to force delays.

Chances Are Better

The longer the bill is delayed in getting before the Senate, the better the chances of Southern opponents to filibuster it to death.

But wholly aside from any attempts to smother the bill in parliamentary red tape, Southerners have been waging a vigorous fight against the administration measure this year on its content.

They contend that far from being the "middle-of-the-road program" described by Atty. Gen. Brownell and other administration spokesmen, it is a "drastic" measure invading states' rights and undermining the Constitution.

Here is a rundown on just what the bill provides, and the arguments for and against it:

Elective Branch

Part one provides for the creation of an executive branch commission on civil rights, composed of six members appointed by the President and approved by the Senate. Not more than half the members could be from the same political party.

The commission would be directed to:

1. "Investigate allegations in writing that certain citizens of the United States are being deprived of their rights to vote or . . . are voting illegally or are being subjected to unwarranted economic pressures by reason of their sex, color, race, religion or national origin."

No Sex Reference

Brownell recommended deletion of the reference to sex. The bill approved by the House Judiciary Committee does so. This version also omits any reference to "unwarranted economic pressures."

2. "Study and collect information concerning economic, social, and legal developments constituting a denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution."

3. "Appraise the laws and policies of the federal government with respect to equal protection of the laws under the Constitution."

Final Report

The commission would be required to submit a final report not later than two years after its creation. In those two years it would be empowered to subpoena witnesses and records. And it or any subcommittees it authorized could hold public hearings to take sworn testimony "at such times and places" as might be deemed advisable.

The administration argument for the commission is that there now is inadequate information about the problems involved in civil rights violations and that no executive agency has authority to make a general investigation and study of the subject.

Brownell testified the administration hopes and expects that "a full-scale public study" by such a commission would "tend to unite responsible people of good will in common effort to solve these problems."

Opponents have protested that it would stir up racial strife, with federal investigators swarming over the country requiring citizens to answer to all sorts of vague charges. Some opponents have charged the bill would create a federal "Gestapo."

Part of the bill provides for one additional assistant attorney general in the Justice Department. He, like the other assistants, would be appointed by the President subject to Senate confirmation.

Civil Rights Division

While the bill doesn't say so specifically, the purpose is to set up a civil rights division in the Justice Department under an assistant attorney general.

The department now has a civil rights section which handles criminal prosecutions of civil rights violations, but Brownell said the department's activities in this field have been expanding into noncriminal cases, such as litigation growing out of the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision.

And, he said, if the department is given the new enforcement powers proposed in another part of the bill, its civil rights activities will "increase even more rapidly than in the past."

Opponents have centered relatively little fire on this part of the bill, although making clear they regard it as unnecessary and undesirable.

Complex Sections

The last two parts of the administration bill, parts three and four, are the most complex legally and also the most controversial. From them stem the opposition charges of "government by injunction" and denial of jury trials.

Part three amends existing civil rights statutes and part four a section of the U. S. Code dealing with voting rights, to provide the government with a new method for their enforcement.

Present law forbids conspiracies (1) to prevent any federal officer from discharging his duty; (2) to impede or obstruct justice with intent to deny any citizen equal protection of the laws, or (3) to prevent a qualified person from voting for federal officials.

And another section of existing law says that all citizens qualified to vote shall be allowed to do so "without distinction of race, color or previous condition of servitude."

Federal Action Provided

To this section on voting rights, the bill would add a paragraph barring any interference with a person's right to vote for president or members of Congress through intimidation or coercion.

This paragraph is designed to strengthen protection of the right to vote, but the basic purpose of the third and fourth parts of the administration measure is to empower the federal government to seek injunctions against violations of voting or other civil rights.

At present, citizens who feel they are being deprived of these rights may sue for damages or seek injunctions, but the only avenue of enforcement open to the government is criminal prosecution.

The administration bill would authorize the attorney general to make use of civil proceedings as well. In other words, he could file damage suits or apply for injunctions, just as private citizens now may do.

The attorney general could institute proceedings in federal court for the government, or in the name of the United States but for the benefit of the real party in interest, "whenever any persons have engaged or are about to engage in any acts or practices" contrary to civil rights statutes.

Federal Courts Get Priority

Furthermore, the bill specifically provides that the federal District Courts shall have jurisdiction regardless of whether the aggrieved party has exhausted administrative remedies under state law.

At present a federal court will entertain a person's suit for damages or injunction only if he shows that he has been unable to obtain relief otherwise.

Suppose, for example, that a person tried to register as a voter and the local registrar kept putting him off. If state law provided for appeals in such cases to a board of review or some other administrative remedy, a person would have to follow that course before going into federal court.

Opponents contend that the administration bill, by making this unnecessary in civil rights cases, would have the effect of giving the attorney general power to nullify state laws.

Brownell for Change

Brownell, in testifying for the bill, put primary emphasis on voting rights and said the proposed civil remedies would enable the government to take effective action to deal with what he called attempts to disenfranchise Negroes.

He said that "criminal remedies at best come after the harm has been done." He also said that "Jurors are reluctant to indict and convict local officials in a criminal prosecution even though they recognize the illegality of what has been done."

In other civil rights cases also, Brownell said, criminal prosecutions are difficult, cumbersome and, in situations not involving brutality and violence, "often unduly harsh."

"Our experience over the years in civil rights cases demonstrates," he said, "that in many situations civil remedies would go far toward permitting the government to arrive at the most rational and fair solution of the problems presented."

Tyranny Peril Is Seen

Opponents of the legislation contend, in the words of Sen. Ervin (D-NC), that it would empower the attorney general to "bypass and circumvent all of the substantial safeguards established by the founding fathers to protect our citizens against bureaucratic and judicial tyranny."

Specifically, they protest against permitting the attorney general to sue in the name of the United States for injunctive relief for the benefit of private persons allegedly deprived of their civil rights.

They say that not only may injunctions be issued without a jury trial but in contempt cases growing out of suits brought in the name of the United States, defendants are not entitled to jury trials.

Thus, they argue, a federal judge could issue an injunction and jail a person he determined to have disobeyed his order all without a jury trial or a chance for a defendant to confront his accusers.

Jury Trial Issue

Proponents of the bill argue that reliance on the injunctive process is necessary, saying that Southern juries have shown an unwillingness to convict in civil rights cases.

To this opponents have replied — to quote Sen. Thurmond (D-SC) — "the time has not come in this country when the end justifies the means in the courts of justice."

Some Southern senators think they have made headway with their arguments against the administration's bill, but so far proponents have not indicated they could go along with any substantial modifications.

3-31-57 p. 26

House Stalls Debate on Rights a Day

Constitution, Atlanta, Ga. Wed. 6-5-57

Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, June 4—Southerners in Congress gained another day's time today in their strategic fight against enactment of civil rights legislation.

Four days of general debate on the administration bill had been scheduled to start Wednesday.

However, House Speaker Rayburn said today the House will take up the rule on the civil rights bill Wednesday and won't begin general debate until Thursday.

RULE OPEN FOR DEBATE

In approving the bill more than a week ago, the House Rules Committee reported the bill to the floor under an open rule, which also designated four days of general debate.

The open rule means that amendments can be offered from the floor. And this is the rule, as established by the committee, which will be open for debate Wednesday before the four-day arguments begin on the bill itself.

Rayburn said the House will remain in session Saturday. This means that, unless the House changes the rule Wednesday, the fourth and concluding day of general debate will come Monday.

AMENDMENTS READIED

After that the Southerners are certain to start hitting the bill with amendments or getting some Northern congressmen to do so.

With five-minute speeches permissible on the amendments, and through the strategy of quorum calls, the Southerners should be able to delay a final vote on the bill well into next week.

Meanwhile, as the Southern hopes began to rise over the prospects of getting a trial by jury amendment adopted, the Eisenhower administration began to put on the pressure against such an amendment.

10 1957

Rights Bill Foes 'Saved by Bell'

Post & Times Herald

By Robert C. Albright
Staff Reporter

Southern opponents of the Administration's civil rights bill yesterday were literally "saved by the bell" from quick Senate Judiciary Committee action on the controversial "right-to-vote" measure.

The Committee was discussing a move by Sen. Thomas C. Hennings Jr. (D-Mo.) to call up the bill when the bell rang notifying Senators that the Senate was in session.

Judiciary Chairman James O. Eastland (D-Miss.), a leading opponent of the legislation, promptly adjourned the meeting until next week. Eastland told the members there were "matters on the Senate calendar" that required his attention.

Tues. 3-26-57

Others Discuss Bill

Hennings reported that two other opponents of the bill, Sens. Sam J. Ervin Jr. (D-N. C.) and Olin D. Johnston (D-S. C.), engaged in some "discussion" of the measure before the signal bell rang.

The Missouri Democrat, chairman of the Constitutional Rights Subcommittee, which recently favorably reported the legislation, indicated he was not worried about the delay in getting the legislation to the Senate floor, however.

"This is just like a marathon race," said Hennings. "To win a marathon, you don't need to lead in the first couple of yards.

He said he believed his motion would have been approved 8 to 4 had it gone to a vote. Hennings said he will renew the move next Monday, if the Committee meets then.

Accuses Opponents

Clarence Mitchell, Washington director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, accused opponents of the bill of using "deception and filibuster" to fight the measure.

Mitchell commended proponents of the measure for their efforts to get action, but said: "The country must realize that the opposition to civil rights is hiding behind a facade of arguments about jury trials and other legal technicalities.

He said Johnston was quoted in a South Carolina newspaper as saying he knew how to "pigeonhole bills." Mitchell said Ervin and Johnston yesterday were giving "a practical demonstration" of how to do it.

Ervin Takes Floor

Ervin later took the Senate floor to charge that "the so-called civil rights bills are calculated and intended to establish government by injunction in the civil rights field." Ervin termed the legislation reminiscent of what he called the "shameful" period prior to enactment of the Norris-LaGuardia act, "when Federal judges robbed labor of its right to trial by jury."

Senator Hennings, meanwhile, distributed to all members of the Senate Judiciary Committee memoranda denying that any "right" to a jury trial would be denied persons violating civil rights statutes.

"To lay minds, there might seem to be something superficially plausible in this allegation," said Hennings. "However, I am sure that lawyers will see that the charge is essentially without foundation in fact."

Hits Tactics Of South On Rights

Defender Chicago, Ill.
Sat. 4-13-57

By THOMAS B. ROSS

WASHINGTON — (INS) — An assistant attorney general has charged that a southern amendment to require jury trials in civil rights cases was "a clever device to nullify" the legislation.

Warren Olney III said southern senators were seeking to "emasculate" the administration's program by advancing the "dangerously deceptive" and "innocuous slogan of 'jury trial.'"

The administration's bill would give the Justice department new powers to start contempt proceedings against persons suspected of violating civil rights laws.

OUTLINES LAW

In a speech prepared for delivery to the National Civil Liberties Clearing House, Olney insisted:

"There is no constitutional right to jury trial in either civil or criminal contempt cases."

Democrat Senators James O. Eastland of Mississippi, Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and Harry Byrd of Virginia have proposed an amendment which would make jury trials mandatory in all contempt proceedings arising out of the administration's program.

Olney said the amendment would create a right to jury trial "in a wide variety of situations in which the jury trial has never been known to belong."

Olney said southern jury trials in cases of discrimination against Negroes would produce a "practical nullification" of "the key civil right—the right to vote."

He expressed agreement with an 1819 decision of the Supreme Court which stated:

"One of the powers necessarily incident to a court of justice is that it should have this power of vindicating its dignity, of enforcing its orders, of protecting itself from insult without the necessity of calling upon a jury to assist it in the exercise of this power."

Civil Rights Bills Imperil Local Rule, Russell Warns

Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.
Tues. 4-16-57

WASHINGTON, April 15 (AP)—Sen. Richard B. Russell (D-Ga) tonight attacked recent federal court decisions and pending civil rights bills as "destructive to local self government" and states rights.

"There is no condition in this land of ours that can conceivably justify the wholesale sweeping aside of constitutional rights," he said at the opening session of the 66th Continental Congress of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

"A series of decisions by federal courts have wiped out a number of rights and privileges which the states have exercised since the birth of our republic," he said, adding:

"State powers cannot survive many more such disastrous and degrading blows."

The DAR, starting its week-long annual congress, received greetings from President Eisenhower, read to them by their president general, Mrs. Frederic A. Groves, of Cape Girardeau, Mo.

Eisenhower said "we must continue to advance the causes of freedom, honor and service" started by our founding fathers "for the good of our whole country and the hope of the free world."

Russell, whose home state Legislature in Georgia has called for impeachment of some Supreme Court judges because of recent decisions, said the ninth and 10th amendments, designed to protect states rights and "once considered a keystone of our system," have "now been rendered almost ineffective."

He said a look at pending civil rights bills "raises the issue of how far you may go in infringing upon the civil rights of all of our people in the attempt to establish doubtful civil rights for the benefit of one group."

"No President of the United States, even in time of dangerous crisis, has ever sought any such powers over the lives and liberties of the American people as these bills propose to vest in an appointed attorney general."

Civil Rights Bill Again Put Off

Post-Herald B'ham, Ala.

Eastland Won't Set Voting Date

Tues. 4-16-57

WASHINGTON, April 15 (AP)—The Senate Judiciary Committee put off action on the civil rights issue again today, but Chairman Eastland (D., Miss.) said it probably would begin considering the legislation April 29.

Eastland wouldn't predict when the committee might take a vote, but Sen. Neely (D., W. Va.) offered an estimate that it never would.

Neely, who supports the proposed legislation, said that if action depends on what the committee does, "you are going to get judgment on Judgment Day."

Two motion were reported to have been made at today's closed session, with neither of them coming to a vote. Sen. Hennings (D., Mo.) offered a motion to take a vote on May 6 and Sen. Ervin (D., N. C.) offered one to postpone consideration.

Eastland said the two motions were discussed, but the committee adjourned at noon without action and probably will not meet again until April 29. That is when the Easter recess will end.

"At that time," Eastland told reporters, "in all probability, we will begin consideration of the bill."

The principal legislation being considered is a bill offered by the Eisenhower administration and aimed primarily at the protection of Negroes' civil rights in the South.

Long Hints Filibuster Against 'Rights' Bill

Post & Times Herald
Washington, D.C.
Thurs. 4-11-57

Associated

Sen. Russell B. Long (D-La.) said yesterday he is prepared to speak at "some length" against civil rights legislation if and when it reaches the Senate floor.

Asked whether he would filibuster against the measure, Long said "Oh, I expect to make a speech or two." Then he added:

"You know, when a Senator makes a speech you agree with it is enlightening debate; but if you disagree with it, it is a filibuster."

Long is son of the late Sen. Huey P. Long (D-La.), who was famous for some of his long speeches in the Senate.

He said it is "almost inconceivable to me" that any Civil Rights legislation will pass this session of Congress.

The legislation, he said, clearly destroys the right of citizens to jury trials—"one of our fundamental sivil rights."

"I recall how some people fought bitterly to preserve the rights of Communists a few years ago," h said. "I am curious to se[illegible]at their position will be [illegible] fight to preserve some of [illegible] fundamental civil rights."

Make report on civil rights in the South

Afro-American Baltimore, Md.
Sat. 4-20-57

PHILADELPHIA

First-hand reports on the

civil rights situation in the South was a feature of an NAACP leadership conference here on April 6.

The reports were given by Kelly M. Alexander of Charlotte, N.C., president of the North Carolina State NAACP, and Dr. George D. Flemmings, president of the Fort Worth, Texas, NAACP branch. Both are members of the association's board.

Other topics discussed at the one - day meeting included NAACP branch administration, breaking down discrimination in housing, and new employment opportunities for colored youths.

Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, was the main speaker at a dinner which concluded the conference.

Denial of Jury in Rights Cases Termed Tyrannical

Post + Times Herald P. Ca
Sat. 4-13-57
Washington D.C.

Associat

Sen. Harry F. Byrd (D-Va.) said yesterday it would be "tyrannical procedure" to permit Federal judges to enforce civil rights laws by imprisoning injunction violators without jury trial.

Byrd told the Senate that if the people want to "abolish trial by jury" they can do it through a constitutional amendment.

"But the power to do this resides with the whole people and it is to be exercised in the mode provided by the Constitution," he said. "It cannot be done by the insidious encroachments of any department of the Government."

Byrd assailed as "novel and dangerous" an Eisenhower Administration proposal that the Government be permitted to become a party to civil rights suits and thus eliminate the guarantee of a jury trial to a defendant in an injunction case.

The proposal Byrd attacked is part of the civil rights bill backed by the Administration which is awaiting actionin both houses of Congress. There is no requirement for jury trial in a contempt case against an alleged violator of a court order when the Government is a party.

Byrd said the Department of Justice "has remained adamant demanding pre-emtory punishments in the interest of speed" in civil rights cases "at a sacrifice of safeguards which, it is claimed, take too long."

"The truth of the matter is this," he said. "As to the criminal statutes, the Department will have none of them because they (prosecutors) are placed unnder the burden of proving their cases in conformance with proper criminal processes. Proof is too hard, they claim.

"The Department wants quick convictions—not juries which have always and historically stood between the prosecutor and defendant."

Postpone Voting On Bill Again

Call ~~Friday~~
Fri. 4-19-57
Kansas City, Missouri

Judiciary Committee Continues To Delay Action on Measure

P. 1

By Rose McKee

WASHINGTON. —(INS)— Sen. Paul H. Douglas (D) Ill., said Monday that the Senate Judiciary committee should take action in the next 15 days if a civil rights bill is to be passed this year.

Douglas made the statement after the Judiciary committee for the third Monday in a row failed to take any action on the controversial legislation.

Chairman James O. Eastland (D) Miss., said that in "all probability" his committee will begin consideration of the bill at its next meeting on April 29.

A bill embracing President Eisenhower's program to ban discrimination because of race was reported to the full committee last month. But Eastland took the position that it is not yet formally before the group.

His statement that it will be considered April 29 coupled with an announcement by him that he did not think further hearings would be held was interpreted by supporters of the legislation as a narrow step forward.

However, Eastland declined to predict how long it would take his committee to act on the bill once it comes up for consideration. He said the time will depend on the committee's ability to get a quorum and the number of amendments proposed.

Douglas, in declaring that it is "highly desirable" to have a bill brought to the senate floor by May 1, said that "if the judiciary committee will act promptly and affirmatively on April 29 there still is time" to enact "meaningful" legislation.

He added: "if action is postponed for some weeks, the prospects of ultimate success are much less. If we do not get a bill reported promptly, it may be necessary for us to move a discharge petition to bring out a bill."

Sen. Matthew M. Neely (D) W. Va., a committee member, said he thinks a petition to discharge the committee of further consideration of a bill is the only way to get it to the floor. He said Thomas C. Hennings (D) Mo., whose subcommittee held hearings on the legislation would be the person to propose the petition.

Two motions at Monday's committee session touched off considerable talk but no votes. Hennings proposed that the unit end its debate and Vote May 6 on a bill.

Sen. Sam Ervin (D) N. C., a leader of the fight against the Eisenhower program, proposed a substitute motion to postphone action until hearings are printed and opponents have a reasonable opportunity to study the records.

Senator Ervin's Phony Crusade

Afro-American
Sat. 4-20-57
Baltimore, Md.

Senator Sam Ervin, the North Carolina Democrat, for the twin purpose of confusion and delaying passage of the civil rights bill, has raised the legal argument that Southern juries should try cases involving civil rights.

The Department of Justice points out correctly that equity cases under an 80-year-old history of legal procedure are tried only by judges.

WE THINK it most odd that Senator Ervin never raised his voice in complaint when an Alabama judge was fining the NAACP $100,000;

Or when a Texas judge was issuing a temporary injunction to put the NAACP out of business in that state;

Or when a Georgia judge was sentencing the president of the Atlanta branch, NAACP to jail;

Or when a Louisiana judge was issuing an injunction to outlaw the NAACP in that state.

In none of these trials was the NAACP granted the right of a trial by jury and Senator Ervin knows its counsel would have been hooted out of court if he had sought one.

* * *

BEFORE ELECTION to the Senate, Mr. Ervin was a member of the North Carolina Supreme Court.

Before him came on appeal four convictions of persons charged with contempt of court.

They had been tried by a judge and under North Carolina law were forbidden to ask for a jury.

Judge Ervin upheld all four convictions without even a whispered reference to his current loud crusade for "the historic right of trial by jury."

We think it's rather ironic that brother Ervin should wait until he is no longer on the bench to launch his phony campaign against judicial practices that are nearly a century old.

Roosevelt Sees Hope For Rights Bills In House

Journal + Guide
Sat. 5-4-57
Norfolk, Va.

LOS ANGELES—(INS)—Representative James Roosevelt (Democrat, California) said last week that he will introduce a petition to take the Civil Rights issue to the floor of the House when Congress reconvenes Monday.

P. 11

Roosevelt said the issue is scheduled to be brought up in committee and he will seek to by-pass committee consideration so that it may go to the floor immediately.

* * *

HE TOLD A Democratic luncheon meeting in Los Angeles that House action on the measure may begin by the third week in May, with passage that week or shortly thereafter.

Roosevelt predicted tougher going in the Senate, however. He said a solid liberal Democratic coalition with heavy Republican support will be necessary for Senate passage.

Civil Rights Scrap Begins

News + Observer
Thurs. 6-20-57
Raleigh N.C.

WASHINGTON, June 19 (AP)—The Senate today began unusual parliamentary maneuvering which may determine whether it acts this year on civil right legislation, described by President Eisenhower as the "moderate, decent thing to do."

Shortly after Eisenhower told his news conference the measure did not aim at "persecution of anybody," Sen. Knowland (R-Calif) made the first move in the Senate to hasten debate on the bill. The showdown on his strategy is expected tomorrow.

Knowland, the Senate Republican leader, announced he would object if any senator requested two readings of the House-passed bill today—since that could lead the way to referring it to the Senate Judiciary Committee.

The aim of Knowland and a group of Republicans and Northern Democrats is to by-pass the Judiciary Committee, which has been considering civil rights legislation for six months, and bring the House bill directly to the Senate floor.

Sen. Russell (D-Ga) followed up Knowland's announcement by going through the motion of requesting that the bill be routed in the usual fashion to the Judiciary Committee.

Knowland and Sen. Douglas (D-Ill) quickly chimed in with objections, moving Russell to comment: "Two souls with but a single thought, two hearts that beat as one."

The objections automatically put off a second reading of the bill until tomorrow. The second reading must precede an expected motion by Knowland to place the bill directly on the Senate calendar.

The GOP leader's strategy is to invoke a little-used rule which Russell argued is out of date. The Southerner said that to use the rule "will set a precedent that will haunt the leadership in this body for years to come."

10 1957

World P.1 Atlanta, Ga.

Experts See Rights Bills Being Enacted By Congress

BY LOUIS LAUTIER

Washington Correspondent, Atlanta Daily World and NNPA News Service

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (NNPA) — The 85th Congress appears to be moving definitely toward enactment of civil rights legislation with the Democratic leadership having agreed to bring the issue to a head.

Senate sources disclosed Friday that civil rights advocates and Senator Lyndon B. Johnson, of Texas, the Majority Leader, have agreed on the calling up of a civil rights bill and the strategy that is used to break a southern filibuster if one should develop.

If debate cannot be limited on such a bill, efforts to break the filibuster will be made by around-the-clock sessions and strict enforcement of Senate rules.

The key rules in a physical endurance contest are those which limit a Senator to two speeches upon any one question on the same day and which forbid a Senator who is speaking to yield to another Senator for any purpose other than the asking of a question.

AROUND THE CLOCK

A legislative day may run as long as a majority of the Senate wishes simply by recessing instead of adjourning. But if around-the-clock sessions are held, there would be no recess or adjournment until the filibuster was broken or the leadership decided to withdraw the pending bill.

Under strict enforcement of Senate rules, if a Senator who has the floor yields to another Senator for any purpose other than the asking of a question, that Senator loses the floor and is charged with one of the two speeches he is entitled to make.

Enforcement of these rules will be easy since Vice President Nixon, who is on the side of the liberals in the rules change and civil rights fights, will be occupying the chair.

MINORITY LEADER

Senator Johnson, it is understood, will not fight the civil rights bill that is called up, although he is opposed to civil rights legislation.

Senator William F. Knowland, of California, the minority leader will seek to put through the Administration's civil rights program. But a Democratic-sponsored civil rights bill is likely to be the one to reach the Senate floor.

Swift action on civil rights is indicated on both the House and Senate sides. The NNPA learned Friday that Representative Emanuel Celler, of New York, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, plans to act promptly to have a bill reported out of his committee.

Just how long delaying action can be carried on by Representative Howard W. Smith, of Virginia, chairman of the House Rules Committee, depends upon how determined a majority of the committee is to send a civil rights bill to the House floor.

Last year Smith, aided by Representative William M. Colmer, Democrat, of Mississippi, held the bill up in the Rules Committee for nearly a month. Their purpose was to keep it from being passed by the House and sent to the Senate in time for that body o act on it before adjournment of the Congress.

Senator Thomas C. Hennings, Democrat, of Missouri, told reporters Friday that he plans to proceed immediately with the four civil rights bills he introduced on Jan. 9.

HENNINGS BILLS

Co-sponsors of the Hennings bills are Senators Joseph C. O'Mahoney Democrat, of Wyoming, and William Langer, Republican, of North Dakota.

Hennings, O'Mahoney and Langer constitute the Constitutional Rights subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, which approved the identical bills last year only to have them bottled up in the full committee, of which Senator James O. Eastland, Dixiecrat, of Mississippi, is chairman.

Two of the Hennings — O'Mahoney- Langer bills are similar to provisions in the Administration bill, introduced on Jan. 7, by Senator Everett M. Dirksen, Republican, of Illinois, for himself and a number of other Senators. Dirksen also is a member of the Judiciary Committee.

The Hennings bill would:

1. Protect the right to vote in Federal elections and primaries.
2. Create a civil rights division in the Justice Department, headed by an Assistant Attorney General.
3. Make lynching and mob violence a Federal offense.
4. Make violence against a member of the Armed Forces a Federal offense.

Since all members of his subcommittee are sponsors of these bills, and since these bills were approved by his subcommittee last year, Senator Hennings said, he will not even bother to hold a meeting of the subcommittee, but will get approval for reporting these bills by telephone Senator O'Mahoney and Langer.

Senator Hennings, who also is chairman of the Senate Rules Committee, said civil rights legislation should come up before the rules change.

"I think we have the votes to invoke cloture (shut off debate) if necessary,' said Senator Hennings. "I think we ought to get these bills out of the Judiciary Committee and on the calendar."

Senator Hennings said at the first meeting of the Judiciary Committee he will move that hearings in the full committee are ended no longer than two weeks after they are begun and that there be a roll-call vote on reporting the bills favorably.

If that procedure is approved, Hennings said, Eastland will not be able to conduct a filibuster in the committee, as he did a year ago, by having Attorneys General of southern states appear as witnesses and "read from law books and intone and drone on.'

Hennings also indicated that as chairman of the Senate Rules and Administration Committee he will probably appoint himself as chairman of the rules subcommittee and conduct the hearings on the several proposals to change the cloture rule so as to curb filibustering.

He said he also thinks that the resolutions to change the rule should also be acted on promptly.

Jan. 1-15-57

Afro + C&I News P.4

Sat. 1-12-57

Washington D.C.

Humphrey Presses Civil Rights Fight

A new drive to pass a moderate civil rights program developed in the Senate following defeat of a bipartisan opening-day effort to revise Rule 22, the filibuster rule.

Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.), in behalf of himself and a group of Republicans and other Democrats, introduced 12 bills in the civil rights field and called upon the 85th Congress to assert a "claim on history" by approving "the first meaningful civil rights legislation in 80 years."

Some senators in favor of such a program suggested that a determined effort might be made, fairly early in the session, to break any southern Democratic filibuster designed to prevent a vote.

Attack Rule 22

Continuation of Rule 22 in its old form—a situation temporarily guaranteed by defeat of the revision effort—means that the votes of at least 64 senators would be needed to invoke closure of debate and force a civil rights measure to a decision.

New attacks were launched on Rule 22, however, by both Democrats and Republicans. Resolutions were introduced to alter the rule by allowing filibusters to be closed, after stated periods of debate, by either two-thirds of senators voting or by a majority of no less than 49 senators.

It was uncertain whether basic civil rights legislation or a second full-scale effort to reform the rules would be scheduled first for the floor. If civil rights sponsors feel they can get 64 votes to break a filibuster, they presumably would push the basic bills.

On the House side, Chairman Emanuel Celler (D-N. Y.) of the Judiciary Committee introduced an eight-point civil rights bill somewhat "more comprehensive" than the Eisenhower-backed bipartisan measure passed by the House in 1956.

The Celler bill included the bipartisan bill and proposed stronger sanctions to enforce anti-lynching and anti-discrimination clauses.

Should Be Enacted

Humphrey said that "at least five" of his proposed bills "could and should be enacted by this Congress." These include a measure to provide federal guarantees of the right to vote, a bill protecting members of the armed forces, a bill forbidding race discrimination in interstate transportation, a fourth to establish a Civil Rights Division in the Justice Dept., a fifth to create a Civil Rights Commission.

Three of these bills—on voting guarantees, the Justice Dept. and the commission—were passed by the House last year after approval by the Administration, the Minnesota Democrat pointed out. Another has been favorably reported by a Senate Judiciary subcommittee, and hearings have been held on all.

The opening-day battle on Rule 22 was ended when the Senate voted 55 to 38 to table a motion by Sen. Clinton D. Anderson (D-N. M.) to "adopt" its rules. The purpose of Anderson's motion was to allow modification of Rule 22 without running into a filibuster.

The argument centered, technically, on whether or not as a "continuing" body the Senate had "continuing" rules or must approve rules afresh at the opening of each session.

Anderson and a bipartisan group of co-sponsors argued that each new Senate should adopt its rules. Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson (D-Tex.) and Minority Leader William F. Knowland (R-Calif.) led the opposition.

On a parliamentary inquiry, Vice Pres. Nixon as presiding officer expressed the opinion both that the Senate was a "continuing" body but that one section of the old Rule 22 was "unconstitutional." He gave no suggestion about how to correct the "unconstitutional" feature.

Johnson called up his motion to table the Anderson proposal after permitting six hours of debate.

Anderson and his co-sponsors were cheered by the increase in the support for their side since four years ago. In 1953 an identical Anderson motion was tabled by a 70 to 21 vote. Opponents of Rule 22 this year gained 17 votes and could have counted on additional support from three absentees.

Southern Forces Ready For Civil Rights Fight

Star, Sun. 1-13-57
Washington, D.C. P. 12

By the Associated Press

Senator Russell, Democrat of Georgia, yesterday threw down the gauntlet to advocates of civil rights legislation who contend this is their victory year.

Senator Russell, leader of the Southern forces and an acknowledged master of parliamentary tactics, told a reporter that he is "well aware of the fact that there is great political pressure for the passage of these misnamed civil rights bills."

But he said that if the measures reach the Senate floor, they will run into resolute opposition from Senators who, he said, are determined to defend "the constitutional rights of the States and the people."

Past attempts to pass civil rights measures have been defeated by Southern filibusters, or the threats of filibusters, but Senator Humphrey, Democrat of Minnesota, and other supporters of the legislation say they have excellent prospects of victory this year.

Sees Filibuster Broken

Earlier last week a highly influential Senate Democrat, who was unwilling to be quoted by name, said the outlook is that civil rights legislation will be passed fairly early in the present Senate session.

This source, who has not been known as an advocate of such measures, predicted that a Southern filibuster—the use of dilatory debate and parliamentary maneuvering to prevent a vote—will be broken after a month or so.

Senator Russell said he had told Georgia constituents even before the session started that there was "greater danger" of civil rights legislation this year than in the past, but he emphasized he was not conceding defeat or compromising the issue.

Last year the House passed but the Senate Judiciary Committee, headed by Senator Eastland, Democrat of Mississippi, never acted on the civil rights program advocated by President Eisenhower.

This program provides for Federal court action to protect voting and other rights, the establishment of a civil rights division in the Justice Department, and the creation of a presidential commission to investigate complaints of civil rights violations.

10th Amendment Stressed

These measures have been reintroduced in the present Congress, and Mr. Eisenhower urged them anew in his state-of-the-Union message two days ago. Some Northern Democrats have offered a more extensive civil rights program.

Senator Russell said that while he was aware of the political pressure behind the bills, he believed that "orderly procedure" would be followed and that "there will be regular committee hearings on these bills before they come to the floor."

"If they reach the floor in their present form," he added, "they will be vigorously resisted by a resolute group of Senators who still believe that the 10th Amendment is still in the Constitution and that the States still have definite rights that these bills would take away by the unconstitutional process of repealing express provisions of the Constitution by statute."

The 10th Amendment reserves to the States and the people all powers not delegated to the Federal Government.

Southerners Hold Meetings

Southern Senators have held at least three closed-door meetings in Senator Russell's office since the present session started to discuss the civil rights situation and efforts to revise Senate rules to make it easier to break filibusters.

Asked if there were any prospect of a compromise, Senator Russell said: "I will not compromise in the slightest degree where the constitutional rights of my State and her people are involved."

An initial effort to revise Senate rules went down to defeat, but since then a number of proposals to curb filibusters have been introduced and a Senate rules subcommittee is expected to conduct extensive hearings on them.

Senator Knowland of California and Senator Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, the Senate Republican and Democratic leaders, are co-sponsors of one of the proposals. It would permit two-thirds of the Senators present and voting to shut off a filibuster. It now takes the votes of 64 Senators, or two-thirds of the entire membership.

Senate Adopts Committee Lists

Post and Times Herald P. A2
Thurs. 1-10-57

By Raymond Lahr
United Press

Sen. James O. Eastland of Mississippi, a leader in the fight against civil rights legislation, was renamed chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee yesterday despite opposition from Sen. Paul H. Douglas (D-Ill.)

The action came as the full Senate confirmed Democratic and Republican committee assignments for the new 85th Congress. The only audible no came from Douglas although he said Sen. Joseph S. Clark Jr. would have voted with him if Clark had been present.

Douglas rose to announce that he was forced to vote against the reelection of Eastland as chairman of the judiciary group which will handle President Eisenhower's four-point civil rights program.

Move Called Painful

The Illinois Senator said the move was "painful" to him because he enjoyed pleasant personal relations with his Mississippi colleague and did not question Eastland's sincerity on the civil rights issue.

Douglas also said his action was prompted by the fact that seniority no longer appeared to be a controlling factor in Democratic committee assignments.

This was an obvious reference to the fact that the Democrats passed over Sen. Estes Kefauver (D-Tenn.) to name Sen. John F. Kennedy (Mass.) to a coveted seat on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee although Kefauver has four years seniority.

Sen. Wayne L. Morse (D-Ore.), who criticized Eastland's election as Judiciary Committee chairman last year, said he had not changed his position.

But he explained that he is preparing a resolution ruling out seniority as a controlling factor in choosing committee members or chairmen. Sens. Richard L. Neuberger (D-Ore.) and John A. Carroll (D-Colo.) said they shared Morse's view.

Other Assignments

The Republicans, who made their committee assignments earlier in the day, hewed strictly to the seniority custom. The prize assignments went to Senators with the longest service.

Sen. William E. Jenner (R-Ind.) won the most sought after GOP vacancy. He was shifted from the Rules Committee to the Finance Committee which handles tax, tariff and social security bills.

The GOP conference gave seats on the Armed Services Committee to Sens. Prescott Bush (R-Conn.) and Frank Barrett (R-Wyo.). Bush and Barrett had to relinquish their seats on the Public Works Committee and the Rules Committee, respectively.

Other assignments: Sen. Roman Hruska (R-Neb.), from the District of Columbia Committee to the more influential Judiciary Committee. Sen. Gordon Allot (R-Colo.), from the District of Columbia to the Interior Committee. Sen. Morris Cotton (R-N. H.) from the Government Operations to the Interstate Commerce Committee. Sen. Carl T. Curtis (R-Neb.), from the Post Office Committee to the Government Operations Committee; Sen. John Sherman Cooper (R-Ky.) to the Labor Committee and the Rules Committee.

Sen. Jacob K. Javits (R-N. Y.) to the Rules and District of Columbia Committees. Sen. Thruston Morton (R-Ky.), to the District of Columbia and Post Office Committees.

Sen. Chapman Revercomb (R-W. Va.), to the Government Operations and Public Works Committees.

Jenner's departure from the Rules Committee left Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R-Wis.) as its ranking Republican. McCarthy waived his seniority rights, however, and Curtis was designated ranking Republican and party spokesman on the Committee.

The conference also voted to expand its party policy committee from 12 to 15 members.

ILLINOIS SENATOR SPONSORS 4-POINT CIVIL RIGHTS BILL

Advocate P.1
Jackson, Miss.
Sat. 1-12-57

Washington, Jan. 8 — Sen. Everett M. Dirksen (R-Ill) today sponsored a four-point bill embracing President Eisenhower's civil rights program.

Dirksen told a reporter he has 30 co-sponsors for the legislation, which he said he is asking to be held on the Senate desk so others may add their signatures.

The Illinois Republican said he thinks there is a "good chance" of passage this year of the bill which would:

1. Create a bipartisan commission to investigate racial segregation complaints.

2. Set up a civil rights division in the justice department.

3. Expand the authority of the attorney general to protect the rights of individuals through civil action in the courts.

4. Protect voting rights of individuals.

Dirksen said that "in my judgment this represents a minimum civil rights program and I hope that we can get favorable action on it in the Senate Judiciary Committee without delay."

The committee is headed by Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss.) who opposes civil rights measures.

Dirksen said he saw no reason for extensive hearings because it is similar to legislation on which the committee held hearings last year.

The House passed a bill last July containing the four points, but the measure died when the Senate failed to act on it.

Meanwhile, two similar bills to change the Senate's controversial rule on filibusters were being readied. But the co-sponsor of one predicted the measure will wind up in the wastebasket.

Advocate P.4

GOP'S PRESS ACTION ON CIVIL RIGHTS BILL

Commercial Appeal
Memphis Tenn.

House Sets Debate June 5 —Douglas And Eastland Tangle In Senate

Wed. 5-29-57

From The Commercial Appeal Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, May 28. — House leaders agreed Tuesday to start debate on the Administration's controversial Civil Rights Bill on June 5.

House Republican leader Joseph W. Martin Jr. (R., Mass.) said general debate would continue through June 10. He predicted passage by June 12 or 13.

Senate Republican leader William Knowland (R., Calif.) said Republicans will make a determined drive to bring the measure to the Senate floor as soon as the House passes it.

Two Senators Clash

He said "several alternative moves" are being considered to prevent the bill from staying bottled up in the Judiciary Committee, headed by Senator James O. Eastland (D., Miss.).

The statements by the two Republican leaders followed a White House conference and came before an exchange between Senator Eastland and Senator Paul Douglas (D., Ill.), a strong advocate of the measure.

Senator Douglas accused the Senate Judiciary Committee of delaying action on the measure. Denying Dixie members of the committee are "filibustering," Senator Eastland said:

"Let me say we have proceeded, I think, with effective deliberation as to the issues. I think the consideration has been very helpful. It is a bill which would change our form of government and deprive the American people of some of their most basic rights.

"I think we should go very carefully into these questions and bring to the Senate a bill that will protect the liberties guaranteed to the American people in the Bill of Rights."

Belittles Jury Trial

Senator Douglas complained that Senate sessions have been scheduled so as to assure short committee sessions, noting that under rules the committee cannot meet while the Senate is in session.

Senator Douglas said Southerners are making "a great to-do" over the right of trial by jury. He said "our Southern friends" are afraid of Southern Federal judges because they have lifetime tenure, while jurymen who rendered a verdict against a white man for preventing a Ne... posed to economic pressure and ... go from voting could be "ex-... possibly physical pressure."

10 1957

Ike Undercutting Dixie On Rights, Davis Fears

Constitution Sat. 6-8-57

Atlanta, Ga. P.1

By ALBERT RILEY
Constitution Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON, June 7—Reps. J. L. Pilcher and James Davis said today they fear Southern congressmen are losing ground in their fight for a civil rights jury trial amendment because of intense White House pressure.

The Georgians voiced their concern as debate raged for the third day in the House over the

Ohioan rips Powell on rights. Page 2.

administration's controversial civil rights bill.

"The White House is really putting on the pressure," Pilcher said as he declared that a representative of Sherman Adams has been buttonholing Republican members to oppose the jury trial proviso.

HOPES TIDE MAY SHIFT

"I don't believe we are in as good shape as we were on the first day," Pilcher said, although he expressed hope that the tide may yet shift back toward the Southern viewpoint.

Davis agreed with Pilcher that the White House and House Minority Leader Martin (Mass) are "really working on the Republicans."

"Up until yesterday we had a 50-50 chance of getting the jury trial amendment adopted," Davis said. "I don't know now whether we have that good a chance or not."

SOME RESENT PRESSURE

Pilcher said that if President Eisenhower would leave the situation alone there would be no trouble in getting the jury trial agreement. As it is, he added, some Republicans are resentful of the White House pressure.

Rep. Paul Brown became the first Georgian to make a speech against the bill as he took the House floor to argue that defendants should be entitled to a jury trial in civil rights contempt cases.

Davis and Pilcher joined in the floor fight as Northern liberals and Southern conservatives fired question after question at each other in debate.

Constitution

CITES ATLANTA ELECTION

At one point, Davis challenged an assertion by Rep. Santangelo, (D-NY), a civil rights backer, that Negroes are denied the right to vote in the South.

P.3

In a recent city election in Atlanta, Davis told the House, 76 per cent of the registered Negro voters went to the polls against 36 per cent of the registered white voters. Furthermore, Davis said, since 1956 Negro registration in Atlanta has risen 9 per cent compared to only a 6 per cent increase in white registration.

Sat. 6-8-57

Rep. E. L. Forrester threw the House into an uproar when he, too, challenged Santangelo's assertions that Southern Negroes are deprived of the right to vote.

The New Yorker quoted from a Negro's testimony before the House Judiciary Committee on alleged voting right denials in Mississippi.

DIDN'T FACE A TEST

Forrester forced Santangelo to admit that the testimony came from an NAACP representative and then told the New Yorker that the NAACP testimony was "strictly heresay and opinionated."

The Georgian then told the House that the governor of Mississippi not only declared that the NAACP testimony was untrue but challenged the witness to prove his assertions. The NAACP spokesman failed to accept the challenge, Forrester said.

Pointing his finger at them and taking on both Santangelo and Rep. Fulton (R-Pa), in a hot exchange, Forrester said that none of the pro-civil rights testimony in the hearings would have been admissable in court.

Rep. Brown, in his speech against the bill, said it would grant

nterprise rather unhappily, as he nce.

live in peace and let it have communism only when the people want it.

As nearly every reader knows, the Communists have their own definitions for words which mean something quite different to us. So when Khrushchev uses such a phrase as "let our peoples decide," we need to remind ourselves of how the Soviet Union goes about "letting peoples decide."

How, for example, did the Soviets let Hungary decide whether it wanted the Russian Army to crush the Hungarian revolution?

A soon-to-be-published report of a special U.N. committee declares that it has evidence that Moscow was not "invited" to send tanks and troops into Hungary, as it has claimed, but intervened when Hungarian leaders refused even at gunpoint to give such an "invitation."

in the names of private parties," he added.

Noting that the Norris-LaGuardia Act guaranteed organized labor the right of jury trial in contempt cases, Brown said:

"The accused are entitled to their day in court for contempt cases growing out of labor disputes and for contempt cases growing out of so-called civil rights cases. To the American people, this day in court means a trial by jury.

CONTRARY TO CONSTITUTION

"To dispense with jury trials in the proposed legislation is contrary to the Constitution of the United States, existing statutory authority and the inherent conception of American justice."

The Southerners got a strong Northern Republican ally in debate when Rep. Noah Mason (Ill) arose to say the GOP side of the House needed "the gospel according to Noah."

In the strongest verbal attack of the day on the bill, Mason declared it would violate the 10th Amendment of the Constitution, which guarantees states' rights, and charged that any member of the House who voted for it would be violating his oath of office to uphold and defend the Constitution.

Defending Southern customs, Mason said "laws reflect reform and never induce reform" as he declared that the bill's proposed "cure is worse than the disease."

QUOTES LINCOLN

Mason quoted Chief Justices Marshall and Hughes and also Abraham Lincoln to back up his constitutional arguments, and in effect charged Eisenhower with welshing on his pre-election statements supporting the rights of the states.

The Georgia delegation joined other Southerners in applauding Mason and also Rep. Hays (D-Ohio), who cut loose with a blast at Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D-NY), Negro congressman and civil rights advocate.

Jury Trials Are Cautious Approach

Herald Fri. 6-7-57 P.6-A

Reason Vs. Emotionalism On Civil Rights

Miami, Fla.

By DAVID LAWRENCE

WASHINGTON — It was a wise move on the part of the Senate Judiciary Committee this week to recommend that jury trials be provided by law in contempt cases arising out of the enforcement of "civil rights."

LAWRENCE

It will do more to help the cause of public understanding on the integration - segregation issue and similar questions than anything Congress or the courts have done thus far.

This is because the action by the Senate committee comes at a time when emotion has been substituted for reason in many parts of both the north and the south in dealing with matters of law and constitutional rights.

A dramatic example was the case last week in Montgomery, Ala., when a white jury acquitted two white men who were defendants in a case involving the dynamiting of a Negro church. No one was injured, but property was damaged.

It was apparent from the way the case was summed up by the prosecuting attorney and defense counsel that the issues were presented in the background of current antagonisms.

Although the defendants had signed a confession, the claim was made that it had been irregularly processed—that it wasn't made at police headquarters but in a hotel room under circumstances which led to the expression of many doubts.

★ ★ ★

THIS CORRESPONDENT spent the weekend in Alabama and talked to many people about the integration question. Notwithstanding the individual beliefs of citizens generally, it is fair to say that many people who are on the anti-integration side were shocked by the verdict of the jury at Montgomery.

Yet in some respects the verdict wasn't surprising. As one man put it, "Why should not 12 men in Alabama express their feelings in a verdict, when nine sociologists on the Supreme Court do the same thing?"

Emotionalism has brought a state of tension that is not going to be cured by any provision of law denying jury trials merely because the privilege has been or might be abused.

While contempt committed inside a courtroom has always been punishable by a judge without a jury trial, and attempts to violate directly the terms of an injunction are ordinarily within the power of a judge alone to punish, the real issue is whether the judge's injunctions can be stretched to cover crimes committed outside the courtroom itself that normally are tried by juries.

It is better, therefore, for Congress to err on the side of caution and to put faith and trust in the people in all sections of the country, rather than to assume in advance that they cannot be trusted in the jury box.

To apply such faith is to follow the path of reason as against emotionalism.

IFFY

The Dopester

The last word in women's fashions isn't from Paris; it is from the irate husband who yells, "90 bucks for that gunny sack?"

Mothers insist on tucking their children into bed all safe and sound — and, ye gods, the sound!

Some women who have a passport picture taken indignantly blame the photographer.

Morgan Cites Importance of Civil Rights

AFL-CIO News Sat. 6-1-57 Washington D.C.

New York—Civil rights issues make up an important part of U.S. foreign relations, and only complete elimination of discrimination against minorities will dispel the adverse effect on other countries, Edward P. Morgan, AFL-CIO radio commentator, declared here.

P.3

Morgan addressed the 20th anniversary luncheon of the Workers Defense League as recipient of one

of the organization's four "Freedom in America" citations. He was honored for "thoughtful and balanced presentation of the facts in the integration crisis in a medium where timidity is the rule." Louis Hollander, president of the N. Y. State CIO Council, presented the citation and introduced Morgan.

Sen. Wayne Morse (D-Ore.), who received the league's 12th Clendenin Award, was the main speaker. Theme of the luncheon and three morning round table conferences was "The Right to a Job in America."

"Freedom in America" citations, in addition to Morgan, went to Murray Kempton, N. Y. Post labor columnist; Rowland Watts, civil liberties attorney, and Morris Milgram, interracial housing leader.

COMPROMISE FAILS IN FIGHT ON RIGHTS

Times P.31-C

Move to Limit Jury Trials Blocked in Senate Unit—House Debate Goes On

Tues. 6-11-57

By C. P. TRUSSELL
Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, June 10—An attempt to compromise on the jury trial issue in civil rights contemp tcase swere blocked in the Senate Judiciary Committee today.

New York

The Southern demand for a guarantee of jury trials in the bill has become the biggest issue in the latest attempt by the Administration to get a civil rights program through Congress.

The House of Representatives, meanwhile, completed three days of general debate on the program. For the most part Southern Democrats, who oppose the bill, held the floor. Other Southerners whote their speeches and inserted them, under unanimous consent, into the Congressional Record as though they had made them orally.

10

Nearly all of them spoke for jury trials for persons accused of violating court injunctions against denying civil rights—particularly voting rights—on grounds of race, color, religion or national origin. In mst contempt proceedigs, trial is by the judge who issued the injunction.

Big Battle Set Today

When the House meets tomorrow the real fight will start. Proposed amendments, most of them designed to weaken the rights program, are piling up. The rule that admitted the legislation to the House floor put no limit upon th enumber of amendments tha tcould be offered.

The length of speeches on amendments is limited in the House. However, it takes unanimous consent to put an over-all time limit on the aggregate debate and thus limit the number of speakers. In the past limited debate has often lasted longer than the general debate that proceded it.

It appeared that the House, which is expected to pass a civil rights bill by a large majority, would not reach a final vote before Thursday or Friday. House debate focused today, as it did last week, almost entirely upon the jury trial issue.

Law Deans Protest

In the midst of House debate a telegram signed by three deans of law schools was delivered to Representatives Emanuel Celler, the Brooklyn Democrat heading the House Judiciary Committee, and Kenneth B. Keating of upstate New York, ranking Republican on that panel.

The senders were Eugene V. Rostow of the Yale Law School, William C. Warren of Columbia Law School and Jefferson B. Fordham of the Law School of the University of Pennsylvania.

"While we full support trial by jury in its proper sphere," they wired, "we fear that its unnecessary injection into this legislation will only hamper and delay the Department of Justice and the courts in carrying out their constitutional duty to protect voting and other rights of citizens."

Compromise Is Offered

Senator Thomas C. Hennings Jr., the Missouri Democrat who heads the Constitutional Rights Committee, tried to offer an amendment under which jury trials would be guaranteed only in cases of criminal contempt.

It was not considered by the committee because Senator Olin D. Johnston, Democrat of South Carolina, was reading a long memorandum on another proposed amendment.

Senator Everett M. Dirksen, Republican of Illinois, called it a filibuster within the committee.

Douglas Opposes Amendment

Senator Paul H. Douglas, Democrat of Illinois, contended in a floor speech that the jury-right amendment, if adopted, would restrict rather than amplify the right of Negroes to vote or serve on juries. Juries, Mr. Douglas pointed out, usually were selected from lists of voters. In most Southern states, he said, the voting lists are composed almost entirely of white persons.

So, Senator Douglas asserted, whites accused of contempt in denying civil rights to Negroes would have trials conducted before white juries.

"These jurors, in most Southern states," he said, "would probably not convict a fellow white man for preventing a Negro from voting."

FOES OF CIVIL RIGHTS LOSE THREE ROUNDS

Commercial Appeal
Memphis Tenn.

Only One Change Accepted In House Voting

Wed 6-12-57

WOULD CURB SUBPENAS

By MORRIS CUNNINGHAM
From The Commercial Appeal Washington Bureau

12

WASHINGTON, June 11.—Chances for House approval of a jury trial amendment to the Administration's Civil Rights Bill grew dimmer Tuesday as opponents of the measure lost three initial skirmishes.

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The opposition's only victory, as the House started considering amendments to the bill, came with the adoption of an amendment slightly curbing the subpena powers of a civil rights commission the measure would create.

The opposition lost an opening motion by Representative Clare E. Hoffman (R., Mich.) to kill the whole bill by striking its enacting clause. The motion was shouted down on a voice vote.

The Michigan Republican attacked the cost of the civil rights program the bill would launch. He also assailed the bill's denial of jury trials in contempt cases, and declared it would give the attorney general "dictatorial powers."

'Dust In Air'

Representative Emanuel Celler (D., N. Y.), Judiciary Committee chairman and Democratic floor leader for the bill, retorted Mr. Hoffman was trying to "throw a lot of dust in the air."

The opposition next lost a motion to limit debate to 30 minutes on the next amendment—a proposal by Representative H. R. Gross (R., Iowa) to eliminate the proposed civil rights commission. The debate-limiting motion carried 121 to 89.

The third defeat came with the rejection of the Gross amendment, 127 to 88, despite spirited Southern speeches and support for it.

The opposition's lone victory was chalked up near the end of Tuesday's six-hour session with the approval, 116 to 89, of an amendment by Representative J. Carlton Loser (D., Tenn.).

It would prohibit the proposed civil rights commission—which would be authorized to air racial and religious grievances at public hearings—from subpenaing a witness to testify outside his home state.

Maiden House Speech

As written, the bill would have permitted witnesses to be subpenaed from anywhere inside multi-state Federal judicial circuits.

A freshman member and former district attorney in Nashville, Mr. Loser delivered his maiden House speech in behalf of his amendment. He pointed out that, as drawn, the bill would permit the commission to call witnesses from Nashville to appear in Detroit, and from El Paso, Texas, to appear in Miami.

Arguing as he has many times to juries in criminal cases, the Nashvillian drew support from some proponents of the bill.

At the outset of Tuesday's session, Southerners were denied the right to offer amendments to any section of the bill regardless of the particular section under consideration. Proponents insisted the measure be considered for amendments on an orderly basis, beginning with the first page.

This delayed the opportunity for offering the jury trial amendment until consideration of the measure has reached the pertinent section. The effect was to give opponents additional time to seek votes.

Peak Believed Past

While continuing their own efforts, Southerners privately conceded they may have reached their peak strength last week. They reported Administration forces and labor union leaders are beginning to woo away some of the votes upon which they had relied.

The Southerners also reported feeling among some Midwest and Western Republicans that the Senate will kill the bill. They said these members thus feel freed of responsibility and many probably will vote against the jury trial amendment and for the bill to make a record with thier pro-civil rightist constituents back home.

With the Democrats divided between the Northern and Southern members, the Republicans will determine the fate of the amendment as well as the bill.

The House will be in recess Wednesday to permit members to visit Hampton Roads, Va., for an international naval review. Consideration of the bill will be resumed at noon Thursday.

Anti-Rights Solons Man Battle Stations

Journal & Constitution
Sun. 6-2-57 P.6-a

Virginia Congressman Smith Will Direct Dixie Tactics; Davis, Flynt, Forrester Help

Atlanta Ga.

By HAROLD DAVIS
Atlanta Journal Washington Correspondent
Atlanta Journal Bureau 1426 G Street, NW

10

WASHINGTON, D.C., June 1—Rep. Howard W. Smith of Virginia will be Southern floor leader in the fight beginning Wednesday against the Civil Rights Bill in the House of Representatives.

Mr. Smith, now serving his 14th term as a Virginia congressman, is chairman of the House Rules Committee. His long-time acquaintanceship with the rules of the body, as well as his all-out opposition to civil rights legislation, made him a natural choice as chief Southern leader on the floor.

Rep. H. W. Smith

Rep. William M. Colmer of Mississippi, now in his 12th term, also will be influential in calling the shots for the Southerners. He has been named chairman of the whole Southern group.

Rep. James C. Davis of Stone Mountain will act as Southern parliamentarian. His job will be to gain as much time as possible by delaying tactics. This will be difficult, because general debate on the bill is limited to four days.

Mr. Davis, if he is successful, will have to delay proceedings when amendments come up and when the rules themselves are being considered.

* * *

REP. E. L. FORRESTER of Leesburg will be in charge of the amendments which the South hopes to hang on the civil rights bill. He and his fellow Southerners on the House Judiciary Committee will attempt insofar as possible to get non-Southerners to sponsor the amendments.

Rep. Thomas G. Abernethy of Mississippi most likely will be the Southern whip. It will be his duty to see that Southern congressmen are present either in the House Chamber or cloakroom while the bill is under consideration.

Although it is not official, it is understood that Rep. John J. Flynt Jr. of Griffin will be whip for the Georgia delegation. He will see that the Georgians are there when their votes are needed.

This Southern team is identical with the organization put together last year to fight the Civil Rights Bill at that session.

* * *

THE MEASURE passed the House despite Southern efforts. It died in the Senate. Observers are predicting unanimously the same thing will happen in the House again this year. What the Senate will do now is in doubt.

The general debate on the Civil Rights Bill, which carries the full backing of the Eisenhower administration, is tentatively scheduled to run Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday of next week.

Amendments will be considered the following week—probably Monday and Tuesday—and the bill then will come up for a vote.

10 1957

Stall On Civil Rights Bill Blamed On Sen. Eastland

Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

Sat. 6-8-57 1.5

Douglas says tactics 'close to filibuster'

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON, (NNPA) — Senator Paul Douglas (Dem., Ill.) stirred a hot debate on the Senate floor Tuesday when he charged opponents of civil rights with seeking to defeat or gut the bill through a filibuster in the Senate Judiciary Committee.

Senator James O. Eastland, of Mississippi, chairman of the Judiciary Committee, protested that he was presiding in accordance with Senate and committee rules and that he has no alternative except to recognize the first Senator seeking recognition.

* * *

THE EISENHOWER Administration proposals are embodied in a bill sponsored by Senator Thomas C. Hennings (Dem. Mo.,) and Senator Everett M. Dirksen, (Rep., Ill.)

The Constitutional Rights subcommittee, of which Hennings is chairman, heard 70 witnesses, most of them opponents of the legislation, in 13 days of hearings between Feb. 4 and Mar. 5. The subcommittee approved the bill on Mar. 19.

Opposition to the bill in the full committee has consisted of Eastland and Senators Olin D. Johnston of South Carolina, John L. McClellan of Arkansas, and Sam J. Ervin, of North Carolina.

THEY FIRST delayed consideration of the bill by insisting that the mimeographed report from the Constitutional Rights subcommittee and the hearings be printed before Ervin began writing the minority report.

Then, after a month's delay, Hennings found it impossible to get the floor to move that the committee report the bill. As soon as the committee met, Eastland would recognize Ervin

The North Carolinian would talk until the bells rang for the Senate to convene. Johnston would then make the point of order that the Senate was in session and no further business could be transacted.

*****

FINALLY, ON April 29, the committee made the civil rights bill the pending business. Eastland immediately recognized McClellan who offered a right-to-work amendment.

A week later Ervin offered a substitute for the right-to-work amendment. It would have stripped the bill of three-fourths of its provisions. But on May 20 the Ervin substitute was defeated, 6 to 4, leaving the right-to-work amendment the pending business..... ....

In his remarks Tuesday, Douglas quoted from an article which appeared in The New York Times. The article said "a civil-rights bill of some sorts is likely to become law before this session ends, but it will be a law whose terms have been dictated largely by the southern opponents."

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EASTLAND told Douglas that the four southern members of the Judiciary Committee "cannot dictate anything. I wish we could."

Eastland, who is an old hand at filibustering, denied that there was any filibuster going on in his committee.

Since Ervin wrote the minority report of the subcommittee, Eastland said, the committee has proceeded "with effective deliveration."

"I think the Senator is unfair in saying there is a filibuster," Eastland said. "There is no filibuster that I know anything about."

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DOUGLAS HAD not used the word "filibuster" but he repeated his charge that "defeat or emasculation by delay continued to be the strategy of those opposed to the enactment of civil rights legislation, subject to what, with charity, could be called extended debate in the whole Judiciary Committee.

The accounts of two or three of the committee meetings, Douglas said, indicated that "something close to a filibuster has been taking place."

He referred specifically to the meeting at which Eastland promptly recognized Ervin, who, in a most amusing fashion, talked about an hour and a half on subjects somewhat extraneous to the issue.

AT THAT meeting, Eastland said, Ervin proposed that the Senate bill be not taken up until after the House has acted on a similar measure and that then the committee meet daily to act on the bill.

Republicans turned down the proposal, although "I could think of nothing fairer," Eastland said.

Douglas replied that it was "extraordinary how everything has been dovetailed in together, whether by accident or design, to prevent any action."

"It is extraordinary that, while the Senate has been in recess or adjournment on other days, it has never been in recess or adjournment on Monday," Douglas said, adding:

"Sometimes the Senate does not met on Tuesday, sometimes it does not meet on Wednesday, sometimes it does not meet on Tuesday, somedom meets on Friday, and almost never meets on Saturday, but it always meets on Monday at 12 o'clock..."

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SENATOR Clifford P. Case, Republican, of New Jersey, interrupted Douglas to point out that the Senate meets at 11 a.m., on some Mondays.

The significance of this is that Mondays are the regular weekly meeting day for the Judiciary Committee. It convenes at 10:30 a.m. If the Senate meets at 11 a.m., the committee meeting can last only a half hour.

Senator Lyndon B. Johnson, of Texas, the Majority Leader, determines the days on which the Senate meets. Presently, the Senate is operating on a three-day a week schedule—Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays.

If Johnson shifted the Monday sessions to Tuesday or Thursday, the Judiciary Committee could sit all day and consider the civil rights bill.

The convening of the Senate at noon or 11 o'clock on Mondays, Douglas said, enabled "dilatory and delaying actions" to be carried on in committee.

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DOUGLAS CHARGED that Senate rules and procedures and Judiciary Committee procedure "have all been nicely interlaced to delay and impede any effective vote on the civil rights measure."

He added that he was sure that when Eastland returns to Mississippi "he does not emphasize any speed he uses in bringing such a bill to the floor" and that "when he talks confidentially, or even less than confidentially to his constituents, he lays due stress upon delay and dilatory tactics to impede a vote on the measure."

Eastland said he is "just the errand boy" for the committee.

"Although on other matters he is the soul of expedition," Douglas replied, "in this case he is a most dilatory errand boy."

CALLING FOR the 11 other Judiciary Committee members to report the bill, Senator Hubert Humphrey, Democrat, of Minnesota, said: "If four southern members are so smart that they can bottle up the 11 other Senators, then believe me, the other 11 ought to do some thinking."

Douglas declared that personally he will not accept "a civil - rights bill which is stripped of its teeth and rendered ineffective."

He said the Hennings-Dirksen bill "is itself a tremendous reduction below the real need in the field of civil rights."

SENATOR Spessard L. Holland, Democrat, of Florida, argued that it was more important to extend the right to vote to the people who are barred from voting because of the poll-tax requirement in five states than to protect the right of people who already have the right to vote.

Holland pointed out that he and other southern Senators were sponsoring a resolution to amend the Federal Constitution to abolish the poll tax as a requirement for voting in Federal elections.

Senator Jacob K. Javits, Republican, of New York, joined with Senator Case in supporting Douglas.

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ATTACKING THE Ervin argument that the civil rights bill would deprive persons of jury trials, Javits said:

"We cannot shut our eyes to the fact that we would be destroying the very civil remedy we would create by this legislation if we lent ourselves to the idea that this now gives new sanction, in a contempt proceeding where the United States is the complainant, to jury trials."

The bill would empower the Attorney General to bring civil suits to enjoin threatened violations of the right to vote and other civil rights.

83 Congressmen Back Rights Bill

Defender Chicago, Ill.

Sat. 6-8-57 1.12

By ETHEL PAYNE

WASHINGTON—In a joint statement on civil rights 83 democratic House members last week pledged all-out support for Civil Rights HR 6127, and announced their determination to resist any crippling amendment thereto.

It is obviously said that Democrats alone can not pass any civil rights legislation, and H.R. 6127 represents a truly bi-partisan program. It is based upon recommendation made by both the present and proceeding administrations.

In the House Judiciary Committee, the bill was stirred through to successful adoption by Chairman Emanuel Celler (D., N.Y.) and the ranking Representative member, Rep. Kenneth Keathing of N. Y.

The statement continues, "unless this bi-partisan support continues right up to final roll call vote, there will be no legislation enacted.

DEAL IN THE DOOR

The opponents of civil rights legislation think they have found a new secret weapon this year, the Democrats said, and their embrace of trial by jury should fool nobody. A jury trial for those who violate court orders designed to protect the civil rights of people would permit and encourage the violation of the civil rights statute's impurity.

The Democrat signers of the joint statement declared the President has not backed-up his recommendation with the kind of leadership which is needed to assure a legislative victory. Hinting that a deal may be in the works, the civil rights statement concludes that H.R. 6127 will be defeated or crippled only if a deal is worked out between Southern members and some representative members.

Rep. C. Metcalf (Mont.), said that mention of a possible deal had been made openly in House Rules Committee and he quoted chairman Howard Smith of Va. as saying, "the door would be left open for a deal."

The 83 Democrats said they were also firmly opposed to Right to Work, amendment to Civil Rights Bill which they called a cynical maneuver by opponents of civil rights. The civil rights statement concludes,

A MINOR EXPLOSION

"We earnestly call upon our Representative colleagues to join with us in this determination that 1957 shall at long last see the enactment of meaningful civil rights legislation.

The 83 signers included Cong. Charles Diggs and Cong. William

L. Dawson. The name of Cong. Adam Clayton Powell did not appear because Rep. James Roosevelt said he was not in the city at the time. However, Roosevelt added, "I am sure that Cong. Powell is in complete agreement with the statement."

Sen. Paul Douglas (D., Ill.) touched off a minor explosion on the floor of the senate when he read verbatim the speech of Rev. Martin Luther King, which was delivered at the May 17 Prayer Pilgrimage.

Douglas charged that Southern Democrats and the Senate Judiciary Committee are using delaying tactics to defeat the Civil Rights Bill. He was immediately challenged by Sen. James O. Eastland (D., Miss.), who denied that Southern members of the committee are filibustering. Eastland said the Bill proposed by the Administration would change our form of government.

Immediately following Douglas' reading of King's speech several senators on both sides of the question engaged in a two hour discussion of civil rights.

SICK AND TIRED

Senator William F. Knowland (Calif.), the Republican leader, told reporters the GOP leadership is considering several alternatives for bringing the Bill up if the Committee does not forfeit out promptly.

Senator Hubert Humphrey (D., Minn.) noticed that there are only four Southern Democrats among the 15 judiciary members and said, advocates of the bill do get the 11 votes on the other side. Humphrey's charges of delay were backed up by Sen. Clifford K. Case (R., N. J.), who said the country should know it has not happened by accident.

Sen. Spessard Holland (D., Fla.), said he is sick and tired of hearing other senators say the people of the South would not do anything constructive about civil rights. Adding, "that is not true—it will never be true." Holland proposed a constitutional amendment to abolish poll taxes in five Southern states as a substitute for the so called Right to Vote Bill. Sen. Douglas had the entire King speech inserted in the Congressional Record.

Rights Bill Wins Test In House

AFL-CIO News P. 1 Sat. 6-8-57 Washington D.C.

Supporters of civil rights legislation won their first test in the House with a 290 to 117 vote to adopt a resolution limiting debate to four days. Backers predicted passage by the end of next week.

In the Senate, however, southern opponents of the measure raised a new barrier as the Senate Judiciary Committee voted seven to three to write in a guarantee of jury trials to persons accused of violating federal court injunctions forbidding them from interfering with the right to vote.

Unlimited Amendments

The amendment, offered by Sen. Sam Ervin (D-N.C.), was a substitute for a "right-to-work" amendment proposed by Sen. John L. McClellan (D-Ark.). The latter nevertheless said that he might reword his proposal to ban union shop contracts and offer it later.

Speaker Sam Rayburn (D-Tex.), forecasting a Saturday session, said that he expected that the House would start voting on amendments June 11.

Opponents have indicated that about three dozen amendments will be offered. The rule adopted by the House allows an unlimited number. Both Democratic and Republican floor managers have said that the vote may be close on the "jury trial" amendment, which is not part of the House bill as it came from committee.

AFL-CIO News

At earlier hearings, the AFL-CIO, while favoring a measure with stronger provisions, gave its full support to the Administration measure. Democratic leaders also accepted the watered-down bill as a compromise, hoping to secure passage.

P. 12

The Ervin amendment was vigorously opposed by Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell, who said it would wreck the civil rights program. Brownell declared that to require jury trial in contempt cases would "undermine the authority of the federal courts by seriously weakening their power to enforce their lawful orders."

Criticize Leaders

Earlier, 80 Democratic congressmen had criticized Brownell and Pres. Eisenhower for their slowness in speaking out clearly on the trial-by-jury issue. In a joint statement, they pledged all-out support for the civil rights bill and promised "to resist any crippling amendments thereto."

"It is obvious that Democrats alone cannot pass any civil rights program," their statement said. "H.R. 6127 represents a truly bipartisan program. It is based on recommendations made by both the present and preceding bipartisan support continues right administrations. . . . Unless this up to the final roll-call vote, there will be no legislation enacted."

Cynical Maneuver

The 80 Democrats said that they opposed both the trial-by-jury and "right-to-work" amendments, which they called "a cynical maneuver" by opponents of civil rights. They also charged that "unfortunately the President has not backed up his recommendation with the kind of leadership which is needed to assure a legislative victory."

At his press conference on June 5, President Eisenhower was asked if he had anything to add to Brownell's remarks. In reply, the President quoted former Chief Justice William Howard Taft as saying that if an attempt is made to put a jury trial between a court order and the enforcement of that order, it is really welcoming anarchy.

Eisenhower stressed that Taft had made this comment when he was still serving as President and therefore was speaking disinterestedly, since he had not then any knowledge that he would ever serve on the nation's highest court.

DENIAL OF CIVIL RIGHTS in the U.S. is one of the major propaganda weapons being exploited by the Communists, Vice Pres. Harold Snell (center) of the Transport Service Employes told the AFL-CIO educational institute in Milwaukee. He's shown here as he checks the program with the institute's co-chairmen, Sec. J. F. Friedrick of the Milwaukee Federated Trades Council and Pres. Robert Jordan of the Milwaukee County CIO.

Dixie Loses Ground in Jury Fight

Constitution Atlanta, Ga. Thurs. 6-13-57

House GOPs Back Ike in Rights Duel

By C. P. TRUSSELL

(Copyright 1957 by The New York Times Co.)

WASHINGTON, June 12—A proposed amendment to President Eisenhower's civil rights bill that, if adopted, might kill it, lost ground in the House today.

The amendment was the South's demand for jury trials for persons violating federal court injunctions forbidding denial of voting rights to Negroes. It also called for jury trials in all cases involving violations of court orders against denials of civil rights in other fields.

Attorney General Brownell has insinuated that white juries in the South might be reluctant to vote convictions in such cases. The South has resented this implication in a furious fight to impose a jury trial guarantee upon the administration program.

DIFFERENT PICTURE

A few days ago it appeared that many Republicans were joining the Southern Democratic contingent, enough, perhaps, to put the amendment through. There was a different picture today.

"If the (Republican) members had been left alone," said Rep. Colmer (D-Miss), one of the leaders of the Southern fight, "there would be no doubt that the jury trial amendment would be adopted. But pressure has come from the White House and other sources and now it is a nip and tuck proposition."

Rep. Celler (D-NY), who heads the House Judiciary Committee and is in charge of the floor fight, expressed a confident hope that the jury trial amendment would be defeated. He pointed out that House Democrats were split about equally. Latest check-ups, he added, indicated that a majority of Republicans would oppose the amendment.

PREDICTION

Rep. Keating (R-NY), is the ranking Republican on the Judiciary Committee, and also chief sponsor in the House of the administration's civil rights legislation. Keating predicted at least two-thirds of the House Republicans would support the President's position against the jury trial amendment. So, he said, would at least 50 per cent of Democratic members.

This, Keating concluded, would assure the defeat of the amendment. which the President asked.

The jury trial issue has dominated all others through three days of general House debate and a day of voting tests. In tests thus far the administration's bill has won out handily, especially in House refusal to prevent the creation of a new civil rights commission for

10 1957

Wage Off-Stage Fight Over Civil Rights Bill

Defender Chicago, Ill. Sat. 6-8-57

By ETHEL L. PAYNE

Behind the scenes on Capitol Hill, a fierce tug of war is going on over civil rights. At stake, are the crucial off-year congressional elections of 1958.

Unless the Republicans can capture a majority of seats in both Houses, their chances for retaining control of the White House in 1960 will be greatly reduced. No Eisenhower will be on hand to give them a sweeping victory, and the party must go it on its own.

Despite the rumpus being kicked up by the Southern bloc, it is conceded by nearly everybody that the civil rights bill will pass. The question is on the time table. After weeks of close study of the situation, here's the pitch on the probable outcome.

BIG GAMBLE

A powerful faction of Republicans wants passage postponed until next year in the second session of the 85th Congress, in order to get the best political advantage out of it. This is a long shot gamble by top strategists in the party who are either in the White House or close to the Administration.

No less a person than Vice President Nixon who presides over the Senate, predicted significantly last week that no civil rights legislation would get through this session because of the impending filibuster and the trial by jury clause which some Southern and Western senators are insisting on including in the bill.

The Administration through the Justice Department contends that the trial by jury clause does not apply to contempt cases. Therefore, rather than risk letting an ineffectual and emasculated bill get through, the GOP would scuttle it first and start all over again next January, when the next session of the 85th Congress convenes.

KNOWLAND OPPOSED

Opposed to a delay is Sen. William F. Knowland, the Republican Minority Leader, who is a conservative in every sense of the word. Knowland's chief characteristic is his stubborn adherence to a stand once he has committed himself and this he has done publicly on support of civil rights passage at this session.

Knowland will retire from the Senate at the end of this term, reportedly to run for governor of California. It would be to his advantage in his campaign to have the achievement of seeing that a civil rights bill was passed while he was still in the Senate. More than any other person, he is the pivot man who can swing the votes.

There is a serious hitch in the scheme for delaying action. Unless, the GOP can firmly pin the blame for defeat of the bill on the Democrats, the whole delicate plan of operation could blow up in their faces.

DISCOUNTS RUMORS

There is little basis for proof of rumors of an across the aisle trade in deal to abandon civil rights. The chances are too risky. There is however, plenty of evidence of gentlemen's agreements within each party. Whether he meant it intentionally or not, Sen. Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota, the leading Democrat exponent of civil rights nearly committed his party to an agreement recently when he said on television that there was little hope for civil rights passage at this session. This was the same position he took back in January when Congress first opened.

Humphrey hastily revised his remarks and sent out a joint statement with Clarence Mitchell of the Washington Bureau of the NAACP, after Mitchell had briefed him on what had taken place while the senator was touring the Middle East.

The latest statement said there was a strong chance of passage and advocated holding the Senate in session all summer to force action on the floor and break the filibuster.

DOUBLE PRESSURE

It is no secret that both the Democrats and the Republicans would like to make political hay of civil rights; but it is getting harder and harder to work the old shell game of "now you see it. Now you don't" on suspicious voters.

Perhaps, because civil rights has been for so long a football, falling just short of a touchdown, there is more skepticism on the part of the average person as to the simon pure motives of those who so loudly espouse its cause.

While the House is moving ahead to floor action on the bill, on the Senate side, the measure is still languishing in the Senate Judiciary Committee. Sen. Thomas Hennings (D) Mo., chairman of the sub-committee on Constitutional Rights is ill in the hospital and the chairman of the Judiciary committee, Sen. James O. Eastland (D) Miss., took advantage of this last week to call off a scheduled meeting for action on voting the civil rights bill out because there was no quorum.

LONE DEMOCRAT

The lone Democrat who appeared was Sen. Estes Kefauver of Tennessee. A cheering note, however, for those supporters of the bill was the appointment of Sen. Clifford Case (R) N. J., to the vacancy on the committee caused by the death of Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin. Senator Case has been a vigorous supporter of the Administration bill. This makes the ratio five to four.

The facts are that there are enough votes in the Senate right now to pass the bill, if these can be rallied together to really push for action now.

This is the roster of the Senate and the possible voting lineup:

REPUBLICAN

Aiken, George D.; Vt.	Yes
Allott, Gordon; Colo.	Yes
Barrett, Frank A.; Wyo	?
Beall, Glenn J.; Md.	Yes
Bennett, Wallace F.; Utah	?
Bricker, John W.; Ohio	?
Bridges, Styles; N. H.	Yes
Bush, Prescott; Conn.	Yes
Butler, John Marshall; Md.	Yes
Capehart, Homer E.; Ind	Yes
Carlson, Frank; Kans.	Yes
Case, Clifford; N. J.	Yes
Case, Francis; S. Dakota	?
Cooper, John Sherman; Ky.	Yes
Cotton, Norris; N. H.	Yes
Curtis, Carl; Nebr.	Yes
Dirksen, Everett M.; Ill.	Yes
Dworshak, Henry; Idaho	Yes
Flanders, Ralph; Vt.	Yes
Goldwater Barry; Ariz.	?
Hickenlooper, Bourke; La.	Yes
Hruska, Roman ;Nebr.	Yes
Ives, Irving; N. Y.	Yes
Javits, Jacob, N. Y.	Yest
Jenner, William E.; Ind.	?
Knowland, William; Calif.	Yes
Kuchel, Thomas H.; Calif.;	Yes
Langer, William; N. Dakota	Yes
Malone, George W.; Nev.	No
Martin, Edward; Pa.	Yes
Martin, Thomas; Ia.	Yes
Morton, Thruston B.; Ky.	Yes
Mundt, Karl S.; Dakota	?
Payne, Frederick G. Maine	Yes
Potter, Charles E.; Mich.	Yes
Purtell, William A.; Conn.	Yes
Revercomb, Chapman; W. Va.	Yes
Saltonstall, Leverett; Mass.	Yes
Schoeppel, Andrew; Kans.	Yes
Smith, H. Alexander; N. J	Yes
Smith, Margaret Chase; Maine	Yes
Thye, Edward; Minn.	Yes
Watkins, Arthur V.; Utah	Yes
Wiley, Alexander	Yes
Williams, John; Del.	No
Young, Milton; N. Dakota	Yes

Yes	37
No	2
Doubtful	7
Total	46

DEMOCRATS

Anderson, Clinton; N. Mex.	Yes
Bible, Alan; Nev.	Yes
Byrd, Harry F.; Va.	No
Carroll, John; Colo.	Yes
Chavez, Dennis; N. Mex.	Yes
Church, Frank; Idaho	Yes
Clark, Joseph; Pa.	Yes
Douglas, Paul; Ill.	Yes
Eastland, James O.; Miss.	No
Ellender, Allen J.; La.	No
Frear, J. Allen; Del.	Yes
Fulbright, J. Williams; Ark.	No
Gore, Albert; Tenn.	Yes
Green, Theodore Francis; R. I.	Yes
Hayden, Carl; Ariz.	?
Hennings, Thomas C.; Mo.	Yes
Hill, Lister; Ala.	No
Holland, Spessard; Fla.	No
Humphrey, Hubert; Minn.	Yes
Jackson, Henry; Wash.	Yes
Johnson, Lyndon B.; Texas	No
Johnston, Olin D.; S. C.	No
Kefauver, Estes; Tenn.	Yes
Kennedy, John F.; Mass.	Yes
Kerr, Robert S.; Okla.	No
Lausche, Frank J.; Ohio	No
Long, Russell B.; La.	No
McClellan, John L.; Ark.	No
Magnuson, Warren; Wash.	Yes
McNamara, Pat; Mich.	Yes
Mansfield, Michael J.; Mont.,	Yes
Monroney, Mike, Okla.	No
Morse, Wayne, Ore.	Yes
Murray, James; Mont.	?
Neeley, Matthew; W. Va.	?
Neuberger, Richard L.; Ore.	Yes
O'Mahoney, Joseph; Wyo.	?
Pastore, John; R. I.	Yes
Robertson, Willis; Va.	No
Russell, Richard; Ga.	NO
Scott, W. Kerr; N. C.	No
Smathers, George; Fla.	No
Sparkman, John; Ala.	No
Stennis, John; Miss.	No
Symington, Stuart; Mo.	Yes
Talmadge, Herman; Ga.	No
Thurmond, Storm; S. C.	No
Yarbrough, Ralph; Texas	No

Total Yes	59
Total No	23
Doubtful	11
Needed to Carry	49

House Drive To Shelve Rights Bill Is Defeated

Constitution Fri. 6-7-57
Atlanta Ga. P.1

WASHINGTON, June 6 (AP)—Southern Democratic foes of President Eisenhower's civil rights bill were defeated today in a last-minute surprise effort to send the measure back to the House Judiciary Committee.

After an hour of tense jockeying, Speaker Sam Rayburn ruled that the Dixie lawmakers had failed to make a valid point.

The House then began formal debate on the controversial measure, which is one of the key points in Eisenhower's legislative program. The formal arguments will continue through Monday.

Under a new time-table worked out today by both opponents and supporters of the measure, the

Rep. James C. Davis joins other Southern congressmen in fighting for jury trial amendment of the Civil Rights Bill. *See story on Page 6.*

House will begin voting on amendments next Tuesday, take Wednesday off, and then resume consideration of amendments on Thursday.

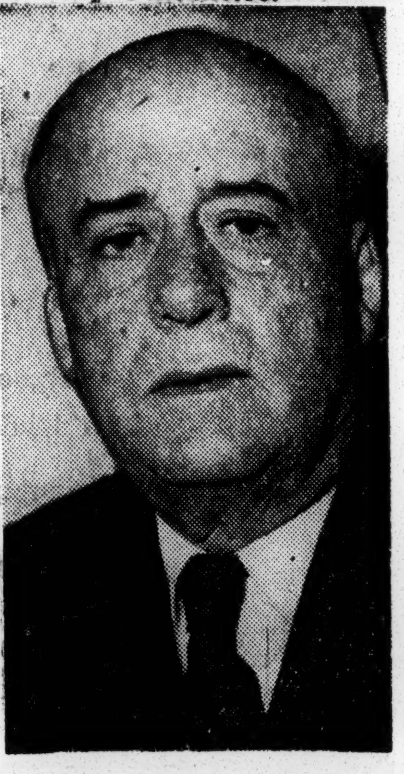
The Wednesday recess was designed ostensibly to give House members a chance to witness naval maneuvers at Portsmouth, Va., on that day. But both friends and foes of the bill were expected to spend the day mustering their forces for the showdown voting.

The four-point bill would (1) create a presidential civil rights commission; (2) establish a civil right division in the Justice Department; (3) authorize court suits to protect civil rights; and (4) provide greater protections for minority voting rights.

As the House prepared to begin debate on the measure, Rep. Howard Smith, (D-Va), a leading opponent of the measure, arose to complain that the House Judiciary Committee had submitted a defective report on the bill.

He said the report failed to comply in two instances with a House rule that it must include the existing language of all laws that would be changed by the pending legislation. He demanded that the bill be sent back to the judiciary group, which drafted it.

If successful, Smith's maneuver would have compelled the committee to re-draft its report and then send the bill on its second long



HE DOWNS DIXIE

Rep. Sam Rayburn

tortuous route to the House floor through Smith's House Rules Committee. That would have virtually killed its chance of passage this year.

But after an hour of intense argument over the House rules, Rayburn ruled that Smith's point was not valid. He told a hushed House that in the two instances cited, no change in existing laws was involved.

One section cited by Smith would waive application of conflict of interest laws to members and advisers of the Civil Rights Commission. Smith said the aim was to let the commission hire members of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People.

The other would provide for hiring a new assistant attorney general to handle civil rights matters. Smith said this in effect amends present law requiring such officials to be lawyers, since no such requirement was included.

Rayburn said the first section was a waiver, not a change, in present law. As for the second, he said no amendment of existing law was involved.

Rep. Kenneth B. Keating (R-NY) said it was "significant" that Smith never had mentioned his objection when the report was considered by the Rules Committee which Smith heads.

Civil rights fate up to Ike's drive

News Sun. 6-9-57
B'ham Ala. P.2-B

WASHINGTON, June 8—(AP)—The fate of civil rights legislation in the House, to be decided within a week, seemed Saturday to hinge on the outcome of President Eisenhower's drive to close Republican ranks.

The House was considered certain to pass a civil rights bill, perhaps about Friday. The question was whether the bill would be amended into a form unacceptable to its supporters—including Eisenhower, whose recommendations the legislation now closely follows.

House Republicans hold the key, since the Democrats are split roughly equally and in the Southern Democratic wing, at least, no minds are likely to be changed before the crucial vote

THE BATTLE LINE is draw on the Southern-backed amend ment to require jury trial—rather than trial by a judge—o persons accused of violating in junctions the attorney genera might obtain in civil rights cases

During the week-end recess both sides were claiming—al though cautiously—enough Re publican votes to win.

The White House announcec that a series of presidentia breakfasts with GOP House members will begin Wednesday The House seems likely to vote on the jury trial amendment Thursday.

"It looks as though the White House is going to work," commented Rep. Bolling (D., Mo.), a civil rights legislation supporter who said that "as of now" he thinks the jury trial amendment would be defeated. But Bolling added there is time for minds to change.

House Kills One Rights Change

Post + Times Herald P.13-A
Washington D.C.
Wed. 6-12-57

By Richard L. Lyons

Staff Reporter

The House yesterday defeated the first of several expected attempts to water down the civil rights bill but put off a showdown on the crucial jury trial issue until the end of the week.

By a 127-to-88 standing vote, most Republicans and northern Democrats teamed against Southerners to defeat an amendment to eliminate the proposed bi-partisan commission to investigate alleged civil rights violations and determine the need for more legislation.

The amendment was offered by a Midwest Republican, Rep. H. R. Gross (Iowa), who said the commission would have too much power and complained that no one could tell him how much it would cost. Also defeated by voice vote was an attempt by another Midwesterner, Rep. Clare Hoffman (R-Mich.) to kill the bill outright as unnecessary and "deceptive."

Then the House approved by 116 to 89 an amendment sponsored by Rep. J. Carleton Loser (D-Tenn.) limiting the subpena power of the commission and quit until Thursday when it will tackle the jury trial issue.

Long Travel For Witnesses

As approved by Committee, the bill would permit the commission to hold hearings around the country and to subpena witnesses from any point in the judicial circuit in which it was sitting. The country is divided into 11 circuits, some covering several states and stretching 1000 miles or more.

Loser said this was too far to make a witness travel. His amendment limiting the subpena power to the state in which the commission was sitting picked up bipartisan support from the big circuits. This provision which in effect requires the commission to sit in 48 places instead of 11 drew support from some who questioned the cost of the commission.

An amendment by Rep. George W. Andrews (D-Ala.) providing Federal loans to help southern Negroes, unhappy with their lot, to move elsewhere was ruled out by the chair as an "economic benefit" not germane to a civil rights bill.

There may be attempts Thursday to eliminate the provision for an additional Assistant Attorney General in charge of a Civil Rights Division and to make other changes in the working of the commission.

Main Battle to Come

But the big fight will be the southern effort to require jury trials in civil rights contempt cases. And this amendment, which seemed to have about an even chance of passage last week, now seems to be losing ground. The Administration has been pressing Republican members hard to oppose this "crippling" amendment. House Republican Leader Joseph W. Martin (Mass.) flatly predicted its defeat. Others talked more confidently of its defeat than they had before.

Theoretically, the House finished debate Monday and started voting yesterday. In fact, however, it spent most of yesterday in general debate under the House rule which permits each member to speak five minutes on a pending amendment.

Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-N. Y.) finally forced a vote on Gross' amendment by the unusual device of demanding a vote on a motion to limit debate on it.

As in the first three days of debate, most of the talk was on the jury trial issue.

This question involves only one section of the bill. But it goes to the heart of the major weapon provided to assure voting rights for all citizens—which is the major purpose of the bill.

Injunction Provision

The bill permits the Attorney General, when he finds that one person has or that there are "reasonable grounds" to believe he will deprive another of his voting rights, to go into Federal court and seek an injunction to stop or prevent it.

The injunction might order a county registrar who had set up an arbitrary literacy test to register a voter before the books were closed. It might order a man to stop intimidating would-be voters.

If the injunction were ignored, the offender could be charged with contempt of court and tried for violating its order. With the Government a party to the suit, it would be tried by a Federal judge alone under Federal law, not by a jury.

The southern argument is that the bill would deprive citizens of a basic right of trial by jury. They want jury trials in all contempt cases. But in the House the emphasis has been on jury trials in criminal contempt cases—actions that would be a crime in the absence of the injunction process, such as intimidating voters.

Southerners say the bill simply switches procedure from jury to judge as a means of taking the matter out of the hands of southern juries that might be slow to convict.

The Administration argument is that the main purpose of the injunction-contempt process is to prevent a crime rather than punish one. They point to the general rule that contempt cases where the Government is a party are heard by judges alone. They argue that time is the vital factor in voting cases, that the need is for speedy action by a judge to get a voter registered rather than waiting until after election day for a jury to act.

10 1957

Insuring the Right to Vote

Times Wed. 6-5-57

Analysis of the Administration's Effort And Jury Trial Debate It has Produced

New York

By JAMES RESTON

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, June 4—One of the most solemn and intricate civil rights debates of modern times is under way in the capital.

The issue is the procedure to be followed in the Federal courts against persons accused of attempting to interfere with a citizen's right to vote.

As the Department of Justice sees it, the authority of the Federal courts must be strengthened to prevent infringement of the right to vote.

For this purpose, the Administration is seeking new legislation (S. 83) that would empower Federal courts to grant injunctions against any person suspected of trying to prevent any qualified citizen from voting.

It would also authorize a Federal judge to enforce any court order against any person who defied the injunction and to subject him to punishment, without a jury trial, for contempt of court.

Yesterday, under the leadership of Senator Sam J. Ervin Jr., Democrat of North Carolina, the Senate Judiciary Committee voted, 7 to 3, to amend the Administration's civil rights legislation to guarantee a jury trial for persons cited for contempt in civil rights cases.

Two Views of Jury Move

To the Southerners and some other powerful legislators from the north who are leading the fight against the Administration's proposed legislation, this is nothing more than a proper constitutional guarantee of jury trial.

To the Administration, however, the jury trial amendment is simply one more clever and misleading device designed to nullify the Administration's effort to make it "possible for all citizens to vote without discrimination based upon race, creed, or color."

The Administration asserts that its new legislation would do nothing more than apply to civil rights cases "long-established civil procedures for enforcing Federal laws."

It points out that, under present law, the Federal Government can only wait until after the rights of a citizen to vote have been violated and then proceed with a criminal prosecution.

Too Late to Protect Vote

By that time, the Administration notes, it is too late to defend a citizen's right to vote. Therefore, the Department of Justice is seeking prior authority to prevent election officials or other citizens from infringing a person's right to vote, and sufficient authority for the court to carry out its own contempt-of-court actions.

"Enactment of legislation providing for jury trial in contempt cases," Attorney General Herbert Brownell Jr. wrote to Congress, "would undermine the authority of the Federal courts by seriously weakening their power to enforce lawful orders. * * *

"Referring to proposals similar to those now advanced, President (and later Chief Justice) Taft said in 1908: "The Administration of Justice lies at the foundation of government. The maintenance of the authority of the courts is essential unless we are prepared to embrace anarchy. Never in the history of the country has there been such an insidious attack upon the judicial system as the proposal to interject a jury trial between all orders of the court made after full hearing and the enforcement of such orders."

In violent contradiction of this view, Senator Ervin and Senator Olin D. Johnston of South Carolina declared:

"S. 83 is, in truth, as drastic and indefensible a legislative proposal as was ever submitted to any legislative body in this country."

They added:

"The only reason advanced by the proponents of S. 83 for urging its enactment is, in essence, an insulting and insupportable indictment of a whole people.

"They say that Southern officials and Southern people are generally faithless to their oaths as public officers and jurors, and for that reason can be justifiably denied the right to invoke for their protection in courts of justice constitutional and legal safeguards erected in times past by the founding fathers and Congress to protect all Americans from governmental tyranny."

Wrote Minority Opinion

Senator Ervin wrote this indictment of the Administration's proposals in a minority report of the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights. He characterized the Administration's bill as a "new procedure" that violated constitutional rights, denied the rights of the states and threatened to rob state and local officials of basic and invaluable safeguards."

The Department of Justice, opposing this view, cited a long catalogue of precedents in support of his proposals. Among them were these assertions:

¶Ever since the adoption of the Sherman Act in 1890, the Department of Justice has been empowered to institute proceedings in equity to prevent and restrain civil violation of the anti-trust laws.

¶The Department of Labor uses the injunctive process as a means of enforcing the Fair Labor Standards Act.

¶The Interstate Commerce Commission, the Civil Aeronautics Board, the Securities and Exchange Commission, the National Labor Relations Board, the Atomic Energy Commission and other Government agencies have similar authority to use civil remedies.

And in none of these fields are jury trials required in contempt cases.

The Dangers of Delay

The Department of Justice is particularly concerned about the dangers of delay and of discrimination against Negroes in cases before Southern juries.

"Prompt action will often be vital in civil rights cases," Mr. Brownell told Congress, "especially election cases where the registration period or the election may pass while enforcement is delayed.

"The injection of a jury trial between an order of the court enjoining discrimination against Negroes in an election, and the enforcement of that order would provide numerous opportunities for delay beyond the time when the order could have practical effect."

Besides, the Administration asserts that Senator Ervin and his supporters have not drawn a proper distinction between traditional jury trials in courts of law and procedures in courts of equity that do not require jury trials.

In his letter to Congress Attorney General Brownell pointed to this statement by the Supreme Court in 1890:

"It has always been one of the attributes—one of the powers necessarily incident to a court of justice—that it should have this power (the contempt power) of vindicating its dignity, of enforcing its orders, of protecting itself from insult without the necessity of calling upon a jury to assist it in the exercise of this power."

Thus, another chapter in the ancient debate on civil rights has opened, with both sides claiming to uphold proper constitutional procedures and each accusing the other of seeking to evade the law by ingenious legal devices.

In this chapter, as in many others in the past, however, the advantage lies with the Southern Senators. For they have the will and the energy to talk on this subject interminably, and this time they have found a new ally in the popular sentiment for jury trial.

House Will Vote Today On Civil Rights Measure

Daily World Atlanta, Ga.

Tues. 6-11-57

BY ARTHUR KRANISH

WASHINGTON — (INS) — The House closed formal debate on the Administration's Civil Rights Bill Monday and prepared to begin voting today on the controversial measure.

Southern lawmakers and a handful of Republican members prepared amendments that will keep the House busy at least until the end of the week. Final action on the measure is not expected until Friday, or possibly next week.

FILIBUSTER

Meanwhile, Sen. Everett Dirksen (R) Ill., charged Southernes with waging a filibuster inside the Senate Judiciary Committee, which has been considering the legislation since mid-March.

Chairman James O. Eastland (D) the committee has been "making progress." However, when asked when the committee may finish the bill, Eastland replied: "I am not a prophet."

Debate in the House ended as it began -- with arguments focusing on the Southern demand for a jury trial in all civil and criminal cases arising out of the legislation.

DIGGS SPEAKS

The only Negro legislator to speak during the debate, Rep. Charles Diggs (D) Mich., complained that Southerners had "maneuvered this entire debate .... into an area which is entirely foreign to the objectives of this bill."

Diggs commented that "only when a person violates a court injunction ordering him not to deprive a person of his voting privileges will this provision become operative."

The bill would create a new civil rights division n the Justice Department to block violations before they occur and would authorize the President to appoint a commission to investigate civil rights cases and make recommendations to Congress. The proposal is aimed primarily at protecting the right to vote.

House Judiciary Committee chairman Emanuel Celler (D) N. Y., disputed the argument for a jury trial. "One would think, "he said, "from this debate that we are taking away rights that have been granted. The bill does no such thing."

TRIAL BY JURY

Celler insisted that trial by jury is not a constitutional right in contempt cases. Approval of an amendment to insure a jury trial, he said, would "render the whole act meaningless."

Rep. Robert T. Ashmore (D) S. C., urged the House to approve the jury trial amendment when it comes to a vote later this week, commenting: "It is more likely and more human for one man to be prejudicial than for 12 men."

But Rep. John Dingell (D) Mich., termed the jury issue "a red herring" and said: "I can't imagine that judges born, raised and even educated in the South would be less than fair to defendants in these cases."

Rep. Charles Boyle (D) Ill., said no one had even suggested the need for a trial by jury when similar legislation was before the House a year ago ....

Grant Blames Racial Agitators For Bombs; Opposes Rights Law

BY GENE WORTSMAN
Post-Herald Correspondent

WASHINGTON, June 10—Rep. George Grant today blamed both "modern-day carpetbaggers" and agitators for racial unrest in Montgomery.

Opposing civil rights legislation on the floor of the House, he said he could not leave as unchallenged statements that justice doesn't prevail in Montgomery.

Other Alabama congressmen—including George Huddleston, Carl Elliott and Armistead Selden—also have opposed the legislation before Congress.

"I do not approve of violence," said Grant, "and the people of my district do not approve of violence, regardless of why it may be committed or by or to whom."

He said that civil rights supporters have mentioned the bombings of Negro churches in Montgomery and the freeing of two white defendants.

Grant said, "I am not going to let go unchallenged the statement that justice does not prevail there.

"None of these things would have ever developed had it not been for the fact that some of

ANSWERS CELLER —
Rep. George Grant.

these modern-day carpetbaggers and agitators came to Montgomery intent upon stirring up strife and turmoil.

"Law and order does function in Montgomery. Arrests were made, several defendants were indicted by a grand jury, and two of them were duly tried.

"A jury of good and true men said that the state did not convince them beyond a reasonable doubt that the defendants were guilty.

"Who are they to say that they were.

"There are others yet to be tried."

I want to say that defendants, whether white or Negro, are going to receive justice and courts and juries are not going to be browbeaten by outsiders and trouble makers."

Grant's remarks were made following statements on the floor Thursday by Rep. Emanuel Celler (D., N. Y.)

Celler made the two references to Montgomery.

First he told of a $100,000 fine levied against the NAACP in Montgomery.

"There was no possibility of trial by jury," Celler said.

"In Alabama, the clearly excessive fine of $100,000 was imposed upon that organization without trial by jury."

He said, "All we have there is stony silence" from Southerners who did not object to that proceeding.

Celler also mentioned the acquittal of two white defendants on charges of bombing a Negro church.

"That case," I think, could be deemed typical of what could happen where there are jury trials where the population has been inflamed into excitement and into a highly emotional state by these, shall I say, demagogues on the other side," Celler declared.

"... reports of the proceedings indicated that the guilt of the defendants was hardly in doubt or in dispute.

"The issue that the defense attorney made clear was whether their acts should be considered a crime in these days of Alabama's last desperate stand against desegregation.

"... this is an illustration of the failure of criminal prosecutions against white defendants in these times of race tensions."

Jury trial key to civil rights issue

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON (NNPA) — Debate Wednesday on the rule for consideration of civil rights legislation underscored the chief issue which will be argued as the House considers the Celler bill embodying the Eisenhower administration's proposals.

That issue is whether the bill should be amended to require jury trials in contempt cases arising out of violations of injunctions obtained by the attorney general to protect the right to vote and other civil rights.

The House, after an hour's debate, adopted the rule on a roll call vote of 290 to 117.

The rule provides for four days of general debate, after which the bill will be read for amendment under the five-minute rule. This rule permits a member to obtain the floor for five minutes by simply moving to strike out the last word in a section of the bill or a proposed amendment.

* * *

GENERAL DEBATE began Thursday. It continued through Monday. A vote on final passage will hardly be reached before the end of the week. Time for the debate on the rule was divided between its proponents and opponents.

Rep. William M. Colmer, (Dem.-Miss.) who reported the rule at the direction of the House Rules Committee, controlled 30 minutes, and Rep. Hugh Scott, (Rep.-Pa.) controlled the other 30 minutes. Both are members of the rules committee.

Rep. Ray Madden, (Dem.-Ind.) also a member of the rules committee, opened the debate and gave the first hint that the real fight will be over a jury trial amendment.

* * *

THE JURY trial amendment, Mr. Madden said, will defeat "the true intent and purposes of the bill."

The Indiana Democrat pointed out that both parties in their national conventions in 1956 and 1952 endorsed civil rights legislation and expressed the hope that the House will enact the bill into law.

Mr. Scott yielded himself time to follow Mr. Madden.

He, too, pointed out that the main issue is the so-called right to jury trial amendment. With a single exception, he said, trial by jury has never been required in contempt cases to which the Federal Government was a party.

* * *

The exception, he noted, was the Norris-LaGuardia antiinjunction law which gave members of labor unions jury trials when they were charged with contempt of court arising out of injunctions in labor disputes.

* * *

THE SO-CALLED right to jury trial amendment is probably unconstitutional under Supreme Court decisions, Mr. Scott said. Opponents of the legislation "are not fighting for the right to jury trials," he added, but for "the right to violate the law."

Mr. Scott said the entrie argument of ipponents of civil rights legislation is based on the expectation that decrees of Federal courts in civil rights cases will be violated.

The Pennsylvania Republican emphasized that the Celler bill was aimed at prevention of crime. He said the measure does not seek to punish but "to make punishment unnecessary."

Mr. Scott quoted Assistant Attorney General Warren Olney as having called the so-called jury trial amendment "a clever device to nullify the proposed civil rights legislation."

He quoted him as saying further that "if enacted with this amendment the new law would be no more effective than present laws in protecting the constitutional right to vote."

* * *

REP. KENNETH B. KEATING of New York, ranking Republican member of the House Judiciary Committee which approved the bill, called the measure "a very moderate proposal." He said it "imposes no harsh penalties whatever. It simply affords new remedies to strengthen and protect existing rights."

"This specific bill was mentioned and written into the Republican platform as one which should be supported by Republicans," Mr. Keating said.

The New Yorker added that "it does have the wholehearted and enthusiastic support of the President, who just today dealt with this jury trail as emphatically as could be done by reading the words of President Taft when he was faced with the same issue.

Rep. James G. Fulton (Rep. Pa.) interrupted Mr. Keating to say he was glad the New Yorker pointed out that deprivation of the right to vote is not a sectional matter.

* * *

"THERE ARE many reasons why people are denied the right to vote," Mr. Fulton said. If the pending bill is not the method to get at this denial, he said, "the burden is on the opponents to come up with some method. I am simply one of those who want citizens to vote."

Closing the debate, Mr. Colmer charged that the bill would set up a "gestapo."

The "gimmick" in it, he asserted, is that the attorney general would be the complainant in civil suits brought to enjoin threatened deprivation of the right to vote or violation of other civil rights, and a defendant would not be entitled to a jury trial for contempt of court arising out of violation of an injunction in a civil rights case."

Knowland Warns on Rights Bill

In an Ultimatum To Senate Group

WASHINGTON, May 4 (UP).—Senate Republican leader William F. Knowland, Calif., delivered an ultimatum to the Senate Judiciary Committee today in an effort to speed approval of civil rights legislation.

He told newsmen that if the committee doesn't report out a bill by the end of this month, civil-rights advocates will bypass it and take other steps to get a measure before the full Senate.

Sen. Knowland also came out in opposition to efforts to write a so-called "right-to-work" amendment into the civil-rights bill. Approval of such an amendment "would certainly kill" civil-rights legislation.

Sees Action This Month

His statements gave fresh hope to advocates of a stronger civil-rights law, some of whom have charged that the Administration has been dragging its feet on the legislation.

Sen. Knowland said he still expects the judiciary committee to act on a civil-rights bill this month, perhaps during the week of May 13. But if it doesn't, he said, supporters of a new law will take "whatever parliamentary action is available to us" to get a bill before the Senate.

He would not specify the type of action that might be taken. Two possibilities would be to attach civil rights legislation as a rider to some other bill—a move Sen. Knowland said he doesn't favor as a rule—or to take formal action to discharge a bill from the Judiciary Committee.

Conflict With State Laws

The Senator said the longer the committee delays action on a bill, "the more the bill is in jeopardy." This was a clear reference to the threat of an effective filibuster against the measure which increases as Congress nears adjournment.

He said it now appears that the House will act on a civil rights bill, presumably the President's program, about mid-May. The problem for the Senate, he said, is to get a bill out of committee "no later than the latter part of May."

The proposal to write a so-called right-to-work amendment into the civil-rights bill has been made by Sen. John L. McLellan, D., Ark. Right-to-work laws, which now prevail in a number of states, forbid the negotiation of union membership labor contracts. Such contracts require an employee to join a union after a trial period and maintain unio nmembership in order to retain his job.

Sen. Knowland said he feels states should have the right to pass such laws but that the Federal government should not invade the field. Regardless of their views on such proposals he said, he hopes Judiciary Committee members will not "encumber" the civil-rights bill with such an amendment.

10 1957

Ohio Rights Advocate Denounces Rep. Powell For 'Scurrilous' Letter Asking Votes for Bill

Constitution Atlanta Ga. Sat. 6-8-57 P.2

WASHINGTON, June 7 (AP)—One Northern Democrat, Rep. Wayne Hays of Ohio, denounced another, Rep. Adam Clayton Powell of New York, today in a bitter row over tactics in support of the civil rights bill.

Managers of the bill, striving to hold Republicans and Northern Democrats firm in the House against a Southern-sponsored jury trial amendment, were obviously disturbed by the eruption.

Hays accused Powell of sending a "scurrilous" letter to other members, intended to "persuade or threaten" them to vote against the amendment. The Ohioan said the letter had backfired so far as he was concerned.

Hays said he is for the bill but Powell's letter has "almost persuaded" him to vote for the amendment.

As applause broke out on both sides of the House, Hays said, "There is no person in the United States in my opinion who is doing more to divide Negro citizens from other citizens than the gentleman from New York—Powell."

Powell, one of the three Negro members of Congress, is in Bethesda, Md., Naval Hospital recuperating from a heart attack.

Hays told Rep. Celler (D-NY) the principal Democratic handler of the bill, that he regretted not being able to speak in Powell's presence, but that an answer to the letter could not wait.

Waving before his colleagues what he called the "scurrilous" letter, Hays objected especially to Powell's statement that Negro voters are asking, "Why send Pennsylvania and Ohio Democrats to Congress if they must take their orders from middle men who serve the White Citizens' Councils in Mississippi and Alabama?"

Hays said Democratic representatives from Pennsylvania and Ohio were voting for civil rights legislation last year while Powell was "leaving on a sea voyage for a vacation."

And he agreed with Rep. Walter (D-Pa) that Powell would be "the most disappointed person in America if this legislation passes" because the New Yorker then would have "nothing left to talk about."

Hays said Powell had appeared on the platform of a "Communist meeting" in 1944 with Earl Browder and William Z. Foster, on another occasion had said the West "is on its way out" and had praised Russian peace and religious policies.

The Ohioan drew the loudest applause when he said "Reverend Powell" had said the death of Rep. Dies (D-Tex) was as important as the death of Hitler—but Dies "is with us, full of vigor and vitality."

Dies, who was present, was formerly chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The "reverend" was a reference to Powell's status as a minister of the Abyssinian Baptist Church in New York.

Negro Democratic Congressman Wroth At Party Leader

Globe Fri. 5-24-57 Nashville, Tenn. P.1

Threat Made To Take Action Up North To Deprive Their Party Of Control Of House And Senate By Electing Republican Replacements; Wilkins, Philip Randolph, Diggs And Powell Call For Use Of Ballot To Get Civil Rights

Washington, May 17.—Gathered in solemn concourse before the beautiful and classic Lincoln Memorial here today, Negroes of America joined unitedly in prayer and plea for racial justice in the land of their nativity. They pledged themselves not only to pray for human rights, but also to work ceaselessly through the electoral process, through the courts and through an appeal to the conscience of the nation for the elemination of racial discrimination and segregation.

Called to the nation's capital by three top leaders, 27,000 citizens from 36 states assembled at noon in front of the Lincoln shrine in a Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom. They came here to observe the third anniversary of the United States Supreme Court's historic ruling of May 17, 1954, banning racial segregation in public education to call for enactment of pending civil rights legislation, to protest against mob violence and terror, and to pay tribute to the memory of the Great Emancipator in the shadow of whose chaste memorial the meeting was held.

The prayers of the clergy for divine guidance in the struggle for human rights were re-inforced by the pleas of veteran civil rights advocates for action on the political front to achieve the goal of equality of rights for all American citizens. In this plea, the three co-chairmen, A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL-CIO; Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary; and the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, president of the Southern Leaders Conference, were joined by other speakers.

Wilkins' Plea

This meeting, Mr. Wilkins told the assembled throng, "calls to our fellow Americans of every station, region, faith, and race to return to the belief in, and observance of, the enduring principles of religion: truth, justice, forebearance, love, brotherhood." The NAACP leader affirmed the Americanism of the Negro citizen. "As loyal Americans" he said, "we believe that when the Supreme Court rules against a segregated public school system which has cheated our children these many decades, that ruling should be obeyed."

Citing the Scripture, Mr. Wilkins declared prayer must be accompanied by action to achieve the goal of equal justice. "If a civil rights bill that has some meaning is not passed," he asserted, voters in 1958 and 1960 will know where to place the responsibility."

Remember, he warned, "A civil rights bill that contains the phony 'jury trial' amendment in contempt proceedings will not be a civil rights bill with meaning and will not protect the Negro's right to vote."

Globe P.4

Mr. Wilkins reviewed actions of certain southern state legislatures and courts against the NAACP. These laws and injunctions, he declared, "deny basic American freedoms. They deserve the attentiaon of every American, for they can and will be used against white citizens as well as colored. They are so oppressive that they may well force the NAACP to consider new methods of operation."

Right To Vote Stressed

Throughout the three and a half hour program, stress was placed on the right to vote. Mr. Wilkins' co-chairmen likewise dealt with the right to vote issue as did Congressmen Adam Clayton Powell of New York City and Charles C. Diggs of Detroit.

"We are here" labor leader Randolph declared, "to assert that the issue in the crisis of civil rights in our nation today does not involve opposition of Negroes to whites or whites to Negroes. There are leaders in certain circles who would like to make this the issue, but the real issue involves conflict between certain basic social and moral values, such as freedom against slavery, truth against error, justice against injustice, the right to vote against disfranchisement, law and order against mob rule."

Mr. Randolph, who presided over the meeting, paid high tribute to the work of the NAACP "for civil rights and democracy under the able resourceful and constructive leadership of Roy Wilkins." Likewise he lauded Dr. King for "the magnificent, challenging and successful struggle against segregated buses in Montgomery."

He warned that the southern legislative and state court actions against the NAACP may at some future time be invoked against such organizations as the Knights of Columbus, B'nai B'rith, AFL-CIO or the Council of Churches of Christ in the U. S. A. Further he called upon the pilgrims not to be "dismayed by the frightful wave of violence and persecution against persons of color now sweeping the South.

King Hails May 17th Ruling

"For all men of goodwill," Dr. King declared in the final address of the meeting, "this May 17 decision came as a joyous daybreak to end the long night of enforced segregation. It came as a beacon light of hope to millions of disinherited people throughout the world who had dared only to dream of freedom."

The denial of the right to vote, the young clergyman declared "is a tragic betrayal of the highest mandates of our democratic traditions and it is democracy turned upside down. So long as I do not firmly and irrevocably possess the right to vote I do not possess myself. I cannot make up my mind—it is made up for me. I cannot live as a democratic citizen, observing the laws I have helped to enact—I can only submit to the edict of others."

There are four areas in which "dedicated and courageous leadership" must be developed, he asserted, "if we are to solve the problems ahead and make racial justice a reality." First, he said, there must be "strong, aggressive leadership from the federal government." In the second place, he declared "there is need for strong leadership from the white northern liberals." Thirdly, "we must look for strong leadership from the moderates of the white South." And finally, he stressed the "urgent need for strong, courageous and intelligent leadership from the Negro community."

Powell Asks For "Third Force"

Distressed by the lack of positive civil rights action by either Republicans or Democrats in Congress, Representative Adam Clayton

Powell (D., N.Y.) called for the establishment of a "third force," which he said, should "be non-partisan, but political; non-racial, but for the time being led by our Negro clergy who have given the greatest spiritual witness of any group in this country; non-denominational inviting men of all faiths to follow."

Passage of the pending civil rights bill by the House of Representatives was predicted by Congressman Charles C. Diggs, Jr., (D., Mich.) However, he continued, "if Lyndon Johnson, the Majority leader in the Senate, chooses not to try to stop the dilatory tactics of the Judiciary Committee headed by Eastland, it will be his responsibility to explain his inaction to those affected and concerned. If he does not explain it adequately, a lot of good Democrats are going to suffer in the next election, and more and more protest votes against Dixicrats will be cast for Republicans by southern Negroes."

Senator Jacob K. Javits, who had been invited to participate in the program, sent a telegram expressing his regret that he could not attend and affirming his conviction that "the right of our citizens to peaceably assemble and petition the government for redress of deep grievances is one of the most precious rights secured by our Constitution."

Dr. Johnson Speaks

Other speakers included Dr. Mordecai Johnson, president of Howard University who made an eloquent plea for defense of the NAACP in its fight for civil rights; four southern leaders of action to eliminate segregation in buses in their respective cities: Reverends William H. Borders, Atlanta; C. K. Steele, Tallahassee, Fla.; F. L. Shuttleworth, Birmingham; and A. L. Davis, New Orleans. Mrs. William T. Mason, president, National Council of Negro Women; and Mrs. Irene McCoy Gaines, president, National Association of Colored Women, also addressed the assemblage.

Mahalia Jackson, the popular and talented gospel singer, was the featured artist of the program. There were other musical numbers by a chorus under the direction of Prof. Warner Lawson of Howard University and by the Philadelphia Fellowship House Choir under Mrs. Aileen Brown's direction. Miss Rose Battle English of New York sang the "Star Spangled Banner" to open the meeting.

Prayers and scripture readings were by Senior AME Bishop S. L. Greene of Atlanta; CME Bishop William Y. Bell; Rev. Ross A. Weston, pastor of the Unitarian Church of Arlington, Va.; Dr. W. H. Jernagin of Washington; Bishop R. C. Lawson of New York City; and the Rev. T. M. Chambers of Los Angeles.

A "Litany of Freedom," written and led by Rev. Thomas Kilgore of New York City, was recited by a massed group of clergymen. Ten year old James and eight year old Theresa Gordon who were barred from attending a school in Clay, Ky., last September, placed a wreath at the foot of the huge and brooding statute of Abraham Lincoln in the Memorial.

House Opens Way To Vote On Civil Rights Measure

Advertiser Tues. 6-11-57 P.1

Montgomery, Ala.

WASHINGTON, June 10 (AP)—The House droned through its third and final round of general debate on civil rights legislation today, opening the way for voting on the highly controversial measure.

In the Senate, Sen. Dirksen (R-Ill) accused Southern foes of the legislation of filibustering in the Judiciary Committee. Sen. Eastland (D - Miss), the committee chairman, denied the charge after a closed-door session at which no action was taken on the disputed proposal.

"There is no filibuster," Eastland told reporters. "I think we have made progress and are effectively considering the bill."

INITIAL VOTING

Initial voting on the administration-backed proposal to protect voting rights of citizens may start in the House tomorrow if Southern opponents decide not to filibuster there. A final vote is scheduled for Thursday.

Whether foes of the bill will resort to delaying tactics or drive for a quick showdown depends on results of an informal opinion poll on a jury trial amendment. Southerners are backing such an amendment, which would guarantee a jury trial to any person cited for contempt arising from the proposed new law.

The Senate Judiciary Committee has approved the jury trial amendment, but it is not in the bill being considered by the House.

HOUSE MEASURE

The House measure would permit federal courts to jail individuals for contempt if they violate injuctions provided for in the bill.

The administration and Northern Democrats insist that a jury trial provision would thwart the aim of the bill because juries in the South would be reluctant to convict defendants.

Advertiser

Southerners countered that failure to provide for jury trials would violate the Constitution and permit imprisonment without due process of law.

P.2

Supporters of the amendment faced an uphill fight in the House. To win, they figure they must pick up 70 or more Republican votes and 10 or more Northern Democrat backers. They charged privately that Republicans were being "pressured" by the White House to oppose the amendment.

FAR FROM CERTAIN

Southerners figure that if they can make a good showing on the amendment, even though losing, they will have won their fight. They reason that the Senate will include such an amendment—if it gets a chance to vote—and send the bill to a Senate-House conference.

Conferees would be reluctant to eliminate the provision in a compromise measure in the face of a strong House vote for it.

It was far from certain, however, that the Senate will ever get a chance to vote.

With adjournment of Congress set for early August, the bill's chances for final action this year lessen with each passing day of inaction.

Dixie loses 1st round

Afro-American

Sat. 6-15-57

Baltimore, Md.

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON

Southern opponents of civil rights legislation were set back, Thursday, in their efforts to have the Celler Bill returned to the House Judiciary Committee for rewriting of the report accompanying it.

Speaker Sam Rayburn of Texas overruled a point of order made by Rep. Howard W. Smith of Virginia, chairman of the powerful House Rules Committee.

Smith made the point of order that the House Judiciary Committee, in writing the report on the bill, did not comply with the Ramseyer Rule.

This rule requires a committee to set out the laws which a bill proposes to amend, or repeal.

* * *

HE CONTENDED that the civil rights bill amended the conflict of interest statutes in that it would exempt from their operations voluntary and uncompensated personnel whose services the proposed civil rights commission would accept.

Smith also argued that the provision for an additional assistant attorney general to head a civil rights division in the Justice Department also violated the rule, in that it did not specify that he must be a lawyer.

Smith was supported in his argument by Reps. Jere Cooper of Tennessee, William Colmer of Mississippi, and James C. Davis of Georgia, all Democrats. Davis is a member of the Klu Klux Klan.

Afro-American

SPEAKING IN opposition to the point of order were Reps. Emanuel Celler of New York, chairman of the Judiciary Committee; Kenneth B. Keating of N.Y., ranking Republican member of that committee, and John W. McCormack of Massachusetts, the Democrat floor leader.

P. 2

They insisted that the Judiciary Committee had complied with the rule in the report on the bill.

* * *

OVERRULING the point of order, Rayburn ruled:

1. The paragraph of the bill relating to voluntary and uncompensated personnel "is simply a waiver of a statute," and not an amendment of existing law.

2. The provision for an additional Assistant Attorney General does not amend any specific law because it refers to no law. He said it simply provides for an additional assistant Attorney General.

3. With respect to the substantive part of the bill — part three to strengthen existing civil rights statutes and part 4 to protect the right to vote—which specifically amends existing law, the committee did comply with the rule.

* * *

AFTER THE ruling, Celler opened the general debate on the merit of the bill. Later, Rep. DeWitt Hyde, R-Md. spoke in favor of an amendment to require jury trials in criminal contempt cases arising under the provisions of the Celler Bill.

At the beginning of the sessions, Thursday, by unanimous agreement, the four days of general debate were cut back to three days.

* * *

WAITING UNTIL Rep. A. Cayton Powell was in the hospital and unable to defend himself, Rep. Wayne Hays (D., O.,) launched a bitter attack on the Harlem Democrat Friday.

Hays, who has been lukewarm on civil rights legislation, took issue with Powell over a letter mailed to all members of the House, urging them to support the Eisenhower civil rights bill.

Hays, who drew loud applause of the Dixiecrats, pretended to be incensed over a paragraph in the Powell letter which said colored voters are asking, "why send Pennsylvania and Ohio Democrats to Congress if they must take their orders from middle men who serve the White Citizens' Councils in Mississippi and Alabama?"

* * *

POWELL, Hays screamed, is doing more to divide colored citizens from other citizens than any other person in the United States.

Hays, a member of the House Un-American Activities Committee, dug deep in the committee's files to come up with the charge that Powell back in 1944 shared a platform with Earl Browder and William Z. Foster at a "Communist" meeting.

There was no immediate reaction from Rep. Powell, who is a patient at Bethesda Naval Hospital at Bethesda, Md.

HE WAS admitted to the hospital Tuesday following his collapse on June 2, while preaching at the Abyssinian Baptist Church in New York of which he is pastor.

Doctors later said Mr. Powell was suffering from overwork and nervous exhaustion. They prescribed a complete rest. The original diagnosis of a heart attack was incorrect, it was announced.

10 1957

The Democrats And Eastland

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.
Sat. 4-13-57
P. 4

No one should be fooled by Tuesday's loud headline-hunting announcement by Sen. McClellan.

It should be fairly obvious that his move is part and parcel of the Southern strategy of endless delay to prevent a Senate vote on the Eisenhower civil rights proposals.

With a great show of moral indignation, McClellan is demanding the right to cross-examine two witnesses, whom he claims the NAACP assigned during Senate hearings "to slander the South."

He vaguely hinted that he has evidence they perjured themselves.

* * *

ALTHOUGH he refused to name them, most observers are certain he has reference to Mrs. Beatrice Young and Gus Courts, both of Mississippi.

Mrs. Young told how the brutal beating she suffered in the Jackson, Miss., jail caused her to have a miscarriage.

Mr. Courts, reviewed once again, how he was ambushed and shot by white gunmen, after he had refused to remove his name from the voter registration rolls.

* * *

BECAUSE AN all-white grand jury, frantically summoned after the FBI began making inquiries, white-washed these charges, Mr. McClellan makes a loud noise that these witnesses should be recalled for daring to bear witness against the well-known racial cruelties of the South.

Just on the bare possibility that someone might be misled by the noisy Mr. McClellan, it should be borne in mind that the Senate Judiciary Committee which is bottling up the civil rights bill is headed by Mississippi's Senator James O. Eastland.

But on this occasion Mr. Eastland is allowing Mr. McClellan, in deference to the publicity he's receiving in the labor racket probe, to pull Mr. Eastland's chestnuts out of the fire.

Next week Eastland will no doubt turn to North Carolina's Sam Ervin, or South Carolina's Olin Johnston. Or he might step into the breach to keep the matter going.

* * *

IT IS ALL a part of the grand strategy of the Dixiecrats to outflank and frustrate the decent majority, headed by Missouri's Thomas Hennings, in its efforts to get the civil rights measures on the Senate floor.

This is the outrageous practice of filibuster by committee.

But the major share of the blame must not be charged to Eastland and Co.

It should be placed squarely at the doorstep of the Democratic leadership. If it wanted to, it could quickly put a halt to Mr. Eastland's tactics.

At best the Dixiecrats can muster only four votes out of a committee membership of 15. The four would be helpless without an assist from or the indifference of the eleven.

Here then is but one more clear illustration of the truth of last year's AFRO slogan, "A vote for a Democratic Senator is a vote for Eastland."

This truth will and should loom ever larger during the 1958 Congressional elections, if the Congress once again fails to enact any civil rights legislation.

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WASHINGTON MERRY-GO-ROUND

Civil Rights Is Dead Pigeon This Session, Solons Tell Ike

Journal & Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.
Sun. 4-14-57
P. 6-F
10

By DREW PEARSON

Washington.

GOP CONGRESSIONAL leaders assured President Eisenhower the other day they had not conspired with Southern Dixiecrats to block approval of civil rights legislation. However, deal or no deal, GOP leaders also informed Ike that civil rights was a dead pigeon—at least in this session of Congress.

"I am confident the House will pass the bill, just as we did in the last session," reported ex-Speaker Joe Martin of Massachusetts.

Assistant leader Charlie Halleck and GOP Rep. Leo Allen of Illinois supported Martin. Allen, who is top Republican on the rules group, said the committee would vote 8-4 to send the civil rights bill to the full House for action.

However, Senate GOP leader William Knowland reported that he seriously doubted the Senate would act during the current session. When Ike replied that he had "hoped for favorable action by both houses in this session, not the next one," the big Californian replied:

"Well, I'll continue to do my best, Mr. President, but I will have to tell you frankly that the odds are against us. It is getting too late now with all these appropriation bills coming up for consideration on the floor. I had an understanding with the Democratic leadership that the civil rights measure would be reported by the Senate Judiciary Committee by March 5, but it didn't come out of committee."

HOT WORDS

The headlines have been full of Postmaster Gen. Arthur Summerfield's public row with Congress over his threat to stop the mails on Saturdays. But neither the headlines nor the news columns have told how an even hotter eruption occurred between Chairman Clarence Cannon of Missouri and Summerfield behind the closed doors of the House Appropriations Committee.

Drew Pearson's column appears regularly in the daily Atlanta Journal.

Cannon and other Democrats wanted to know why Summerfield had spent $624,306,000 in the first quarter of the current year, $547,611,000 in the second, $493,766,000 in the third, leaving $454,000,000 for the fourth quarter, or $47,000,000 less than Summerfield contends he needs to finish out the year.

"Either you have spent too much in the first quarter without regard for the rest of the year, or you were wrong in telling us how much you needed in the first place," Cannon told the postmaster general. "In either case, you are a poor manager."

"I take tremendous pride in my record," shot back Summerfield. "I don't think any administration in history has given the people a better mail service for their money. The extra spending in the first quarter included capital investments to improve the mail service."

"The anti-deficiency act, which requires government departments and agencies not to exceed their budgets, was passed for the very purpose to keep them from doing what you have done," interposed Missouri's caustic Cannon.

"I resent these implications," replied Summerfield. "I did nothing wrong, except perhaps underestimating the great prosperity of the Eisenhower Administration, which has increased the mails and placed a heavier burden on my department."

STRIKE RECORD

"Don't get me wrong," explained Cannon. "I think you are a fine gentleman, but this anti-deficiency law is important to the business-like operation of the government. We cannot tolerate violations by anyone."

"Again I say that you are being unfair and reflecting on me personally," angrily asserted Summerfield.

"My remarks were addressed to all government agencies," said Cannon. "When I say 'you' I mean all of them — not just you personally."

At this point the ordinarily mild-tempered Rep. Canfield of New Jersey jumped to his feet and hit the committee table a sharp blow with his fist.

"The chairman has gone too far," he declared, with a fiery look at Cannon. "I am tired of listening to your abuse of the postmaster general. You have been most unfair. It is little short of an outrage to treat a cabinet officer in this fashion."

"I ask that the gentleman's remarks about me be stricken from the record," broke in Cannon in an even voice, trying to control his own temper.

"I object," shouted Canfield. "Leave them in the record."

In a straight-party vote, with Democrats outnumbering the Republicans, the Canfield criticism was deleted.—(c1957.)

The Forthcoming Filibuster on Civil Rights

Courier Journal

By Congressional Quarterly

Mon. 4-15-57

Louisville, Ky. P. 4

WASHINGTON.—Senators may soon be doing more homework than usual in preparation for a filibuster over civil rights legislation.

Parliamentary rule books and precedents will be considered carefully both by opponents of civil rights legislation who would filibuster and the proponents of the measures who will be trying to break the filibuster—a tactic by which a minority opposed to legislation uses unlimited debate to delay action on a proposal.

Expert knowledge of parliamentary rules helps both the filibusterers and their opponents. Dilatory motions, roll-call votes, quorum calls and points of order may provide temporary relief for marathon speakers, but the slightest parliamentary blunder could lose the battle for the minority engaged in the filibuster.

The majority, meanwhile, by using a number of generally ignored Senate rules can keep a filibustering Senator from so much as leaning on his desk, insist that business intervene between quorum calls and refuse to permit a Senator to speak more than twice on the same subject in one day.

Stimulating what will be the first full-scale filibuster since 1954 is President Eisenhower's four-point civil rights program. Supporters of the bill expect it on the House and Senate floors after the Easter recess.

Southern opponents of the legislation have served notice that the filibuster will be used to keep intact their record of not having any significant civil rights legislation enacted since 1875.

House Vote Can't Be Prevented

In the House, where debate is strictly controlled, parliamentary obstruction may delay but cannot prevent a vote. But virtually unlimited Senate debate frequently has done just that.

Under Senate rules, 64 Senators (two-thirds of the entire membership) may vote to invoke cloture—that is, limit debate. Cloture never has been invoked under this rule. From 1917 to 1949, two-thirds of the Senators present and voting could invoke cloture; that rule was successful only four times, most recently in 1927. All told, there have been 22 cloture votes since the rule first was adopted in 1917. Eight dealt with so-called civil rights issues, none successfully.

A Senate subcommittee currently is considering various proposals to reduce the number of Senators required to limit debate, but it is unlikely to make its recommendations until after the Senate disposes of the civil rights bill.

Essentially the filibuster is an endurance contest; the filibuster tries to wear down the opposition with talk, and his opponents usually try to exhaust him with continuous day-and-night sessions—the theory being that eventually he will render himself speechless and the Senate majority can work its will. Frequently the theory does not work, especially if the number of participants in the filibuster is sufficiently large and well organized to continue indefinitely.

Senator Wayne Morse, Oregon Democrat, set a record during 1953 debate on the "tidelands" offshore oil bill by talking for 22 hours and 26 minutes, but the bill he opposed eventually was passed. On other occasions Morse has denounced the filibuster, and in 1953 and 1957 he supported efforts to ease the cloture rule.

Another sitting Senator, Allen J. Ellender, Louisiana Democrat, in 1938 spoke for 25 hours intermittently over six days during a filibuster against an anti-lynching bill. That filibuster achieved its purpose.

Reed Smoot's Achievement

During a successful filibuster against President Woodrow Wilson's Ship Purchase Bill in 1915, Senator Reed Smoot, Utah Republican, spoke for 11 hours and 35 minutes without relief and without deviating from the subject. In so doing, he probably set another kind of record, since filibusterers generally are not noted for their relevancy.

Exasperated Senators have, on occasion, enjoyed such varied entertainments as readings from the Bible and Aesop's Fables and mouth-watering descriptions—courtesy of the late "Kingfish" Huey Long, Louisiana Democrat—of Southern "pot likker," turnip greens and cornbread.

Senator Robert M. LaFollette, Sr., Wisconsin Republican, during a 1908 filibuster on a currency bill, held the floor for 18 hours and 23 minutes, but he was interrupted by 29 quorum calls and three roll calls on questions of order. He maintained his strength with eggnogs delivered from the Senate restaurant. One glass, which he rejected as doped, reportedly later was found to contain a fatal dose of ptomaine.

Why are filibusters undertaken? According to their critics, they are an instrument of minority rule; their supporters call them a weapon against majority oppression. Often their purpose is to defeat legislation that would otherwise be approved. This was true of the 12-man filibuster in 1917 against President Wilson's armed neutrality bill which led him to demand the first Senate cloture rule. But filibusters are waged for other reasons.

In 1890, for instance, a bill to provide federal aid to education was filibustered for more than a month by its own sponsor in an effort to get sufficient support for passage. He miscalculated and the bill was defeated. Senator "Pitchfork Ben" Tillman, South Carolina Democrat, in 1903 filibustered against an appropriation bill until an item for payment of war claims to his state was restored, and Huey Long once filibustered until the lost copy of a conference report was produced and approved.

LAG OF CONGRESS ON RIGHTS SCORED

Times P. 14-C

Jewish Committee Backs Eisenhower Program and Issues 50th Year Stand

Mon. 4-15-57

New York

By IRVING SPIEGEL

The American Jewish Committee yesterday criticized what it termed "dilatory tactics" in Congress and its committees that hamper civil rights legislation.

At the same time the agency urged support of President Eisenhower's civil rights program. Adoption of resolutions on domestic and foreign issues and issuance of a statement of principles ended the five-day, fiftieth-anniversary meeting of the agency at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel.

One thousand delegates, representing 600 communities, had attended the meeting. Since its establishment, the agency has been devoted to combating bigotry and discrimination and protecting the civil and religious rights of Jews the world over.

In calling for support of the President's civil rights program, the agency asserted that it had been eighty years since Congress last enacted any legislation dealing with "protection of the civil rights of the people."

In his State of the Union message last January the President proposed a civil rights commission, a civil rights division in the Justce Department, laws to strengthen enforcement of voting rights, and laws permitting the Federal Government to seek "preventive relief" in civil rights cases.

Test of Maintaining Rights

Irving M. Engel, president of the Jewish committee, announced the adoption of its half-century statement of principles, which said that "in the quest for national security our country must not weaken those constitutional protections which were won through the bitter experience of mankind."

"The ability to maintain those rights in the time of danger and anxiety is a test of the strength of our democracy," it added.

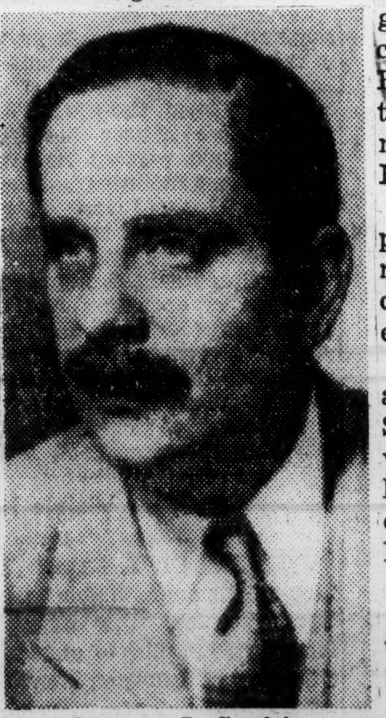
Mr. Engel reported that $675,000 has been raised for the committee's Institute of Human Relations. The institute, which will be housed in an eght-story building to be erected at Third Avenue and Fifty-sixth Street, will also serve as the agency's ehadquarters. It will cost about $1,500,000.

Plea to United Nations

In a resolution on the Middle East, the committee urged the continuance of the United Nations emeregncy force in the Gaza Strip "as long as necessary to guarantee that no raids or counter-raids, retaliation or counter-retaliation are undertaken."

The resolution declared that the force must remain "as long as it is needed to protect freedom of navigation in the Straits of Tiran and the Gulf of Aqaba."

A resolution on religion in public education warned that giving public schools "responsibility for religious instruction" could result in "a disruption of community life." It insisted that public schools "must maintained complete impartiality in the realm of religion."



Murray I. Gurfein

The delegates elected Murray I. Gurfein, a New York lawyer, as chairman of their administrative board, the policy-making body of the organization. He succeeds Ralph E. Samuel, who was named chairman of the executive board.

Mr. Engel was elected to a fourth term as president of the committee. Others re-elected were Maurice Glinert, treasurer; Arthur D. Leidesdorf, associate treasurer; Julius S. Loewenthal, secretary, and Dr. John Slawson, executive vice president.

An ivory gavel was presented to Jacob Blaustein, Baltimore industrialist, former head of the agency. He served as chairman of the fiftieth anniversary observance.

Practical Politics Enters The Civil Rights Battle

Constitution P. 4

Atlanta, Ga.

It is obvious from the first tests that Southern congressmen have a touch-and-go battle in their efforts to modify the civil rights bill now under debate in the House of Representatives. There appears to be little hope that the major amendment—on jury trials—will survive the House vote.

Thurs. 6-13-57

A total of 21 amendments are to be proposed by Southerners. Some of them may be accepted but those which would cut the real sting out of the bill apparently have little chance.

What we are witnessing actually is an exercise in practical politics. The Southern conservative-GOP coalition, which has enabled the Southerners to keep these measures bottled up for two decades, seems to be falling apart—at least over this issue. At stake is the 1958 battle for control of Congress.

In last year's election, especially in the large cities, the formerly Democratic Negro vote swung toward the GOP in greater numbers than in years. In many districts it provided the balance of power between the two parties. The civil rights issue will be decisive in a number of races in 1958.

Under pressure of politics and the White House, Republicans whom the Southerners counted upon have fallen into line. While Southern senators may have better luck, it now looks like the dreaded bill will become law substantially as President Eisenhower wanted it.

10 1957

HOW TO STALL A BILL: A CASE HISTORY ON CIVIL RIGHTS

By CABELL PHILLIPS

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, May 25—The greatest strategists in Congress are the Southerners who, by virtue of their political longevity and shrewdness, generally manage to outwit their far more numerous Northern opponents. One of their most useful tactics is that of the stall; the parliamentary foot-dragging which, if it does not demolish its target directly, often softens it up for envelopment from the flank.

For the last three months a small band of these Southern partisans has been waging just this sort of oblique guerrilla warfare against civil rights legislation while the massed ranks of the supporters of these bills have wrung their hands in helpless dismay on the sidelines.

They have not succeeded yet in killing civil rights legislation for this session—there is a suspicion, indeed, that that is not what they want to do anyway—but they have succeeded in backing it into a corner, so to speak, where the remainder of the battle can be fought on their own terms.

The upshot of all this maneuvering, as it appears now, is that a civil rights bill of some sort is likely to become law before this session of Congress ends, but it will be a law whose terms have been dictated largely by its Southern opponents.

Set the Timing

The achievement of this victorious paradox derives from the fact that the Southerners were able to control the all-important time schedule by which the program wormed its way through the legislative labyrinth. Having been barred from floor consideration until almost the beginning of summer, it will now come up against a legislative calendar crowded with more urgent matters. The threat of a filibuster (the Southerners' ultimate weapon) becomes more abhorrent as the end of the session approaches.

So the tendency in the weeks ahead will be either to push civil rights matters aside or—and this seems the more likely—to make whatever compromises are necessary to get it disposed of quickly and peacefully.

Let us see first how this "strategy of delays" works, and then take a look at its probable consequences.

Bills almost identical with the four-part civil rights package requested by the Administration were introduced in the House and in the Senate early in this session of Congress. Basically, they call for (1) creation of a nonpartisan study commission; (2) setting up of a special civil rights section in the Department of Justice; (3) widened authority for the prosecution of civil rights violations, and (4) new legislation to protect minority voting rights.

Both parties, by their platforms, were more irrevocably pledged to civil rights legislation this year than they had been before, but the Southern opposition was as implacable as ever. With all the ingredients for the annual battle present, here is the way it has gone in the House.

A Judiciary subcommittee, under Chairman Emanuel Celler, Democrat of Brooklyn, held eight full days of hearings between Feb. 4 and Feb. 28. Altogether 121 witnesses were heard, either in person or through statements, the majority of them speaking in opposition to the bill. Virtually, every governor, treasurer and attorney general, and other assorted officials from the eleven states of the old Confederacy, asked to be heard, and most of them were.

Congressional Witnesses

In addition, many members of Congress—including one Senator—from Southern states took their turn on the witness stand.

Chairman Celler was meticulously courteous to each and held doggedly to his determination that every one who wanted to testify would be given the full privilege. Needless to say, most of the testimony was repetitive—the bill was an unwarranted invasion of state rights; it was unnecessary, immoral, unconstitutional; it would worsen rather than improve race relations. Obviously, an effort was afoot to swamp the committee and to prolong its hearings. The printed testimony filled a book of 1,299 pages, two inches thick.

Four weeks were required to the full Judiciary Committee to act on its subcommittee report. These were marked by more Southern oratory and by arbitrary refusals of "unanimous consent" to permit the committee to sit while the House was in session. Ultimately, it was reported out by a split vote on April 1.

Rules Roadblock

According to protocol, the bill was thereupon referred to the Rules Committee, traffic arbiter for floor consideration. Rules is dominated by an ancient foe of civil rights, Chairman Howard W. Smith of Virginia. Contrary to usual procedure, Chairman Smith decided that the Rules Committee would also hold extensive hearings on the merits of the bill. It took all of the month of April before the committee could get around to this.

Finally, hearings began on May 2. Twenty-two witnesses (most of whom had already appeared in the Judiciary hearings) were heard at nine sessions extending over a two-week period.

Last Tuesday, Rules completed its labors and cleared the bill for House consideration. It tacked on a couple of gimmicks, however, certainly calculated to eat up some more time: an "open rule" that permits any number of amendments to be loaded on to the bill, and a provision for four days of general debate.

Chairman Celler estimates that debate will begin June 5 and continue from ten days to two weeks. Ultimate passage by the House is regarded as certain—sometime after the middle of June.

The Senate bill was under the management of Senator Thomas C. Hennings of Missouri, chairman of the Constitutional Rights Subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee. His group heard seventy witnesses (largely the same as had testified in the House) in thirteen days of hearings between Feb. 14 and March 5. The bill was approved for consideration by the full committee on March 19.

Chairman of Senate Judiciary is Senator James O. Eastland, the canny Mississippian who is the champion of American white supremacists. He is ably backstopped in the committee by Senator Sam Ervin of North Carolina, who owns one of the sharpest legal minds in Congress. Between them they unblushingly laid one snare after another to box in the civil rights report and prevent action being taken on it.

Their opening gambit was to insist that the mimeographed report be printed. Senator Ervin proved to be a demon proofreader, and it took a month to get the document back from the printer. Next, Senator Hennings found it impossible to gain the floor to move consideration of the measure.

Ervin's Advocacy

It just happened that at meeting after meeting the chairman would bang the opening gavel and announce: "Senator Ervin has the floor." Over a period of four weeks, the erudite Tarheel reviewed the rights of man from Magna Charta, upward. When his declamation began at last to peter out Chairman Eastland managed to un-see the raised hand of Senator Hennings and to recognize Senators John McClellan of Arkansas, Olin Johnson of South Carolina and others to discuss such issues as right-to-work laws.

The chairman could not be moved to hold more than the one stipulated meeting a week, or to extend them a moment beyond the noon bell summoning the Senate into session. And on the days when the agenda was least crowded, a legal quorum somehow could not be recruited.

Amendments Offered

Two weeks ago, Senator Hennings managed finally to get the floor for his report, but the committee's time since has been spent debating amendments which various members hope to attach to it. The prospect now is that a greatly diluted civil rights bill will be reported out to the Senate two weeks from Monday—close to the middle of June.

This has been the major strategy of the Southern opponents of civil rights throughout this battle so far—to block serious consideration of the measure until the session was far advanced. Proponents of the bill recognized at the outset that unless they got consideration early, their cause probably was lost. The Southerners have won all rounds handsomely up to now.

It does not follow, however, that they will go on to give civil rights its decisive *coup de grace*. Nor is it certain that they could, in spite of their interim victory.

Southern Minority

The Southern bloc is a minority—the bitter-enders number scarcely more than a dozen in all the Senate. Their nuisance value greatly outweighs their intrinsic political might in a showdown. In the responsible leadership of the Democratic party, as well as in the Republican party generally, there is a conviction that some sort of civil rights legislation must come this year or political penalties will be exacted at the polls. This pro-civil rights majority lacks the cohesiveness and the emotional impetus of the antis, but they are in a mood to be pushed only so far this year, and the Southerners know it. They know, too, that there is a firmer disposition to deal harshly with a filibuster, should it come, than there has been in any previous year.

Above all, the Southerners are political realists. Thus they are beginning to show a willingness to compromise: to put up only a token, face-saving resistance from here on to a civil rights bill shorn of its "objectionable features"—which is to say, most of its teeth. And a willingness to concede this is showing up on the other side.

Times P. 7 New York May Sun. 5-26-57

Expose 'Jury Trial' Issue As 'Phoney'

Weekly P.1 New Orleans, La. Sat. 5-18-57

NEW YORK — The claim advanced by southerners seeking to weaken the pending civil rights bill on the ground that it deprives election officials who var Negroes from the polls, of a "constitutional right" to trial by jury is "transparently spurious," Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, charged here today.

In a letter to units of the Association throughout the country, Mr. Wilkins warned that foes of civil rights by bringing up this issue are seeking to sabotage the bill which is now bottled up in the House Rules Committee and the Senate Judiciary Committee. The bill, designed to protect the right to vote, has bi-partisan support. It would enable the U. S. Attorney General to initiate civil action against local officials and others who interfere with the right to vote. Persons found guilty would be held in contempt if they disobeyed the order of a federal district court judge to discontinue such interference.

"It is now contended that the provision for civil action and injunctive procedure by the Attorney General would deprive election officials who disfranchise Negro citizens of their 'constitutional right' to a trial by jury," the NAACP leader asserted.

"The state and regional governments which have shamelessly flouted the 14th and 15th Amendments to the U. S. Constitution (as well as sections of the Bill of Rights), which have encouraged and defended the registrars in the flouting, and which have come to power at home and in Washington by reason of this flouting, have now the unmitigated gall to advance the transparently spurious claim that the proposed bill would violate a 'constitutional right.'

"The truth is that the bill would deprive no one of any constititional right," Mr. Wilkins told local leaders of the Association. "The constitutional right to a jury trial in a criminal action remains. Anyone charged under the criminal code will have, as in the

Fitzpatrick in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

"We have it under consideration."

past, the right to a jury trial.

But there is not and has never been any constitutional guarantee of a jury trial in the type of civil action provided by the bill. One cannot be deprived of something that does not exist. These court orders are issued only after a hearing before a judge in which witnesses are heard and the accused has counsel and the right to cross-examine. If the injunction should be issued and disobeyed the defendant is found in contempt and the punishment is assessed by the judge who issued the order. The defendant would have the right to appeal."

Meanwhile support for the NAACP postion came from Mitchell Franklin, professor of law at Tulane University in New Orleans. In a letter to the New York "Times" published on May 5, Mr. Franklin cited Assistant Attorney General Warren Olney's condemnation of attempts to nullify the bill by providing for trial by jury.

The justification of the injunctive procedure in suits in equity, the law professor pointed out, "may be readily explained and understood in the light of the generally repressive conditions prevailing in most of the South today, the consequences of which are that requirements and presuppositions for the administration of the jury system do not exist. The jury system cannot flourish if the jury is not free from fear and if it cannot make objective determinations."

Further, Mr. Franklin asserted: "The introduction of the jury into 'equity' activity, when it is not constitutionally required, under the social circumstances which obtain in most of the South at present would, as Mr. Olney says, be a 'clever device to nullify' civil rights legislation."

Earlier, on April 29, Roscoe Drummond, Washington correspondent of the New York Herald Tribune, said that "the Department of Justice has used such proceeding (equity suits) in anti-trust cases since 1890 and has similar powers to enforce the Atomic Energy Act, the Fair Labor Standards Act, the Securities Act and others. Jury trial is not involved.

"It is increasingly clear," the Washington newspaperman continued, "that the foundation stone of all civil rights is the right to vote. When this right is secured and practiced, other civil rights can better be protected; when this right is violated and neglected, the loss of other civil rights follows easily."

Douglas Pushes Civil Rights Bill

Near-Filibuster In Committee Charged

WASHINGTON, May 28 (AP)—Sen. Douglas (D., Ill.) sparked a round of Senate debate today by contending that President Eisenhower's civil rights bill is being held in the Judiciary Committee by what "is close to a filibuster."

Douglas accused opponents of the legislation of "dilatory and delaying tactics." But Sen. Eastland (D., Miss.), chairman of the committee and an outspoken opponent of the proposals, denied employing such tactics and termed Douglas' remarks "unfair."

The debate followed an announcement by Sen. Knowland (R., Calif.) at the White House that Senate Republicans are "going to make a special drive to get the bill out of committee."

"Time is running out and patience is being exhausted," Douglas told Eastland.

Eastland said the Judiciary Committee would have begun considering amendments to the civil rights bill yesterday "had a quorum been present." He said it will start taking up amendments Monday.

Diggs Keynoter At Rights Institute

TALLAHASSEE, Fla. — An institute on "Civil rights and nonviolence in our times," on May 26-31 will mark this city's first anniversary of its boycott.

The Inter Civic Council, backers of the boycott, is sponsoring the celebration which will feature Congressman Charles Diggs as principal speaker on Sunday 8:30 p.m., at Bethel Baptist churches.

Workshops on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday will be held at Bethel AME church. Registration is at the Inter Civic Council office, 803 Floral st.

LEADERS

Leaders of the week-long institute will include:

Bishop D. Ward Nichols, Rev. Martin Luther King, Montgomery, Ala.; Rev. Glenn Smiley, field secretary, Fellowship of Reconciliation; Rev. E. T. Graham, Miami; Rev. T. J. Jemison, Baton Rouge, La.; Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, Montgomery Improvement Association;

Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth of the Birmingham, Ala., civil rights group; Dr. Preston Valien, Fisk university; Rev. Alfred Isaac, Orangeburg, N. C., and others.

Rev. C. K. Steele will be among the speakers. Skits of progress in connection with civil rights, panel discussions, prayer sessions and speeches are on the agenda.

Father David H. Brooks is chairman of the anniversary committee.

South Loses Bid To Derail Rights Action

WASHINGTON, June 6 (AP) — Southerners lost a tense parliamentary battle to derail the civil rights bill today. They settled down to fight it section by section as the House pushed toward a decision next week.

The immediate threat to the bill was a point of order raised by Rep. Howard Smith (D-Va), Rules Committee chairman whom other opponents of civil rights legislation refer to as "the coach."

Speaker Rayburn (D-Tex) ruled against Smith's point, which would have sent the bill back to the Judiciary Committee and probably killed any chance of passage this year.

OPEN FIRE ON BILL

Then the Southerners, attending in force, opened up oratorical fire on the bill, centering, especially on what they say is a provision for sending accused violators of civil rights injunctions to jail without jury trial.

Rep. Celler of New York, principal, Democratic manager of the bill, replied that jury trial requirements would interfere with courts' ability to enforce their orders. He said trial of contempt cases by the judge alone is standard procedure under most federal statutes and a variety of state laws, such as those on alimony and child custody.

BOMB CASES CITED

And he said an Alabama jury on May 30 acquitted two white men of bombing a Negro house after "the defense pleaded its case on hold-the-white-line grounds."

Supporters of the civil rights bill which is backed by President Eisenhower, expect the House to pass it. A similar measure got House approval last year, but died in the Senate.

Under the timetable finally adopted today, the House will devote tomorrow and Monday to general debate on the measure and begin considering amendments Tuesday. It conceivably could reach the final vote Thursday.

SURPRISE ATTACK

Smith's surprise attack on the bill was based on a contention that the Judiciary Committee had violated a basic House rule when it sent the measure to the House with a report that did not cover all the contemplated changes in present law.

He argued that the committee's report, while lengthy, did not specifically point out to members how the proposed addition of another assistant attorney general to the Justice Department modifies present statutes, and contended the measure omits the usual specific provision that such an assistant must be a lawyer.

10 1957

Amendment to Civil Rights Bill May Ease Trial-by-Jury Dispute

Post + Times Herald Washington D. C. Sun 4-21-57

By Rose McKee
International News Service

Sen. Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) said yesterday he believed an amendment to the civil rights bill would be worked out to settle the jury trial controversy.

But the Assistant Senate Democratic Leader said that "I do not know" whether the legislation could be passed this year.

He explained that if the measure came out of the Senate Judiciary Committee late, it might have to go on the Senate calendar for action at the next session, which would throw the issue into election year politics.

One advocate of the legislation, who declined to be identified, said "some of us will fight" to prevent an adjournment of Congress this summer unless a "meaningful" civil rights bill is passed.

He said he did not know if his group could win but "if you only go into those fights you are certain of winning, you don't make too much progress."

Rider Rumored

Mansfield said he has heard reports that an attempt would be made to attach "right-to-work" amendments to the bill once it gets to the floor. He said this would greatly complicate the difficulties the bill faces. Labor opposes the amendments on the ground they would abolish the closed shop. Proponents claim they are needed to give workers a free choice of jobs.

Mansfield said that as a "supporter of civil rights, I think there is a good deal of merit to the argument" that the injunction provision of the bill would prevent a jury trial for those who ignore such a decree.

Those who favor the injunction provision argue that except in limited cases there never has been a jury trial guarantee for persons charged with violating the decree.

Still in Committee

Senators James O. Eastland (D-Miss.), Harry F. Byrd (D-Va.) and Strom Thurmond (D-S. C.) have introduced an amendment to guarantee a trial by jury for offenders under the legislation.

Eastland is chairman of the Judiciary Committee which has had the bill bottled up since March 19. Eastland's unit has been meeting only once a week but it is understood some committeemen will try, after Congress returns April 29, to get daily meetings.

Suporters of the legislation have said, too, they may circulate a petition to take the bill away from the Committee and bring it to the floor. Negotiations to have such a petition backed by a bipartisan group are under consideration.

he legislation—in both the House and Senate — follows President Eisenhower's recommendations. It would establish a commission to investigate racial discrimination, create a civil rights division in the Justice Department, and provide for injunctions to forestall offenses, including those against the voting rights of negroes.

Labor Official Resigns Over Rights Inaction

Daily World Atlanta Ga. Sat 4-20-57

... WASHINGTON, D. C. (NNPA) — A top official of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations was reported recently to have registered as chairman of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee because of the failure of the parent body to take a forthright stand in the case of racial discrimination by a trade union local.

Authoritative sources said James B. Carey, president of the International Union of Electrical Workers, resigned the civil rights committee chairmanship because the committee was limited in its power or freedom to do an effective job in ending racial discrimination in unions.

Mr. Carey has long been a fighter for civil rights and an opponent of racial discrimination in the trade union movement. He was a member of President Truman's Civil Rights Committee. A vice president of the combined AFL-CIO, Mr. Carey is secretary-treasurer of its Industrial Union Department and a member of its eight-man Executive Committee.

As secretary-treasurer of the old CIO, he was second only to Walter P. Reuther in the councils of that organization when it merged with the AFL 16 months ago.

REFUSES CONFIRMATION

Mr. Carey refused Friday to confirm or deny reports of his resignation. But it was learned that he had handed his resignation to the committee at a meeting in Washington on April 4 .

The committee declined to accept the resignation on the ground that it is an agency of the Executive Council charged with wiping out racial discrimination within the federation.

Mr. Carey then sent a formal resignation to George L. Meaney, AFL-CIO president. Mr. Meaney has given no indication of whether he intends to accept the resignation.

According to close associates, Mr. Carey has been dissatisfied in the past several months with the lack of authority the civil rights committee has to deal effectively with racial discrimination.

Solon Says Negro Citizens Tired Of Watered Down Bills

Daily World Sat 6-8-57 Atlanta Ga.

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (SNS) — The South has run up against another barrier in its fight to stall or kill the civil rights program in Congress.

Foes of civil rights, for the past two days have been unable to get non-Southern support on their trial by jury amendment.

Benches on the Republican side of the aisle were almost empty Wednesday as debate on the crucial measure got underway. Liberal Democrats, who are also supporting the bill, stayed away in large numbers.

Rep. Wayne L. Hays, (D) of Ohio, who interrupted the House debate made a statement said:

"As a final word to Democrats, let me say that the colored voters of the North are fed up with weak platforms and watered down legislation. They are increasingly asking the question, why send Pennsylvania and Ohio Democrats to Congress if they take orders from middlemen who serve the White Citizens Councils in Mississippi and Alabama?'

ALL VOTED

Hays replied that all Democrats from his state of Ohio, and probably all of those from Pennsylvania, voted for the civil rights bill which passed the House last year.

Hays noted caustically that Powell was on a "vacation trip" to Europe during last year's civil rights debate and will "apparently" remain at Bethesda Hospital "until this debate is over."

Meanwhile, it was learned that President Eisenhower has put his capitol hill contact men to work in an effort to gain passage of the civil rights measure without an amendment providing for jury trials in contempt cases.

Liaison men from the White House have started buttonholing Republican members in the House, lining up support for the controversial legislation.

Dixie, Unions And Jury Trials . . . No. 1

Post-Herald Thurs. 5-9-57 P.14
B'ham, Ala.

Northern Liberals Desert South On Jury Trials For Contempt Cases

BY MORRIS CUNNINGHAM
Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

WASHINGTON—For the second time in this century a great cry is being raised for the guaranteed right of jury trials in contempt of court cases.

This time Southerners are demanding that such a guarantee be included in President Eisenhower's civil rights bill.

Twenty-five years ago the battle was fought over the inclusion of a similar guarantee in labor laws, so that persons charged with contempt of court in connection with labor disputes would be guaranteed jury trials.

With the help of Southern congressmen, labor union leaders and Northern liberals won their battle with the passage of the Norris-LaGuardia Act in 1932.

But today, in the new battle, Southerners stand virtually alone—deserted by their allies in that bygone battle.

Indeed, modern-day union leaders have switched to the other camp and are actually advocating the injunctive procedures and denial of jury trials in contempt cases they once fought so bitterly.

But today labor unions are well entrenched, their existence no longer threatened by the "Gatling gun on paper" and "government by injunction" as it was in those bygone years.

* * *

History Reviewed

This series of articles will attempt to review the history of court injunctions in labor disputes, of their use with the support of troops and police to enforce the hated "yellow dog" labor contract, of the countless persons jailed without jury trials for contempt of court, and of the years of strife and bloodshed before labor achieved—with Southern support—the beginnings of its powerful present-day status.

The articles will endeavor to relate that long, bloody and bitter period in American history to the present campaign to invoke the same judicial procedures to enforce racial integration in the South.

And in the course of the articles it will be shown how Northern liberals and labor leaders have switched their position in relation to court injunctions and the principle of trial by jury.

A "yellow dog" contract was an agreement between employer and employes in which the employes, as a condition to getting a job, agreed to refrain from joining a labor union or participating in union activities.

Through a United States Supreme Court decision prior to 1932, such contracts became the "law of the land" and were enforced through court injunctions, frequently backed by troops and police.

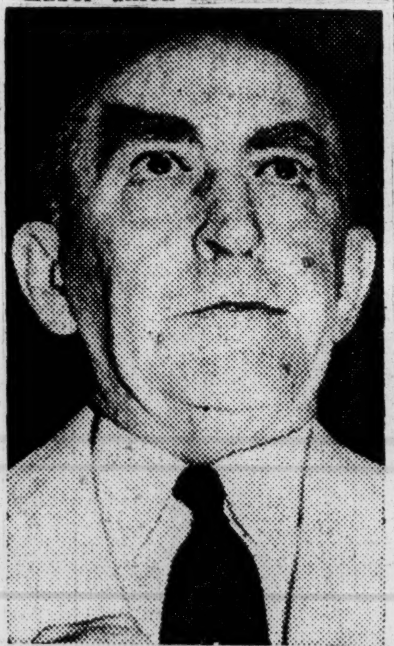
A person who violated an injunction was tried for contempt of court, without a jury, by the judge who issued it. And frequently he was summarily jailed.

Parallel Seen

A parallel easily can be seen here between the United States Supreme Court's school desegregation decision and the situation that has arisen from it, including the contempt charges filed at Clinton, Tenn., and the provisions of the administration's civil rights bill.

The first state court injunctin in a labor case was issued in 1888, the first by a Federal court in 1891. Thereafter, injunctions in labor disputes, with contempt charges tried without a jury, became common.

Labor union leaders did not recognize the court decision in respect to the "yellow dog" contract as "the law of the land."



BACKED LABOR IN FIGHT—William B. Bankhead.

Instead, they waged bitter and relentless political warfare against that as well as other adverse court decisions, seeking in every conceivable way to nullify them.

Labor's friends in Congress, including an overwhelming majority of Southerners, took up the battle and fought to override the decisions with Federal legislation.

Bills were introduced in Congress for 14 consecutive years before the Norris-LaGuardia Act finally was passed in 1932.

In the bitter years preceding that action, the courts themselves came under attack, frequently on the floors of Congress.

Rep. Leonidas C. Dyer (R., Mo.) declared on the floor of the House in 1932 that "some of the judges that have been appointed are absolutely without question unfit judicially and otherwise to pass upon matters affecting human rights, as they have demonstrated by the issuance of very arbitrary and unjust injunctions."

* * *

Bankhead Spoke

Rep. William B. Bankhead (D., Ala.), one of the many Southerners fighting with labor on the issue, declared on the same day:

"It has become apparent that some of the Federal judges, clothed with a little brief authority, seem to have forgotten absolutely the fundamental essence and sacrament of our judicial system in some of the injunctions they have imposed against organized labor."

As early as 1930, the brilliant Harvard University law professor, Felix Frankfurter, now an associate justice of the United States Supreme Court, wrote:

"Organized labor views all law with resentment because of the injunction, and the hostility which it has engendered has created a political problem of proportions."

Donald R. Richberg, a labor attorney then representing the Railway Shop Trades Union, wrote: "It is . . . worthwhile to point out the misdirection of persistent efforts to combat natural laws of human conduct with artificial laws."

Former Sen. George Wharton Pepper suggested that Congress restrict the courts as a means of restoring and maintaining public confidence in the judiciary.

"To maintain such confidence," he asked, "must we not confine the courts to the sphere in which the creators of our constitutional system intended them to live and move and have their being?"

TOMORROW: What labor union leaders say today about trial by jury in contempt cases.

Pity The Blind

Globe and Independent
Nashville, Tenn.
5-10-57

Many Northern Negro Democrats have been caught "flat-footed" so to speak by the progress achieved toward the goal of civil rights made during the Eisenhower administration. They had gone so far out on a limb in proclaiming the Republicans as a dead party, saying Republicans were no longer interested in the welfare of the "little man," in general, and the Negro in particular, that they overlooked the background of Gen. Eisenhower and also the background of Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, the redoubtable leader of the Republican party, who at least two years before 1952, came out for Gen. Eisenhower's nominatioin as the Republican candidate for President.

Since that time, and especially since Eisenhower was first triumphantly elected, the Negro Democrats have been bewildered. From the way they labored to defeat the Republican nominee, and the confidence they had in the success of their effort, made them believe there wasn't a chance for the Republicans to win.

In addition, they had such a firm belief in their own high and mighty importance, that they could not appreciate the vital importance that should be attached to the fact that one, Val J. Washington a Negro had been chosen by the Republican high command to specialize in looking after the welfare of Negro Americans not only during the 1952 campaign, but also after election.

What Mr. Washington has been able to do, by getting the Republicans to consider the general welfare of the Negro, and also the specific welfare of deserving Negroes for federal appointments. It has amazed the Negro Democrat politicians. With Mr. Washington at the helm, Negroes of this country have a better spokesman with the powerful Republican administration than they could have with either Congressman Dawson, Diggs or Powell a sa spokesmon under a Democrat president. This will never be acknowledged by the Negro Democrats, despite growing evidence that the Negro masses are fast deserting the Democrats on Northern soil and looking more in the direction of Mr. Val J. Washington for guidance.

Negro Democrat leaders tried to influence all Negroes to side with organized labor's boses in denouncing the "capatalists." Life a cracked graphophone record the glorification of labor bosses as the more liberal proponents of civil rights, continues to amuse thoughtful Negroes. It is not so and never has been so.

A strange thing about the Negro Democrats, nearly all of them were educated in the best colleges and universities by generous capatalists and yet never for once have these fine citizen staken the opportunity to visit reprisals upon the Negro allies of the labor bosses.

In the present terrific battle that Negro colleges are waging for funds to keep alive, it is these hated capitalists who have come forward to give liberally of their money and to lend their prestige to the drive of the United Negro College Fund.

Now Negro Democrats do not have a chance to function in their party unless they bow tothe wishes of the worst element of the Democrats who suffer so-called liberals to continue flim-flamming Negroes about civil rights. It is the one little crumb of comfort conceded to the Negro Democrats. The Liberals are the biggest four-flushers we have out on the political reservation.

At present the Negro Democrats Up North think they are making hay with their criticism of Eisenhower, saying he isn't "speaking out, for US like Mr. Truman did."

It is more than probable the Democrats are not going to pass any civil rights laws. If they do not, depend upon Eisenhower, the courts and Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr. to get plenty civil rights measures put in force. And that, whether the Negro Democrats finally learn how to manifest a much political strategy as does Val J. Washington or not.

10 1957

Ervin Fires New Volley at Civil Rights Legislation

News & Observer
Raleigh, N.C.
Thurs 5-30-57
P. 2

ASHEVILLE, May 29 (UP) — Sen. Sam J. Ervin (D-NC), angrily charged tonight that pending civil rights legislation is designed to vest "despotic" power in Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell and is "an insulting and insupportable indictment of a whole people."

"It proposes to place in the hands of the attorney general a legal club by which he can browbeat state and local officials into submission to his will," said Ervin.

Addressing the N. C. Association of Broadcasters convention, Ervin said the bill was "as drastic and indefensible" a proposal as was ever submitted to any legislative body . . . the Reconstruction era notwithstanding.

"It is based on the strange thesis that the best way to promote the civil rights of some Americans is to rob other Americans of civil rights equally as precious, and to reduce the supposedly sovereign states to meaningless zeros on the nation's map," he said.

Ervin said presentation of the bill to Congress comes at a time when "never-ending agitation" on racial subjects by both designing and sincere men "impairs our national sanity."

The measure would give the attorney general sweeping powers in the enforcement of civil rights, including authority to prosecute private cases at government expense.

"It is deliberately designed to empower the attorney general to establish government by injunction in the place of government by law in the civil rights field," said Ervin.

The Tar Heel Democrat, a former State Supreme Court justice, said proponents of the bill "say that Southern officials and Southern people are generally faithless to their oaths as public officials and jurors, and for that reason can be justifiably denied the right to invoke . . . constitutional and legal safeguards."

House Closes Rights Hearing

Post & Times Herald P. 2-A
Sat. 5-18-57 Washington, D.C.

Associated Press

The House Rules Committee ended its hearings on civil-rights legislation yesterday after hearing a final blast of denunciations of the measure by Southerners. The Committee has agreed to meet Tuesday to vote on the measure.

It is expected to send it to the House with provisions for several days' debate.

The Committee, whose assignment is to control the flow of bills to the House for action, conducted 9 days of hearings on the measure, backed by President Eisenhower and opposed by most Southern legislators, including Rules Committee Chairman Howard Smith (D-Va.).

The length of the hearings was unusual, but not a record for the Committee. In all, it has kept the bill approved by the Judiciary Committee under its jurisdiction about a month.

Rep. Robert T. Ashmore (D-S.C.) said at yesterday's session that Mr. Eisenhower "does not know what is in this bill—he is not a lawyer and has only had it explained to him by one who is prejudiced."

Ashmore made it clear he was speaking of Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell. He said Brownell "is political adviser to this Administration and this bill is politically inspired."

The legislation was introduced, he said, only "because the two parties are bidding against each other for the minority vote."

Rep. George M. Grant (D-Ala.) urged the Rules Committee to "permit the bill to go to sleep in this committee." If members favorable to it force it out by discharge petition, he said, "that would not be your responsibility or mine."

Rep. L. Mendel Rivers (D-S.C.) said passage of the bill would mean exchanging "the basic liberties on which this Nation was founded for a handful of whimsical votes."

Rep. Armistead I. Selden (D-Ala.) said the bill violates a principle that "the only safe repository of power is the one closet to the people themselves."

Rep. Edward J. Robeson Jr. (D-Va.) predicted passage would "prevent the good relations now existing between the races."

Dixie Solons Get Together to Halt Civil Rights Bill

Black Dispatch
Oklahoma City
Okla. P. 8
Fri. 5-17-57

WASHINGTON — (ANP) — After having spent some 15 years in the Congress of the United States, Rep. William Colmer of Mississippi said he still "hadn't went" much.

The statement was made in a hearing on civil rights before the House Rules Committee, Colmer took the lead in the argument used by opponents of civil rights, thatsuch a measure would deprive citizens of the right of trial by jury.

The witness, Cong. Emanuel Coller (D.-N.Y.), chairman of the House Judiciary Committee and author of the pending civil rights bill, pointed out that many measures are already on the statute books that permit prosecution by injunction without requiring a jury trial. He named the Taft-Hartley law as an example. "When this bill was being debated I never heard the Gentleman from Mississippi protesting about the denial of a trial by jury," declared Coller.

Colmer shot back that he hadn't been in Congress long at that time. "I wasn't as alert as the Gentleman from New York," the Mississippian quipped, "I was young and inexperienced—in other words 'I hadn't went' much."

Facts revealed that the Taft-Hartley law was passed in 1947, and Colmer had already stated that he came to Congress in 1932. "I came in with Roosevelt" he had boasted.

The civil rights hearings got under way last Thursday with Coller appearing as the first witness. They were postponed until Tuesday with Coller being recalled. After two hours on the stand under the heated questions shot at him by Colmer, the New Yorker finally asked "isn't this enough?"

Chairman Howard Smith of Virginia, a strong foe of civil rights said he had some questions to ask of Celler, but the tired witness said he would be glad to answer them by correspondence. When Smith insisted that he might like to question him personally, the New York Representative replied that he would answer any inquiry by correspondence and if the "Gentleman from Virginia" still wished to questtion him he would make himself available later in the week.

The Jury Trial Amendment Vote

Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.
Tues. 6-4-57
P. 4-A

IT HAS appeared for some days now that the civil rights bill in Congress as first drawn would not, after all, be enacted. The bill appears to have even less chance now that the Senate Judiciary Committee has amended it to provide jury trial for those accused of violating federal court orders to register Negroes to vote.

At the beginning of this session of Congress, Senator Lyndon Johnson of Texas and others were suggesting that the South would have to compromise as even the filibuster wouldn't block the legislation. An exception was Senator Hill of Alabama, who in an interview with *The Advertiser* conceded that the struggle would be the most difficult one yet but predicted that the South and good sense would prevail.

The action yesterday in which the jury trial amendment was affixed by a vote of 7 to 3 was notable for other reasons.

For example, Senator Kefauver, who has an understandable desire to be both a senator from Tennessee and a candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1960, was ripped. In Tennessee, *The Nashville Banner* was blowtorching him with charges of indecision and NAACP flirtation. In the North, the people without whose help he could not obtain a presidential nomination were watching him with a gimlet eye.

Much of the strength of the Southern position comes from congressmen who disagree with the South on race mixing compulsion, but abhor the principle of dispensing with jury trial. Thus Senator Butler, a Maryland Republican, and Senator O'Mahoney, a Wyoming Democrat, voted for the jury trial amendment.

Finally, the committee action was notable because the session was held behind closed doors. It happens in this case that the committee action was most agreeable to the South, but the growing abuse of congressional secrecy operated.

Closing the doors on press and public in Congress is a reactionary trend that ill becomes a country that glorifies and partakes deeply of democratic ways.

In the 18th Century the British Parliament adjudged it a "high indignity" for anybody to report in a newspaper the debates and proceedings of Parliament.

In 1789 the U.S. Senate held its regular session behind closed doors. In 1789 the House debated whether to eject the press. In 1801 the Jeffersonian Congress formally admitted the press.

Now in evidence is a reaction to this democratic freedom. For example, in 1953 some 41% of the committee sessions were held in secret. The only remedy for this secrecy is public disfavor.

Rights Bill Jury Trial Section OKd By Senate Judiciary Unit

WASHINGTON, June 3 (AP) — A jury trial provision won approval by the Senate Judiciary Committee today over protests of administration backers that it would seriously weaken the civil rights bill.

Chairman Eastland (D-Miss) announced the 7-3 vote after a closed session. Six Democrats and one Republican supported the amendment. Three Republicans voted against it.

The amendment would guarantee trial by jury to persons accused of contempt of court in civil rights cases.

Eastland, who supported the amendment while continuing to oppose the civil rights bill as a whole, said the section added today would give civil rights defendants the same right trade unionists now have in labor injunction cases.

Backers of the administration bill argue, on the other hand, that Southern juries in particular would be unlikely to convict a person charged with violating court orders in voting or other civil rights cases.

Atty. Gen. Brownell said the jury trial provision "would permit practical nullification" of proposed civil rights legislation.

"The effect of adopting current proposals for jury trials would be to weaken and undermine the authority of the federal courts by making their every order . . . reviewable by a local jury," Brownell said.

Southern House members plan to fight for a similar amendment when a companion civil rights bill reaches the floor Wednesday.

In other actions today, the Eastland committee: 1. Let stand, on a 5-5 tie vote, a proposal to set up a bipartisan commission which would look into allegations that Americans are deprived of voting rights or subjected to "unwarranted economic pressures by reason of their sex, color, race, religion or national origin."

2. Knocked out a "right-to-work" proviso offered by Sen. McClellan (D-Ark). This would have added to the civil rights bill a ban on labor agreements requiring employes to be union members. McClellan told newsmen he probably would reoffer it later.

Eastland said those voting for the jury trial amendment, in addition to himself, were Sens. Kefauver (D-Tenn), Olin Johnston (D-SC), O'Mahoney (D-Wyo), Ervin (D-NC), Butler (R-Md) and McClellan. Ervin was the sponsor of the amendment.

Those voting no were GOP Sens. Wiley (Wis, Dirksen (Ill) and Watkins (Utah).

Rights Bill Attack Branded 'Malarkey'

United

Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-N. Y.) yesterday said the claim that the Administration's civil rights bill would take away jury-trial rights was a "lot of malarkey."

Celler, head of the House Judiciary Committee, which recommended the bill, appeared before the Rules Committee to urge that it be sent promptly to the floor for debate.

He has been the only witness called thus far in two days of hearings. Rules Chairman Howard W. Smith (D-Va.) declined to predict when the Committee would act. The Committee will start hearing some opponents of the bill today.

Celler urged the Committee to clear the bill promptly and limit floor debate on it to two days. But Smith said he considered a 2-day limit too "severe."

Rep. William M. Colmer (D-Miss.) questioned Celler for nearly an hour about his views on jury trials in contempt cases to enforce Government-sought injunctions. Southerners contend that the bill, which authorizes the Government to seek injunctions against civil rights violations, threatens the right to jury trials.

Celler said there is no right to a jury in contempt cases except in special instances.

Colmer said Celler, in 1932, fought for jury trials in contempt cases stemming from injunctions against labor unions.

"You seem to have reversed your field a bit," he told Celler.

Celler said he had backed jury trials in labor contempt cases because of court abuses in issuing injunctions before the Norris-La Guardia Labor Law was passed.

He said he would be the first to attempt to curb the courts if similar abuses develop in the civil rights field.

Floor Fight Is Pledged By Forrester

By ALBERT RILEY
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, May 21 — A House of Representatives floor fight on the administration's civil rights bill was pledged Tuesday by Georgia's Rep. E. L. (Tic) Forrester of Leesburg after the House Rules Committee approved the bill.

The bill, voted out of committee 8 to 4, will go to the floor of the House under an "open rule," which will permit amendments to be offered.

"There certainly will be some amendments offered," commented Rep. Forrester, who pledged an unrelenting fight on the bill.

FOUR-DAY LIMIT

The rules committee, which has been holding hearings on the controversial legislation for weeks, set a time limit of four days of debate on the floor.

"There ought to be four weeks of debate," said Forrester, who generally is recognized as the Southern field general in the House.

"This is legislation on which ample time should be afforded every member of the House to let his views be known," he added.

Forrester said proponents of the bill in the rules committee evidently knew that they would have to give the Southerners some time for general debate. But they are afraid to give the Southerners enough time for the people all across the nation to learn just what the bill does, he added.

WON DELAY

Already Dixie solons have succeeded in delaying a House vote for many weeks. And in getting even four days of general debate they got twice as much time as they did last year when the House passed a civil rights bill after only two days of debate.

House approval is expected again this year, with Southern hopes pinned on the Senate, which let a similar bill die last year.

Forrester said Southerners in the House will offer amendments they consider "absolutely necessary."

"We will certainly try to eliminate the provision that authorizes the attorney general of the United States to seek injunctions before state remedies have been exhausted in civil rights cases," he said.

"Such an amendment ought to be passed for many reasons," Forrester said, "the most important being to prevent a holding by the federal courts that the federal government has preempted this field."

A "right of trial by jury" amendment also will be offered, the Georgian said, "to prevent a judge from legislating the law, being the prosecutor, the judge and the executioner in civil rights cases."

Forrester would not predict the outcome of the House floor fight but said the bill's proponents "are making a determined effort to beat us down now."

"A spokesman for the NAACP has said that civil rights legislation is a happy hunting ground for the Republicans and a must for the Democrats," Forrester commented. "I don't agree that it's a necessity for the Democrats but I'm afraid a lot of Democrats think that it is."

Deal To Kill Rights With Delay Seen

WASHINGTON, April 7 (UP)—Rep. Richard Bolling (D-Mo) said today he has heard rumors that a "deal" has been made to block passage of President Eisenhower's civil rights bill this year.

Bolling, a leading backer of the bill, said he would put the rumors to a test tomorrow at a meeting of the House Rules Committee. He said he will move to call up the controversial measure for immediate hearings and clearance to the House floor.

"There have been a lot of rumors that a deal has been made to delay it," Bolling told a reporter. "We will try to find out about that on Monday."

DELAYING ACTION

The object of the reported "deal," Bolling said, is to delay House passage of the bill so long that the Senate would postpone action until next year.

Parties to the arrangement, if such exists, presumably would be Republicans and Southern Democrats, Bolling indicated.

The Southerners simply don't want the bill passed. Republicans, according to Bolling's theory, would like to see Senate Democrats spread their civil rights differences on the record in the 1958 election year.

An informed Republican source said he knew of no such agreements.

WOULD OPPOSE ATTEMPT

Another key Republican, Rep. Kenneth B. Keating (NY) said he would "vigorously oppose" any further delay on the measure.

The bill would tighten federal safeguards around the voting rights of Negroes and step up enforcement of other civil rights guarantees.

Rules Chairman Howard W. Smith (D-Va) is a key figure in the Southern opposition to the measure. Smith has left no doubt of his intentions to take his time with the bill. But he has conceded the pro-civil rights majority will vote to clear it to the House.

The immediate question is how soon this will come about. Bolling's object is to clear the bill before April 18, when the House starts a long Easter recess.

Civil Rights Battle Hurt, Senator Says

By GENE WORTSMAN
Post-Herald Correspondent

WASHINGTON, May 31—Acquittal of two white men charged with bombing a Negro church in Montgomery, Ala., weakens the Southern fight against civil rights legislation, Sen. Paul Douglas (D., Ill.) said today.

Douglas is a leading backer of the legislation.

He said he read the account of the acquittal "very, very carefully" in the New York Times today.

He said he had read that the state presented a confession from one of the defendants.

Now, he said, reading from the Times, "Notice the appeal of the defense. They asked for a verdict that would give encouragement to 'every white man, every white woman and every white child in the South who is looking to you to preserve our sacred traditions.'"

Douglas said the story also quoted the defense as saying the verdict would "determine our very civilization and our way of life" in the South and that it must "go down in history as saying to the Negroes that 'you shall not pass.'"

The courtroom spectators, he said, applauded the verdict.

"I think this indicates that our belief is correct that Southern juries will not penalize white election officials for refusing Negroes the right to vote," Douglas added.

Douglas said from the Montgomery verdict it seems that justice will be more certain if Federal judges rather than juries decide civil rights cases.

10 1957

Rights Bill Hearings Set After Easter

Post & Times Herald, Washington, D.C., Tue. 4-9-57

By Robert C. Albright
Staff Reporter

House Rules Committee Chairman Howard W. Smith (D-Va.) yesterday scheduled hearings on the President's civil rights bill immediately after the Easter holidays and predicted his committee would approve the program.

Smith

Smith, a last-ditch foe of civil rights legislation, acted in the wake of reports of a "deal" between Republicans and Southern Democrats to delay Congressional action. Smith scoffed at the reports, but said he recognized the "facts of life" and knew the bill would win Committee approval.

Shortly before his statement, the Rules Committee he heads sidetracked by a 6-to-4 coalition vote a motion by Rep. Richard K. Bolling (D-Mo.) for immediate hearings on the bill, in an effort to get it to the House before Easter.

Across the Capitol, the bill ran into another setback: The Senate Judiciary Committee failed to act for the third straight week—this time for lack of a quorum. Sen. Thomas C. Hennings Jr. (D-Mo.), a leading sponsor, said he was "extremely disappointed." Hennings said he would continue to seek action "at the earliest possible date," however.

Bolling said failure of his own motion in the House Rules Committee means House action will be delayed "at least a month."

Asked if he thought there was a "deal" between Republicans and Southern Democrats to slow down the legislation, Bolling said:

"The results speak for themselves. There must be some working relationship."

When Smith later announced that hearings would be held after Easter, Bolling commented: "This confirms my earlier suspicions. I have had two confirmations in one day."

One Republican, Rep. Hugh Scott (Pa.), joined Bolling and two Northern Democrats, Reps. Ray J. Madden (D-Ind.) and Tho amsP. O'Neill (D-Mass.) in adjourn the Committee meeting. Voting to adjourn were Reps. Smith, William M. Colmer (D-Miss.), James W. Trimble (D-Ark.), Homer Thornberry (D-Tex.), Leo Allen (R-Ill.) and Clarence Brown (R-Ohio).

The House is scheduled to recess over Easter from April 18 to April 29. Smith said it was his intention to start hearings the same week the House returns, "and they won't run too long." He estimated two-thirds of the members of the Committee in the end will vote for the bill.

Chairman James O. Eastland (D-Miss.) adjourned the Senate Judiciary Committee for lack of a quorum. Only seven of the 15 members showed up, after nearly an hour of waiting.

Reporters counted these Senators present: Eastland, Hennings, John L. McClellan (D-Ark.), Sam J. Ervin (D-N.C.), Everett M. Dirksen (R-Ill.), John Marshall Butler (R-Md.), and Roman L. Hruska (R-Neb.).

Hennings said it had been his intention to renew his motion that the Committee act finally on the civil rights bill on April 15. He termed it "imperative to get the legislation out on the floor of the Senate at the earliest possible moment" if a "satisfactory" bill is to pass.

Record Filibuster On Segregation Bill Dropped in Texas

Star, Fri. 5-3-57, Washington, D.C.

AUSTIN, Tex., May 3 (AP).—Senator Henry Gonzalez of San Antonio today gave up his bitter filibuster against a segregation bill which was quickly approved after a record delaying action.

He and Senator Abraham Kazen, jr., of Laredo, who joined in road-blocking the bill for 36 hours and 2 minutes pledged themselves to a similar effort against eight other House-passed color line bills pending in the Senate.

"I intend to fight every one of them to the last ditch," said Mr. Gonzalez, after he finally capitulated at 2:02 a.m. (CST) to the pleas on both sides that everybody was to oweary to go on.

"They had the votes and so I agreed," said the 41-year-old freshman Senator.

The bill he and Mr. Kazen attacked over and over as unconstitutional, would allow local school boards to assign pupils to any school in its jurisdiction, thus bypassing integration if the board did not want it.

The session was the longest continuous session in Texas legislative history. It began at 2 p.m. Wednesday and broke the previous record of 31 hours and 25 minutes established in 1949 by three Senators trying to block a medical bill.

DEMOS ACCUSED IN RIGHTS ISSUE

Times-Picayune, Fri. 5-3-57, New Orleans, La.

GOP Solon Hurls Charge of 'Foot Dragging'

WASHINGTON, May 2 (AP)—A Democratic complaint that President tEisenhower has not been sufficiently active on behalf of civil rights legislation brought a Republican retort Thursday that the Democrats are "foot dragging" on the issue.

The complaint against Eisenhower was voiced by Rep. Cellar (D-N.Y.), chairman of the judiciary committee which approved the administration-backed civil rights bill on April 1.

Testifying on behalf of the legislation before the House rules committee, Celler renewed earlier statements that Eisenhower was not pushing the measure enough.

"Mere words do not get a bill passed," Celler said.

'Shifting Responsibility'

Rep. Keating of New York, senior Republican on the judiciary committee, issued a statement calling Celler's criticism of the President "a blatant and transparent effort to shift the responsibility for inaction and delay from the Democratic leadership, where it belongs, to the White House, where it does not belong."

Keating said Eisenhower "repeatedly importuned" both this and the last Congress to enact civil rights legislation and that Attorney General Brownell had supported it.

On the other hand, he said, nearly all the opposition and "foot dragging" came from the Democratic side.

Southern Strategy

This flareup enlived an otherwise dull opening session of the rules committee on the measure approved by Celler's group. Rep. Howard Smith (D-Va.), rules committee chairman, set a leisurely pace for the hearings in line with Southern strategy to delay the bill as long as possible.

Admonishing his fellow committee members at one point to take turns in asking questions, Smith said, "It will save time—not that I'm particularly interested in saving time."

Rep. Roosevelt (D-Calif.) and other civil rights advocates began circulating a petition earlier this week to force the measure out of the traffic-directing rules committee and onto the House floor for a vote. This would require 218 signatures, a majority of the House.

Will Take Message To People By Radio And TV . . . Ike

World, B'ham, Ala., Sat. 5-4-57

WASHINGTON, D. C. — President Eisenhower Wednesday launched a showdown battle with Congress over his legislative program which includes Civil Rights bills and the budget.

The Chief Executive plans to take his next fight straight to the people through a series of radio-television speeches.

The Chief Executive, in combat condition after his Georgia vacation, told Republican legislative leaders he will carry directly to the people his struggle to prevent threatened deep cuts in his 71 billion, 802 million dollar budget.

News Secretary James C. Hagerty said the timing of the radio-television address is being worked out and that the President will seek support for his spending and legislative proposals "every time he talks in public from now until he wins the fight."

Hagerty said that Mr. Eisenhower will correct "a great deal of misinformation" which he feels has been spread about his record peace-time budget.

WOMEN VOTERS

And in the White House rose garden, where he talked to the National Council of the League of Women Voters, the tanned, vigorous looking President voiced a crisp appeal for support of his foreign aid program, now under heavy congressional attack.

He declared: "You can't allow freedom to be pushed back to the shores of the United States and keep freedom at home. Unless the United States understands this the future doesn't look so bright. Let's not throw away the engines of this ship of state."

Mr. Eisenhower took note of the mounting demands on Capitol Hill for tax cuts and said he hopes that by the time he leaves office in 1961, world peace will be secured enough to justify substantial tax relief.

SEVEN BILLION DOLLARS

The President added: "I would like to go out of office with an even larger tax cut than we put out in 1954." That year tax reductions totaled seven billion dollars, some of it in the form of slashes previously voted by the Democratic-controlled 82nd Congress.

Stranglehold

Post & Times Herald, Washington, D.C.

Senate foes of the Administration's civil rights bill have succeeded in putting it into something of a strait jacket. Although the measure has been made the pending business of the Judiciary Committee, its priority is a very uncertain one; it can be set aside at any time to take up such matters as nominations or private immigration bills. Moreover, a sinister effort is being made to burden it with wholly irrelevant riders which would make Senate consideration of it on its own merits impossible.

Senator McClellan has moved to tack onto the civil rights measure the so-called "right-to-work" bill which is aimed at invalidating union shop and closed shop labor agreements throughout the country. Federal aid to school construction was effectively sidetracked in the last session of Congress by appending to it the Powell Amendment forbidding the allotment of Federal funds to states where schools have not been desegregated. The Powell amendment, however mischievous in its effect, at least had some relevance to the Federal aid bill. But Senator McClellan's "right-to-work" bill has no relevance at all to the right to vote which the civil rights bill is primarily designed to protect. Common sense and a regard for orderly procedure require that they be considered independently.

If Senator McClellan's ruse prevails, it will operate not only to strangle the civil rights bill but also to reveal a glaring defect in the Senate's rules of procedure. The Senate can scarcely consider itself a deliberative body if its rules permit issues to be so confused as to forbid deliberation. Two proposals so unlike and so unrelated cannot intelligently be considered jointly. Separation of them is a test of the Senate's ability to govern itself rationally.

Negro Church Unit Okays Pilgrimage For Civil Rights

Advertiser, Montgomery, Ala. Sun 5-5-57

HOT SPRINGS, Ark., May 4 (AP) —A national Negro church organization last week threw its support behind a proposed civil rights "pilgrimage" to Washington May 17.

The general board of the Christian Episcopal Church, which claims members in 40 states, passed a resolution at the closing of a 3-day convention here endorsing the proposed pilgrimage.

Some 500 delegates attended the meetings.

The pilgrimage, aimed at pushing civil rights legislation, was originated by the Rev. Martin Luther King, leader of the Negro bus boycott at Montgomery, Ala.

A group of 20 Negro ministers meeting at Little Rock earlier this week went on record against the pilgrimage as a "political" move.

Hearing On Civil Rights Bill To Bring Out Inconsistencies

Commercial Appeal, Memphis, Tenn. Thurs 5-2-57

From The Commercial Appeal, Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, May 1.—The flexible views of Northern liberals and labor supporters on trial by jury and "government by injunction" are slated to be aired Thursday before the House Rules Committee.

Chairman Howard W. Smith (D., Va.) announced that hearings will begin Thursday morning on the Administration's controversial civil rights bill.

And he said the first witness will be Chairman Emanuel Celler (D., N. Y.) of the House Judiciary Committee.

Southerners reported that Mr. Celler will be questioned about the apparent conflict between his support of the injunctive procedures in the civil rights bill and his past opposition to such procedures when applied to labor unions.

This apparent inconsistency was spotlighted recently in a series of articles in the Commercial Appeal called "Dixie, Unions and Jury Trials."

1932 Record Cited

It was noted that in 1932, Mr. Celler supported the Norris-Laguardia Act which curbed the use of injunctions against labor unions and guaranteed the right of trial by jury in criminal contempt of court cases arising from violations of such injunctions.

The civil rights bill would authorize widespread use of injunctions to enforce civil rights, and would provide no guaranty of jury trial in contempt of court cases.

And while the civil rights bill would authorize injunctions to restrain intimidations, Mr. Celler opposed an amendment t othe Norris-LaGuardia Bill of similar intent.

As reported by the Congressional Record, he said in 1932:

"An examination of the precedents in this country and in the state and Federal courts will show that the word 'intimidation' forms the basis of greatest abuse in labor injunctions. The cases seem to indicate that the word 'intimidation' is not capable of exact definition, and that hence the courts become laws unto themselves. There is no limit to what the judges embrace within the word 'intimidation.' If this amendment is adopted it would cover all sorts of peaceful and lawful actions."

Hearings Delayed

Mr. Smith announced that after Mr. Celler's appearance Thursday further hearings by the Rules Committee on the civil rights bill will be delayed until next week.

Mr. Celler meanwhile assailed the Rules Committee for "needless delay" in clearing the civil rights bill for House action.

In a statement he charged that plans were being made to kill the measure with irrelevant amendments.

He said some Southerners are planning to offer a "right-to-work" amendment which he called "nothing less than an attempt to break the unions."

'Brutal Way' Criticized

"This," he said, "would be a cynical, if not brutal, way of killing the civil rights bill. Such an amendment cannot and will not prevail."

He warned the Rules Committee against "continued jamming" of the bill's progress to the House floor, pointing out that a petition already is being circulated to remove the measure from the hands of the committee.

He said his Judiciary Committee has held ample hearings on the bill and added "I view the holding of hearings by the Rules Committee as a needless delay."

He pointed out that his Judiciary Committee approved the bill March 18, and that it has been before the Rules Committee since April 1.

Issue of civil rights not dead

Afro American Sat. 5-11-57, Baltimore, Md.

By SAMUEL HOSKINS

The anti-civil rights crowd in Congress is trying to propagandize the public into believing that enactment of rights legislation in this session is impossible.

The truth is, this is a hoax of Hitlerian proportions — a Dixiecratic example of the "big lie technique."

The small clique of angry men in the Senate Judiciary Committee can no more stop enactment of civil rights legislation in this session than they can push back Niagara Falls.

They know this.

* * *

THEY KNOW that their only chance of blocking civil rights depends upon whether or not they can convince the voters and the supporters of the bills that they are a hopeless issue this year.

They also know that the failure or success of their plan rests with four or five senators who are members of the Judiciary Committee.

These Senators will not go along with the Dixiecrats unless and until the voters back home throw in the towel — civil rights-wise.

* * *

THE ANTI-CIVIL righters, generaled by Mississippi's James Oliver Eastland, hope to perpetrate their hoax upon the public through the technique of a "right-to-work" stampede.

This plan was revealed to an astonished citizenry, Monday, when Arkansas's John L. McClellan, who has been a fixture on "Capitol Hill" since the days of the 74th Congress, offered the so-called right to work amendment.

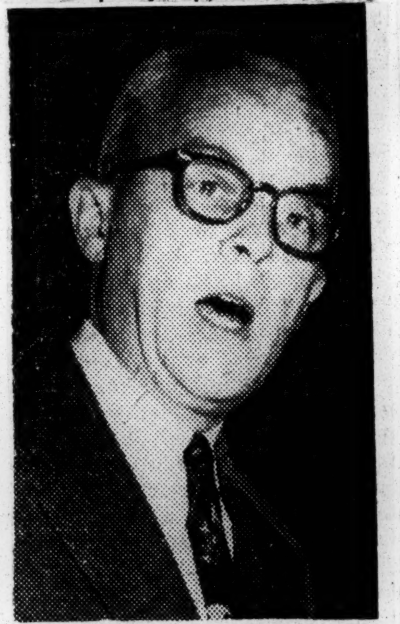
This move, which in itself is both anti-civil rights and anti-labor, was so unreasonable that Paul Butler, Democratic Committee national chairman, immediately denounced it as being contrary to everything the Democratic Party stands for.

* * *

NO SOONER had Sir McClellan offered this irrelevant amendment, with the blessings and full knowledge of Sir Albatross, of course, that a chorus went up from the propagandist section that civil rights are dead.

The civil rights issue is far from being a dead duck!

The fact is the McClellan Amendment is far from having the majority approval of the



PAUL BUTLER

Disowns 'right-to-work' ruse

15-member committee.

Only four members are certain to vote for it.

They are Eastland, (D., Miss.); Samuel J. Irvin Jr. (D., N.C.); Olin D. Johnson (D., S.C.), and McClellan (D., Ark.).

CERTAIN TO vote against McClellan's scheme are Senators Estes Kefauver, (D., Tenn.); Thomas C. Hennings Jr. (D., Mo.); Matthew M. Neely, (D., W. Va.); Joseph C. O'Mahoney (D., Wyo.), and William Langer (R., N.D.)

Of the six remaining members of the committee, only two are inclined to favor the McClellan Amendment.

Four of the six will not go along with it unless they are convinced the voters in their states have conceded the civil rights issue is dead.

They will vote against it if the voters let them know now they want this legislation voted on by the entire Senate, not killed in committee by four hatchetmen from the South.

Civil rights legislation still can be enacted.

The people in Maryland, Nebraska and Utah who favor civil rights ought to let Senators John M. Butler, Roman L. Hruska and Arthur V. Watkins know that they are not conceding defeat.

Voters throughout the country ought to let members in both the House and Senate know they want civil rights enacted now—in this session of Congress.

DEBATE ON "RIGHTS" BEGINS

Daily World, Fri. 6-?-57, Atlanta Ga.

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (SNS) — Southern Democrats foes of the President's civil rights bill lost again Thursday in a last minute effort to send the bill back to the committee.

House Speaker Sam Rayburn of Texas, killed the South's move to take the rights bill to the committee for correction.

Rayburn, acting from the chair ruled that the bill as drawn complies with House rules. He ordered debate on the bill to commence.

Rayburn, in effect, agrees with Rep. Keating and other supporters of the measure.

Defeating the move gave the House the chance to begin formal debate on the measure which is one of the key points in President Eisenhower's legislative program.

The new time-table, used in the House will give lawmakers the opportunity to begin voting on amendments by next Tuesday. They will take Wednesday off and resume work on Thursday.

The bill has four points which stand out:

1. The bill would create a presidential civil rights commission; (2) establish a civil rights division in the Justice Department; (3) authorize court suits to protect civil rights; and (4) provide greater protection for minority voting rights.

One of the key figures in getting the bill before the House for debate Thursday was Rep. Sam Rayburn of Texas.

Rep. Howard Smith of Virginia is one of the strong opponents of the bill. It was Rayburn who ruled that Smith's point in ruling against debate was not valid.

In discussing the bill, Rayburn said the first section was a waiver, not a change in the present law. As for the second, he said no amendment of existing law was involved.

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Douglas Says Committee's Delay On Civil Rights Is Like 'Filibuster'

Washington, May 28 (AP)—Senator Douglas touched off a round of Senate debate today by contending that President Eisenhower's civil-rights bill is being held in the Judiciary Committee by what "is close to a filibuster."

The Illinois Democrat accused opponents of the legislation of "dilatory and lelaying tactics."

But Senator Eastland (D., Miss.), chairman of the committee and outspoken opponent of the proposals, denied using such tactics. He termed Douglas' remarks unfair.

The debate followed an announcement by Senator Knowland (R., Cal.) at the White House that Senate Republicans are going to make a special drive to get the bill out of committee.

"Time is running out and patience is being exhausted," Douglas told Eastland.

Senator Humphrey (D., Minn.), a supporter of the legislation, noted that only four of the 15 committee members are identified with the opposition to the bill.

"It seems to me the other 11 senators ought to be able to report out a bill," Humphrey declared.

Eastland said the Judiciary Committee would have begun considering amendments to the civil-rights bill yesterday had a quorum been present.

Douglas said it was extraordinary that the committee always meets on Monday, the one day the Senate is certain to be in session, making it possible for one senator to block a request that the committee be allowed to act after the Senate session begins at noon.

Eastland said the committee was "proceeding within the limits of the rules of the Senate and of the committee" to consider "both sides of the issue."

Knowland said the Senate Republican leadership was studying the possibility of resorting to unusual parliamentary maneuvers in hopes of forcing the controversial measure to the Senate floor.

'Third Force' to Fight For Civil Rights Asked

Powell Speaks at Lincoln Memorial Rally; 50,000 Expected at 3-Hour Program

A mass rally of Negroes from 30 States at the Lincoln Memorial today heard a call for the formation of an American "third force" to fight for civil rights.

Representative Powell, Democrat of New York, said such a force is necessary today because of "the basic dishonesty and increasing hypocracy of our two political parties" in meeting the civil rights question.

He spoke to an attentive crowd that flowed down the steps of the memorial and onto the surrounding grounds. Called in observance of the third anniversary of the Supreme Court's ruling against continued public school segregation, the 3-hour observance was expected to attract 50,000 persons before the afternoon was over.

Representative Powell struck a combative note in his speech prepared for the Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom.

"We meet here in front of the Lincoln Memorial," he said, "because we are getting more from a dead Republican than we are getting from live Democrats and live Republicans." He said the "Third Force" should be non-partisan, non-racial and non-denominational, but "for the time being" it should be "led by our Negro clergy."

The force, he said, should take up the fight where the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which is "now being driven underground in the South," is prevented from presenting cases in local and State courts. He said the "Third Force" should "raise funds and channel those funds to the NAACP to continue its monumental work and where they are blocked, present cases ourselves using the same NAACP lawyers."

Representative Powell said the force should employ only "passive resistance" in the form of "work stoppages, economic boycotts, mass demonstrations, sit-down strikes, slow-downs and picket lines." He said the group will aid openly or "through the underground," those white church groups . . . who are on our side—the right side, the legal side, the moral side."

The influx of the out-of-towners led police to cancel all leaves in anticipation of a major traffic jam.

Warnings of possible disturbances during the mass demonstration were voiced by several groups.

Fears Red Infiltration

W. C. (Dan) Daniel, national commander of the American Legion, said in Danville, Va., that there is a danger of Communist infiltration and an attempt to create confusion. He urged Negro Legionnaires participating in the pilgrimage to be alert to the possibility.

Mr. Daniel said that for several weeks The Daily Worker has carried on an intensive campaign in support of the Washington pilgrimage.

In Arlington, Va., Jack Rathbone, chairman of the board of the Arlington chapter of the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties, sent telegrams to local government and police officials. He suggested they be on the alert for "possible civil disturbances and other overt acts that this vast horde of pressure lobbyists could set off."

The pilgrimage leaders expect the event to spark "more immediate" action in many States toward instituting desegregation of schools.

They also hope it will step up action on Capitol Hill toward passage of civil rights legislation, and end acts of discrimination in general, partcularly in the South.

Diggs Also a Speaker

The list of speakers includes
The list of speakers also includes Representative Diggs, Democrat of Michigan.

The pilgrimage co-chairmen are Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Rev. Martin Luther King, jr., leader of the Montgomery (Ala.) Improvement Association, and A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

At a news conference last night at the Willard Hotel, Mr. King, who led the Montgomery bus boycott, said the object of the pilgrimage is to "arouse the conscience of the Nation in favor of racial justice," and to speed up action on civil rights legislation, "which a few reactionary Congressmen are bottling up."

He added, however, that as far as the pilgrimage officials are concerned there will be "no picketing, no poster-walking and no actual lobbying of legislators."

"If it happens," he said, "it will be without our approval and not under our auspices."

The pilgrimage is "definitely interracial," the minister declared, and "all persons of good will are welcome."

Shortly before the ceremonies, the District Commissioners presented the three co-chairmen with the keys to the city.

Aside from featuring prayers and religious songs, the program includes a wreath-laying at the monument by two youngsters who defied school integration hostility in Clay, Ky., shortly after the Supreme Court decision.

THURMOND ANSWERS CHARGES OF OLNEY

Defends All Citizen's Right To Jury Trials

SAYS DISTINCTION MADE

From The Commercial Appeal
Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, April 9.—Senator Strom Thurmond (D., S.C.) declared Tuesday that "certain forces" in the United States are seeking t omake distinctions in he rights to be accorded citizens.

The South Carolinian replied to Asst. Atty. eGn. Warren Olney's charge that Southerners are trying to "emasculate" the Administration's Civil Rights Bill "by deceptive appeals for the protection of the right to jury trial."

Addressing a Civil Rights meeting here last Friday, Mr. Olney attacked a bill by Senators Thurmond, James O. Eastland (D., Miss.) and Harry F. Byrd (D., Va.) that would guarantee jury trials in all Federal contempt of court cases.

Thurmond Pleased

Senator Thurmond said he is pleased Mr. Olney has "made the issue clear." He said he can only conclude Mr. Olney is "against extending to every citizen a legal right now enjoyed by some citizens."
extending to every citizen a legal right now enjoyed by some citizens."

"What I cannot understand," the South Carolinian continued, "is how certain forces in this country can recognize weaknesses they claim to see in existing laws for the protection of civil rights, but profess not to see any danger in the loss of the right of trial by jury.

"Is greater Federal protection of the right to vote more important than protection of the right of trial by jury?

"I do not believe the people of this country would agree with the advocates of the so-called Civil Rights Bills that a distinction can be made between the importance of these rights. The citizens of the United States have always believed that every citizen had the same rights in courts of justice as every other citizen."

Inconsistency Drawn

Senator Thurmond flatly denied, as Mr. Olney insistde, that jury trial of contempt charges would be any departure from accepted principles of justice.

"The inconsistency of some advocates of the so-called Civil Rights Bill," he said, "is clearly drawn by their attacks against the Thurmond - Eastland - Byrd Bill."

Senator Eastland and Senator Byrd were expected to join in Senator Thurmond's statement. But their offices advised they are preparing more detailed replies which are slated to be delivered in Senate speeches Monday.

Civil Rights Debate To Hit Floor Of House

South May Be Able To Delay Showdown Vote For Time

BY MARSHALL McNEIL
Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

WASHINGTON, June 3—The great civil rights debate of 1957 will reach the House floor Wednesday.

And for four days the wordy, bitter battle will sweep back and forth across the big chamber.

There are enough votes in the House to pass the President's four-part civil rights program. But Southerners may be able to delay the show-down voting until late next week.

However, it's the Senate again that will decide whether a civil rights bill eventually is enacted.

Early-session hopes of some for favorable Senate atcion are less bright now. The Southerners seem to have the situation firmly in hand. But this could change.

Administration backers in the House call their bill one to "further" secure and protect the civil rights of Americans.

Its opponents say the bill is "completely hostile" to the "best interests of the U. S." and will "undoubtedly bring chaos, dissension and strife."

In brief, the measure would:

1. Establish a commission to investigate civil rights violations.

2. Authorize appointment of a special assistant attorney general to head a new civil rights division in the Justice Department.

3. Permit the government to file civil suits to prevent violations of a person's civil rights.

4. Give the Federal Government additional power to protect a citizen's right to vote.

During the debate civil rights opponents will use every available device to kill the measure.

There will be points of "no quorum," perhaps many quorum calls; there will be points of order and motions to strike out all or part of the bill, motions to recess or adjourn, motions to send the bill back to the committee.

Filibuster by long speeches is impossible under House rules so these parliamentary weapons are used instead.

Perhaps the biggest fight will be over the proposal that would let the U. S. start civil suits to protect civil rights.

There will be strong demands for inclusion of the right to trial by jury, bitter condemnations of law-making by injunction, many contentions that this provision will supplant states' rights and police powers.

The key figures in the contest will be:

For the bill: Reps. Emanuel Celler (D) and Kenneth Keating (R) of New York and Peter Rodino (D., N. J.).

Against the bill: Southern Democrats, led by Reps. William Colmer of Mississippi and Howard Smith of Virginia.

Bitter Fight On Rights Predicted

WASHINGTON, D. C. — A bitter fight against civil rights is anticipated Wednesday when the Civil Rights Bill encounters staunch opposing Southerners in the House of Representatives.

Virginia's Rep. Howard W. Smith will spur the floor attack and will be assisted by Rep. William M. Colmer of Mississippi, Rep. James C. Davis of Stone Mountain, and others. It is anticipated that the Southerners will try to attach amendments to the bill. General debate on the bill has been limited to four days.

Tues. 6-2-57

The Dixie Representatives have made extensive preparations to see that the controversial bill undergoes a bitter attack.

Creeping Civil Rights

(From The New York Times)

Fri. 5-31-57

The civil rights bill—correctly described by President Eisenhower as "a very moderate thing"—is inching along in both houses of Congress, but its prospects are none too good.

While its clearance on the House Rules Committee by an 8-to-4 vote is encouraging, and its passage by the House toward mid-June probable, the bill has been having rough going on the other side of the Capitol, and the prospects are that it will get a good deal rougher. In the Senate Judiciary committee the measure has survived one amendment that would have practically destroyed it; but it faces even more formidable amendments in the days to come—and there is no assurance that it ever will be reported out of a committee that is headed by Senator Eastland, who is in turn backed by such formidable adversaries of this program as Senators McClellan and Ervin.

Each of these two gentlemen has thought up a proposal that in its own way would wreck the bill, one by attaching to it a "right-to-work" amendment that would kill its chances of passage and the other by adding a "jury-trial" amendment that would undermine its effectiveness. So the prospects in the Senate are, to put it mildly, gloomy; and they are not helped by the fact that the majority leader, Mr. Johnson of Texas, is also against it. But the bill is a reasonable one and a mild one; and if it should pass the House again next month (as a similar one did last year) that would be something. A subsequent Senate filibuster would only show up the opposition once more for what it is; destructive, die-hard and — ultimately — doomed to defeat.

The Administration has asked for a commission to study civil rights, establishment of a civil rights division in the Justice Department, authority for the Attorney General to initiate injunction suits to prevent deprivation of civil rights, and legislation specifically to prevent interference with the right to vote in national elections. This is a mild bill, but the President will have to work for it harder in the future than he has in the past if he hopes to see it get through this Congress.

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The civil rights bill—correctly described by President Eisenhower as "a very moderate thing"—is inching along in both houses of Congress, but its prospects are none too good.

While its clearance on the House Rules Committee by an 8-to-4 vote is encouraging, and its passage by the House toward mid-June probable, the bill has been having rough going on the other side of the Capitol, and the prospects are that it will get a good deal rougher. In the Senate Judiciary committee the measure has survived one amendment that would have practically destroyed it; but it faces even more formidable amendments in the days to come—and there is no assurance that it ever will be reported out of a committee that is headed by Senator Eastland, who is in turn backed by such formidable adversaries of this program as Senators McClellan and Ervin.

Each of these two gentlemen has thought up a proposal that in its own way would wreck the bill, one by attaching to it a "right-to-work" amendment that would kill its chances of passage and the other by adding a "jury-trial" amendment that would undermine its effectiveness. So the prospects in the Senate are, to put it mildly, gloomy; and they are not helped by the fact that the majority leader, Mr. Johnson of Texas, is also against it. But the bill is a reasonable one and a mild one; and if it should pass the House again next month (as a similar one did last year) that would be something. A subsequent Senate filibuster would only show up the opposition once more for what it is; destructive,

Warning from a New Quarter

Two new voices, neither of which can be charged with regional bias or prejudice, were raised in Washington the past week against the denial of jury trial under the pending civil rights bill.

Senator O'Mahoney of Wyoming spoke firmly in favor of jury trials in all civil rights cases and was the inspiration for the lead editorial and editorial cartoon the following day in The Washington Star.

"It is interesting and perhaps significant," said The Star, "that Senator O'Mahoney, Democrat of Wyoming has joined the ranks of those who look with misgiving on the prospective denial of jury trials under the administration's civil rights bill.

"The bill provides that the attorney general may seek injunctions against violations of civil rights. Defendants in contempt cases arising out of this provision would not be entitled to trial by jury. This is true even though the penalty might be a fine or a jail sentence. It is argued that this is not a new departure, since there are other instances, labor injunctions excepted, in which there is no right of trial by jury in criminal contempt cases to which the United States is a party. This is correct. But it does not follow that the practice is one which should be extended, perhaps widely extended, by the legislation now pending in Congress.

"There is no dispute over the motivation behind the proposed denial of jury trials. Sponsors of the legislation fear, perhaps correctly, that Southern juries in many instances would not convict civil rights defendants. Therefore, they say, in effect, let's bypass the jury system and try these defendants before Federal judges.

"This, it seems to us, contemplates a radical and even dangerous projection of the Federal judicial power. In principle, why should not the defendants in civil rights disputes be entitled to at least the same jury protection as defendants in labor disputes? If it is argued in the case of the former that the end justifies the means, an unpalatable doctrine in any circumstances, the fact is that experience has not yet shown the existence of such justification.

"Senator O'Mahoney, who is neither a reactionary nor a "racist," says: "I believe in the jury trial." So do we, and we are not prepared to accept the view of Assistant Attorney General Olney that the jury-trial amendment to the legislation is merely "a clever device to nullify" the civil rights proposal."

Every member of the Senate who thinks through on this issue can hardly fail to reach the same conclusion.

WINSTEAD LASHES OUT AT CIVIL RIGHTS BILL

Charges False Label Is Tool For Race Friction

Sat. 6-8-57

WASHINGTON, June 7.—(AP) — Representative Arthur Winstead (D., Miss.) said Friday the "false label of civil rights" had deluded many people into supporting legislation they don't understand and which would eventually deprive them of a basic right—the right to a jury trial.

This false label, he said in remarks placed in the Congressional Record, "has made a race-conscious people see indignity and mistreatment were none exists.

"It has given a paintbrush of smear an da pot of propaganda materials to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, an organization which is not so much an association for the advancement of colored people as it is an instrument for causing agitation between races."

Mr. Winstead called the bill "a ruthlens distortion of the true principle of civil rights" and said it revives sectional animosities.

He charged also that a hard core of sponsors "are motivated solely by a cynical creed for capturing the votes of easily misled, highly sensitive and often emotionally unstable minorities in their own areas."

Restrictive Legislation Scored By B'nai B'rith

Daily World P.6 Atlanta, Ga. Wed. 5-8-57

NEW YORK — Judge David A. Rose of Boston, chairman of the Civil Rights Committee of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, scored "restrictive legislation and administrative measures" adopted in several Southern states because of the desegregation issue which he declared "threatened the existence of all voluntary organizations concerned with public affairs."

In a report to the National Executive Committee of the League, he said that the state actions in the first instance aimed against the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People creates "a dangerous precedent which in the future might be used against organizations of other racial and religious groups."

Some state legislatures have authorized investigations designed to force the NAACP to disclose its membership and those who financially support it, Judge Rose said. Other states have utilized existing laws against lobbying activities and laws dealing with out-of-state corporations to subject NAACP to the requirement of registration. Judge Rose noted that "in Louisiana, ironically, a law enacted originally against the Ku Klux Klan has been the basis for action by which the NAACP was enjoined from operating in the state unless it filed its membership list."

In some states, he added, laws were passed prohibiting school teachers from being members of NAACP. The Texas House of Representatives approved a bill barring NAACP from all public employment in the state.

Acting on Judge Rose's report, the League adopted a resolution affirming its opposition to such measures "that tend to inhibit the rights of any organization to take action in the furtherance of its program in conformity with the U. S. Constitution for the defense and expansion of civil rights."

Guarantee of Suffrage

Fear of Bill's Success Seen in Rights Battle

Post + Times Herald Washington, D.C. Wed. 4-24-57 P.11-A

By Roscoe Drummond

IT IS only frank to state that much of the opposition to the civil rights bills, now before Congress, is based on the fear that if enacted they will be successful in protecting the right to vote.

Drummond

In other words, most of the maneuvering and debate which have been going on in committee over these Administration measures have as their purpose to defeat or so weaken them that they would not be useful. It would be misstating the facts to say otherwise.

Some opponents of the proposed legislation argue that it would short-circuit trial by jury.

HERE is the crux of the problem:

The right to vote for Federal officials is guaranteed by the Constitution. The only way the Federal Government can now protect that right is to undertake criminal prosecution of state and local officials suspected of administering voting regulations in a discriminatory manner. Such prosecution can only come after the suspected denial of right to register or vote has taken place—and thus does little good in preventing such discrimination.

The Administration program would change this procedure at two points. It would authorize the Attorney General to bring civil, instead of criminal, suits in order to protect federally guaranteed civil rights. It would also enable the Justice Department to act preventively in case of threatened violation of voting rights.

Under the proposed law, for example, a suit in equity could be brought against a registrar of voters suspected of discriminating against Negroes in administering a literacy test and thus he could be enjoined from such discrimination far enough in advance of an election to permit Negroes to register and vote.

THE KEY provision of the Administration bill is that the court must have the authority to require a state or local official to obey a court order enjoining him against certain practices or to punish him for refusal to obey.

What would be the rights of the defendant—the local registrar? He could be represented by counsel, could bring witnesses; he could cross-examine witnesses. He would be presumed innocent; his guilt would have to be proved beyond reasonable doubt; he could not be compelled to testify against himself.

The advocates of the Administration bill contend that the Federal courts in these cases must have sufficient power to enforce the decrees which they enter.

The opponents of the bill propose to take from the Federal courts the authority to enforce their injunctions against voting discrimination and place that authority in the hands of juries.

The use of civil suits, as proposed in the civil rights legislation, to make possible preventive relief in enforcing Federal law is not new. The Department of Justice has used such proceedings in anti-trust cases since 1890 and has similar powers to enforce the Atomic Energy Act, the Fair Labor Standards Act, the Securities Acts and others. Jury trial is not involved.

It is increasingly clear that the foundation stone of all civil rights is the right to vote. When this right is secured and practiced, other civil rights can better be protected; when this right is violated and neglected, the loss of other civil rights follows easily.

This is why the supporters of the civil rights program believe it should be passed as written since, in the experience of the Justice Department, it is "the minimum needed to make the provisions of the Constitution effective in actual practice to protect minority groups now being discriminated against in certain areas on a wholesale basis."

This is why its opponents want either to defeat the program or remove from it the provision that the Federal courts shall have the power to enforce their orders after full hearing.

It is too early to forecast the fate of the civil rights legislation at this session. It is clear that what is at stake is meaningful legislation, not just civil-rights shadowboxing.

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Civil Rights Action Pressed by Knowland

Post + Times Herald P.1 Thur. 5-2-57 Washington, D.C.

By John A. Goldsmith
United Press

Senate Republican Leader William F. Knowland (Calif.) believed an ultimatum to the Senate Judiciary Committee yesterday in an effort to speed approval of civil rights legislation. He told newsmen that if the Committee doesn't report a bill out by the end of this month, civil rights advocates will bypass it and take other steps to get a measure before the full Senate.

Knowland also came out in opposition to efforts to write a so-called "right-to-work" amendment into the civil rights bill. Approval of such an amendment "would certainly kill" civil rights legislation, he said.

Knowland's statements gave fresh hope to advocates of a stronger civil rights law, some of whom have charged that the Administration has been dragging its feet on the legislation.

Knowland said he still expects the Judiciary Committee to act on a civil rights bill this month — perhaps during the week of May 13.

But if it doesn't, he said, supporters of a new law will take "whatever parliamentary action is available to us" to get a ball before the Senate.

He would not specify the type of action that might be taken. Two possibilities would be to attach civil rights legislation as a rider to some other bill — a move Knowland said he doesn't favor as a rule—or to take formal action to discharge a bill from the Judiciary Committee.

Knowland said the longer the Committee delays action on a bill, "the more the bill is in jeopardy." This was a clear reference to the threat of an effective filibuster against the measure which increases as Congress nears adjournment.

Knowland said it now appears that the House will act on a civil rights bill—presumably the President's program—about mid-May. The problem for the Senate, he said, is to get a bill out of Committee "no later than the latter part of May."

The proposal to write a so-called right-to-work amendment into the civil rights bill has been made by Sen. John L. McClellan (D-Ark.).

Right-to-work laws, which now prevail in a number of States, forbid the negotiation of union shop labor contracts which require an employe to join a union after a trial period and maintain union membership to retain his job.

Democrats Oppose Civil Rights Bill Rider

Post + Times Herald P.1 Mon. 5-8-57 Washington, D.C.

Advisory Group Also Takes Slap At Ike's Foreign And Fiscal Policies

By Robert C. Albright
Staff Reporter

The Democratic National Committee's new Advisory Council, composed of top Democrats mostly outside of Congress, yesterday slapped at a Congressional move, joined in by some Southern Democrats, to enact Federal "right-to-work" legislation.

The new 24-man group, described by Democratic National Chairman Paul Butler as "a novel experiment in American politics," completed its formal

Mr. Truman says Mrs. Truman "gave me hell" for charging President Eisenhower with absenteeism.
Page A3.

Adlai Stevenson opposes large-scale H-bomb tests as "contamination without representation."
Page A3.

organization as an adjunct of the National Committee, and adopted three resolutions.

Other Actions

In addition to its warning against "right-to-work" legislation, as contrary to the principles of the Party's platform, the top Democratic body:

- Rapped the Eisenhower-Dulles foreign policy for dealing a "blow to the Western Alliance "from which it can only slowly recover," and added: "Occasionally we consult with our friends and allies, sometimes we try to bully them into accepting our views, often we just go it alone."
- Berated the Administration's fiscal policies as making the rich "richer" and the poor "poorer" and commended the Democratic leadership in Congress for pushing investigations into these matters. It also supported the Party's leadership "in their announced intention to consider tax relief for the lower income groups."

Sixteen Members Voting

Sixteen of the 24 members of the advisory group, including Adlai E. Stevenson, Gov. Averell Harriman of New York, Gov. C. Mennen Williams of Michigan and top members of the Party's executive committee, participated in voting on the three resolutions. Former President Harry S. Truman attended the meeting, but left before the resolutions were adopted.

Post & Times Herald P. 3 A

The resolution against "right-to-work" legislation was offered by Paul Ziffren, National Committeeman from California, and appeared aimed at a move by Sen. John L. McClellan (D-Ark.) and a coalition of Southerners and Republicans in the Judiciary Committee the other day to tie a "right-to-work" amendment to the Administration's "right-to-vote" civil rights bill. The amendment, in effect, would throw out union and closed shop agreements. The rider, if adopted, would probably sink civil rights legislation.

Chairman Butler said the McClellan move was "mentioned" during Advisory Council debate on the resolution offered by Ziffren, but denied any effort to "relate" the Council's action with the civil rights fight. The Council twice previously has called for civil rights action by Congress.

Two Oppose Resolution

Two Southern members of the Advisory Council, Mrs. Lennard Thomas, National Committeewoman from Alabama, and Mrs. Benjamin B. Everett, National Committeewoman for North Carolina, voted against the anti-"right-to-work" resolution.

The resolution declared "right-to-work" legislation "contrary to the principles advocated by the National Democratic Platform," and said it "regrets" that efforts are being made to enact such laws. It said the National Committee has already opposed state legislation of this sort, "and it follows that any attempt to accomplish the result at the Federal level would be even more objectionable."

Concluding a 3-day round of Democratic activities in Washington, with this sectional flare-up of intra-Party differences, the newly formed Council wound up on a note all Democrats agree on: They joined in attacking the Administration's foreign and economic policies.

The Council's foreign policy resolution accused the President and his Secretary of State of substituting "improvisations for policy, appeasement for leadership, posturing for deeds and advertising slogans for information."

The Council said it remained for the Senate and House Democratic leadership, under trying conditions, to "maintain America's historical bipartisanship and, with vigor and devotion, to inject consistency into our dealings with our friends and allies abroad." It commended Democrats in Congress for "reshaping of the Eisenhower Doctrine."

Assails Lack of Leadership

The Democratic advisory group said day-to-day conduct of foreign affairs is not a job for Congress, however: "Leadership must be in the Executive Branch. That leadership we have not had."

"Today we are mistrusted and even feared by our friends," the resolution went on to say. "This has been clear ever since Prime Minister Eden came to Washington a year ago and pleaded in vain for a united front against aggression in the Middle East. The French supported his pleas. The Israelis made it plain that they might be forced to act in self preservation.

"We rebuffed Britain. We ignored the French. We rebuked the Israelis.

"And then—to complete the cycle—we first courted Egypt's dictator and then insulted Col. Nasser by making and then quickly and unceremoniously withdrawing, an offer of aid on the Aswan Dam—a move which Secretary Dulles' latest officially-approved unofficial biographer boasts is another impressive example of brink-of-war diplomacy."

The economic resolution sponsored by Gov. Williams attributed cost-of-living increases to the tight money policies of what it termed "this Big Business Administration." It charged the Administration's anti-inflationary moves "completely misfired."

"Small increases in wages are used as the excuse for large increases in prices," it said. "At the same time, the small businessman and the farmer are suffering from falling prices and incomes. Profits of small producers have been going down and business failures have been rising . . . Only the owners and managers of the big corporations which have been raising prices gain from this situation."

It said the Administration failed adequately to enforce anti-trust laws and we are now "in the grip of the third great merger movement in our history."

Reorganization Plan Set Up

Before it adjourned, the Advisory Council completed a plan of organization, under Butler as ex-officio chairman. Butler appointed an administrative committee of three, consisting of himself, Thomas K. Finletter of New York, former Secretary of the Air Force, and Philip B. Perlman of Maryland, former Solicitor General. Finletter and Perlman were named "directors" to serve without compensation. In charge of staff, the Council approved an executive director Charles Tyroler II. Charles S Murphy, former special counsel to the President, was named counsel.

The Council authorized Butler to set up advisory committees on (1) foreign policy (2) economic policy (3) methods of Democratic Party financing and (4) political techniques and development.

Thomas L. Stokes

Constitution P. 4
Thurs. 5-16-57
Atlanta, Ga.

Southerners Pledge Civil Rights Action

WASHINGTON—Political necessity finally seems to have caught up with the Senate's Democratic leader, Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, on an issue that is becoming increasingly troublesome to his party—civil rights. Openly and publicly on the Senate floor, the Southerners pledged there would be action on civil rights legislation at this session of Congress.

The pledge came, it is true, in response to a Republican challenge during a political debate. Johnson had been pushed into a corner. But the Democratic leader obviously had decided he might as well recognize publicly the reality that he and other Democratic leaders pondered since last November's election.

The reality was, of course, the defection of many Negro votes from the Democrats to President Eisenhower and more proportionally in the South than in the North. The reason was twofold: The Southern Democratic resistance to integration and the civil rights blockade successfully raised for many years in the Senate by Southern Democrats.

A few minutes of old-fashioned political debate, so rarely heard in the Senate these days, brought out the whole story of civil rights legislation in Congress, the hypocrisy of both parties in recent years, the absurd lengths to which Southern Democrats go in delaying tactics in the Senate and, finally, the belated acknowledgement that this is a serious issue that must be met.

Johnson had been enjoying himself immensely in twitting the Republicans about the trouble they are having over President Eisenhower's big budget.

It also was relished, incidentally, by one of the Senate's top Republican leaders, chairman of the party conference. This is Styles Bridges of New Hampshire, who is neither an Eisenhower nor a "modern" Republican. As ranking Republican member on the Senate Appropriations Committee, he will have much to say about what happens to the President's budget.

Immediately Johnson was put on the defensive by the Senate Republican Leader, William F. Knowland of California, who rose and promptly changed the subject. He asked the Senate Democratic leader, as he has been asking the Democratic Party publicly for some time, when something would be done about the important civil rights legislation.

Johnson, in reply, took off on a rambling discussion about how the Supreme Court's public school integration decision had gone much farther than anybody in Congress had anticipated and how people all over the country have had to go slow in trying to adapt it.

He then reminded Knowland that the Republicans had done nothing about civil rights legislation when they were in control in the 83rd Congress. Accounting for his own Democratic stewardship in this Congress, the Texan wound up:

"This question is going to be acted upon at this session."

Long Delayed Debate On Bill Began Thursday

World P. 1
Sat. 6-8-57
B'ham Ala.

BY ARTHUR KRANISH

WASHINGTON — (INS) — Southern foes of civil rights legislation lost their first battle Wednesday when the House rejected a move to kill the measure shortly after debate got underway.

The first test on the administration - endorsed bill came on adoption of a rule providing for full-scale debate and consideration of the issue by the House. The vote was 290 to 117.

Seven Southern opponents launched an angry attack on the controversial legislation before the test vote was taken. Adoption of the rule paves the way for prolonged debate which began Thursday.

LEADER OF BLOC

In opposition, Rep. William M. Colmer (D) Miss., recognized as a leader of the Southern bloc, bluntly charged the measure would set up a "Gestapo" in the United States which would "destroy the liberty of the man in the street."

In rebuttal, advocates said the legislation is needed to guarantee the right of all Americans with the right to vote and eliminate injustices.

DELAYING TACTICS

Southerners are expected to use whatever delaying tactics they can to hold up passage of the measure.

They also are ready to offer a series of amendments in the hope of "watering down" the bill.

Chief of these will be a move to provide jury trials for any contempt actions stemming from civil rights injunctions. The administration strongly opposes such an amendment.

Rep. Charles B. Brownson (R) Ind., charged that a jury trial amendment "would deviate the true interest and purposes of this bill."

He was joined by Rep. Hugh Scott (R) Pa., who declared that such an amendment is "probably unconstitutional" and will be favored by those who want "the right to violate the law."

World P. 8

Rep. Martin Dies (D) Texas won applause from opponents by challenging the House to "show confidence" in the Southern States by permitting a jury trial.

RIGHT TO VOTE

Dies charged that the bill is a case of "political expediency" designed to capture the Negro vote in the North.

The Texas Democrat declared that no citizen of his state has ever been deprived of the right to vote.

House approval of the omnibus measure is anticipated after a hard floor battle but Senate action is still problematical.

The measure would set up a bi-partisan civil rights commission with authority to investigate and make recommendations to Congress.

In addition, a new civil rights division in the Justice Department would be armed with new laws permitting a court order to block civil rights violations before they occur.

Opposition attack on the bill, which passed the House last year, is now centered on this provision under it, a judge could find persons guilty of violating a court order, without a jury trial.

A Senate subcommittee voted Monday to include a jury trial guarantee in its version of the measure.

Advocates of the bill contend that it is impossible to get civil rights convictions from Southern juries.

10 1957

Alabamian Soon To Finish 20 Years On Bench—

Will Black Have Final Civil Rights Word?

BY GENE WORTSMAN
Post-Herald Correspondent

WASHINGTON — Twenty years ago next Aug. 12, President Franklin D. Roosevelt touched off one of the big controversies of that year, 1937.

He nominated Hugo L. Black, Democratic senator from Alabama, to the U. S. Supreme Court.

The seclusion of the office of associate justice has taken the Black name out of the limelight but it has not entirely kept him out of controversy.

Whether "the judge" will retire at the end of his 20 years of service—which actually will occur on Oct. 3—is a matter he isn't revealing.

Nor have the Washington rumor mills picked up anything on that score.

At 71, Black could retire at full salary of $35,000 a year.

His years in public life have marked him as a man praised for his courage, damned for his policies; and noted for his independence of spirit.

He once was a member of the Ku Klux Klan, yet he is considered a civil rights advocate.

It was reported that Republic Steel Corp. hired a private detective to look into Black's past.

This detective discovered evidence that Black had been a member of the KKK and he turned that evidence over to a newspaperman. For his exposes, the newsman later won the Pulitzer Prize.

The Senate was in an uproar on Black's nomination.

Telegram for and against him poured in.

But on Aug. 17, 1937—in just five days—the Senate confirmed the appointment by a vote of 63-16.

The controversy raged on.

On Oct. 1, Black spoke over the Columbia Broadcasting System.

"An effort is being made to convince the people of America that I am intolerant, and that I am prejudiced against people of the Jewish and Catholic faiths, and against members of the Negro race," said Black.

". . . The insinuations . . . are based on the fact that I joined the Ku Klux Klan about 15 years ago. I did join the Klan. I later resigned. I never rejoined. What appeared then, or what appears now, on the records of the organization, I do not know.

"I never considered and I do not now consider the unsolicited card given to me shortly after my nomination to the Senate as a membership of any kind in the Ku Klux Klan. I never used it. I did not even keep it. . . .

"When this statement is ended, my discussion of the question is closed."

And it has been, for 20 years.

Three days later he took his place on the high court bench, the first U. S. senator to do so since 1894.

The next day a former federal judge demanded that Black show cause why he was eligible to sit on the bench.

Nothing came of this.

Black wasn't out of the woods yet.

In 1946 he read the majority 5-4 opinion of the court on the United Mine Workers portal-to-portal case.

Associate Justice Robert H. Jackson attacked Black for not disqualifying himself because Black's one-time law partner had represented the UMW.

Black barged over to the White House and told President Harry S. Truman that he, Black, would resign if Truman appointed Jackson chief justice of the court, a position then open.

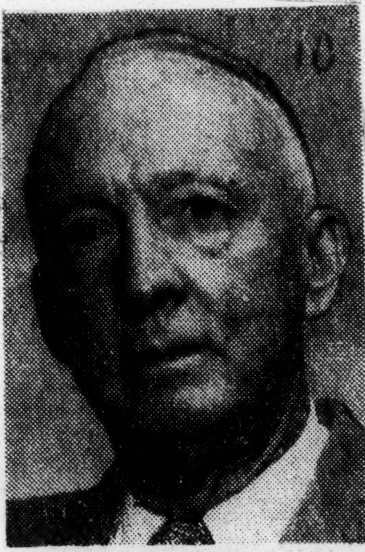
Truman didn't and Black didn't.

On March 19, 1954, in New Orleans, before a Senate internal security subcommittee, witnesses said Black's sister-in-law, Mrs. Virginia Durr, had associated with Communists.

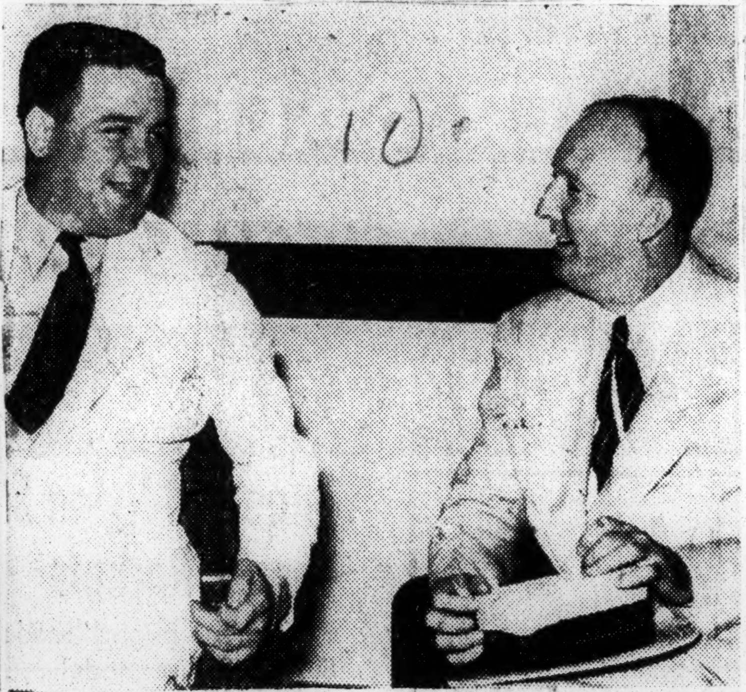
She denied it before the subcommittee but refused to answer some subcommittee questions.

A witness said Mrs. Durr used her influence to get the justice to speak to the Southern Conference for Human Welfare in Birmingham in 1938.

He did speak and was presented the group's first Jefferson Medal as "the South's most outstanding statesman in



20 YEARS ON BENCH —Justice Hugo Black.



IN EARLIER DAYS—Hugo Black (right) is shown in this picture with Cooper Green, former Birmingham mayor. The picture probably was made when Green was postmaster.

promoting human welfare along the lines of the philosophy of Thomas Jefferson."

The organization later changed its name to the Southern Conference Education Fund which, in 1954, was under Senate investigation for its Communist influence.

As a senator he denounced the U. S. Supreme Court for usurping too much power, a judgment in which he himself now stands accused by some.

He was a member of the Congress which upped salaries of Supreme Court justices and then took office on that body in what some critics called a violation of the Constitution.

Black has been on the Supreme Court bench longer than any of the other justices serving with him.

It is not likely that he will set the all-time record, held by the late Stephan Johnson Field, who served 34 years and nine months, from 1863 to 1897.

Black was known as a fighting prosecutor before he went to the Senate, and he was a headline making senator before he was named to the high tribunal.

Black was born in Clay County, Ala., on Feb. 27, 1886, in mountain country near Harlan.

He was the seventh child in the family.

At 20, he was graduated from the University of Alabama and began practicing law in Ashland. Later, with $9 in his pocket, he moved to Birmingham.

He was named Birmingham's youngest police judge at 24.

Five years later he was elected county solicitor.

His firyst act was to throw out 500 cases against petty offenders whom he claimed had been arrested only to make fees for officers of the court.

He cracked down on gamblers and bootleggers.

Next was Army service in World War I for 28 months.

It was after he returned, in 1919, that he met—and married—Josephine Foster who was wearing the uniform of a Navy yeomanette.

Black, for the next few years practiced law and reportedly had a yearly business of $60,-000 when he ran for the U. S. Senate in 1926 and won.

In 1933, as head of a Senate committee investigating ocean mail and air mail subsidy, Black uncovered the scandal of the year.

He proposed a lobby registration bill.

He was the sponsor of the minimum wage and maximum working hours bill.

When President Roosevelt wanted to "pack" the Supreme Court, Black became his leader in the Senate.

And in this fight, on Feb. 28, 1937, he made a statement which his opponents today could use against him.

"Neither the people who wrote nor the people who approved the Constitution ever contemplated that the Supreme Court should become all-powerful and omnipotent," Black stated.

He said the trend of the philosophy of the court was that the Constitution is what the court majority says it is.

"This prevailing dominant five-judge economic and social philosophy is becoming a part of our constitution," he said, "not by aemndments approved by our people but by the decisions of lifetime judges . . .

"I . . . believe it is time to stop these judicial usurpations."

A few months later he was nominated for the high court.

Within a one-year period in 1938, the high court twice reversed itself on major constitutional questions to agree with minority dissents reported by Black.

Within 2½ years after he took the office, some of Black's critics were saying he already had made a distinguished record.

This record, they said, would make historians wonder why all the furor had resulted when Black was nominated.

On Dec. 7, 1951, his wife died.

This past December, "the judge" was in the hospital for a mild urinary infection.

Through the years he has handed down majority opinions of great moment.

These opinions upheld the government's right to interne West Coast Japs during World War II, stopped Union Leader James C. Petrillo from forcing radio stations to hire extra musicians, outlawed use of public school buildings for religious instruction.

His more recent rulings on school integration cases have gotten him in bad with fellow-Southerners.

So the decisions of a former Klansman, whose views apparently have changed, may be partly responsible for the resurgence of the Klan today.

But if present civil rights bills pass Congress and cases resulting from them reach the high court, Black—if he still is there—could re-emerge as a Southern champion.

Years ago a Northwestern University law professor noted that one of Black's three major motifs was that jury trials should be preserved.

Civil rights opponents say pending legislation will outlaw trial by jury in certain instances.

Perhaps Justice Black yet will be the man with the final say.

In Senate Committee

Civil Rights Move By South Fails

Herald Miami Fla. P.5-A Tues. 5-21-57

WASHINGTON —(AP)— The Senate Judiciary Committee Monday rejected a Southern proposal to knock out key parts of the administration's Civil Rights Bill.

The six-man majority was made of Sen. Estes Kefauver, Tennessee Democrat, and five Republican senators: Alexander Wiley of Wisconsin; Arthur Watkins of Utah; Everett Dirksen of Illinois; John Marshall Butler of Maryland and Roman Hruska of Nebraska.

Voting for the proposal, by Sen. Sam Erivn, North Carolina Democrat, were Ervin and three other Southern Democrats: Chairman James O. Eastland of Mississippi, John L. McClellan of Arkansas and Olin Johnston of South Carolina.

It was some sort of surprise that the committee took any action Monday. This was the first voting test of strength recorded in the committee since a subcommittee approved the bill 4-2 March 19.

Ervin's proposal aimed at dropping provisions which would:

Create a special division in the Justice Department to enforce civil rights laws.

Create a special commission with power to examine complaints of violation of civil rights.

Set up a system permitting injunction suits to protect a variety of civil rights.

If these provisions were dropped, the only thing left in the bill would be a section designed especialy to protect the voting right of Negroes.

The House Rules Committee has a vote set for Tuesday on clearing the bill for a vote in the House.

Assuming it is cleared, a House vote could be expected by the end of this month, or early in June.

FIGHT AVOIDED BY DEMOCRATS ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Daily Tribune Sat. 5-4-57 Chicago Ill. P. 2-R

Washington, May 3 (AP)—The civil rights issue flared up briefly today in the Democratic national committee but members quickly put it aside without a fight.

The committee opened three days of party strategy sessions, to be highlighted tomorrow night by a $100 a plate money raising dinner featuring former President Harry S. Truman and Adlai Stevenson, the Democratic Presidential nominee of 1952 and 1956, as orators.

Reads Letter from A. D. A.

What brought on the civil rights skirmish was a letter sent to Paul M. Butler, national chairman, by Robert R. Nathan, chairman of Americans for Democratic Action. Butler read it to the members of the national committee. It called on the membership to "support meaningful civil rights legislation," including the Eisenhower administration's program. Theletter said some Democratic senators are obstructing such legislation by delay and deceit.

Thus a constant sore point within the Democratic party was prodded again. The national committeeman from Alabama, Charles W. McKay, jumped to his feet with a motion that the entire letter be stricken from the record of the meeting. Another southerner, B. Everett Jordan, of North Carolina, seconded the motion.

The members jockeyed thru several substitute proposals but finally voted unanimously for one offered by Edgar A. Brown of South Carolina that the letter be received as information and placed on file. Brown said he offered this "in the interest of harmony and good feeling."

"Sad Financial Plight"

From the party treasurer, Matthew McCloskey, came a report that the party is in a sort of sad financial plight—the deficit has jumped from $470,000 last February to $660,000 now.

McCloskey said he didn't want to scold the committee members but the states just hadn't been coöperating the way they should. He said the committee would have about $800,000 coming in if the states were meeting their quotas, whereas the actual take has been only $24,000. Part of the deficit is the $154,597 in unpaid bills left over by the Stevenson-Kefauver campaign committee. The national committee voted to pick up the tab for these.

One positive action today was adoption of a resolution calling on Congress to hurry up action on statehood for Alaska and Hawaii, as pledged by the Democratic party platform.

Magazine Still Losing

From the party's deputy chairman and publicity director, Sam Brightman, came word that the Democratic Digest, a monthly party magazine, has boosted circulation from 63,000 to 73,000 in the last few months. But he still urged members of the national committee to get behind further selling efforts. Butler told the committee that while the magazine's deficit has been cut, it still lost $86,000 in the last 11 months.

Butler announced, too, that Truman will be on a party quiz program May 21, with Stevenson as the quizmaster. The program will be carried over the CBS radio network, and also put on tape for hundreds of Democratic "Party Night" dinners over the nation.

The other panelists for what Butler said will be "the most unusual, most novel political program" ever put on the air, will be Sen. Sparkman [D., Ala.], the 1952 Democratic Vice Presidential candidate; Gov. Foster Furcolo of Massachusetts, and Mrs. Jane Barkley, widow of the late senator and Vice President, Alben W. Barkley.

Douglas Pushes Civil Rights Bill

Post-Herald B'hom, Ala.

Near-Filibuster In Committee Charged

Wed. 5-29-57

WASHINGTON, May 28 (AP)—Sen. Douglas (D., Ill.) sparked a round of Senate debate today by contending that President Eisenhower's civil rights bill is being held in the Judiciary Committee by what "is close to a filibuster."

Douglas accused opponents of the legislation of "dilatory and delaying tactics." But Sen. Eastland (D., Miss.), chairman of the committee and an outspoken opponent of the proposals, denied employing such tactics and termed Douglas' remarks "unfair."

The debate followed an announcement by Sen. Knowland (R., Calif.) at the White House that Senate Republicans are "going to make a special drive to get the bill out of committee."

"Time is running out and patience is being exhausted," Douglas told Eastland.

Eastland said the Judiciary Committee would have begun considering amendments to the civil rights bill yesterday "had a quorum been present." He said it will start taking up amendments Monday.

Civil Rights 'Fight' By President Urged

Star P. 2-a Sat. 5-25-57 Washington D.C.

BOSTON, May 25 (AP).—Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, says he wishes President Eisenhower would "come out fighting" for a civil rights bill.

Mr. Wilkins told the Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice last night there is a "conspiracy in Congress by Southerners to block and kill off civil rights legislation."

He said a right-to-work amendment offered by Senator McClellan, Democratic of Arkansas, "is designed to wreck the bill. . . . It has been placed there by Senator McClellan to provide fuel for prolonged debate and in an attempt to make the labor unions withdraw their support of the civil rights bill.

'RESIST AMENDMENTS'

83 House Demos Urge GOP Join Push For Civil Rights

Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. P. 1 Thurs. 5-30-57

WASHINGTON, May 29 (AP)—Eighty-three House Democrats issued a joint statement today in support of the civil rights bill coming up for House debate next Wednesday.

They said they were "determined" to see enactment of "meaningful" civil rights legislation and added:

"We earnestly call upon our Republican colleagues to join with us in this determination."

They said Democrats couldn't pass the bill alone since Southerners "may find it difficult to support the bill."

Rep. Celler (D-NY), author of the civil rights bill in the House, said he had called a meeting of Democrats for June 6 to develop strategy on getting the bill passed and resisting crippling amendments.

"It is hoped the Republicans will call a similar meeting," Celler told reporters.

Reps. Roosevelt (D-Calif), Thompson (D-NJ), Metcalf (D-Mont) and Boyle (D-Ill) met with reporters this afternoon to explain the joint statement signed by 83 Democrats, mostly from the north.

The statements said the signers were determined to resist "crippling amendments to the present bill. They said opponents to the bill thought they had found a "new secret weapon" in insisting there be an amendment guaranteeing a trial by jury for those who were charged with violating court orders.

They said the addition of the amendment would make the bill meaningless.

They continued, "unfortunately, the President has not backed up his recommendation with the kind of leadership which is needed to assure a legislative victory. Neither he nor his attorney general has seen fit to reply to a request last week by Rep. James Roosevelt of California that the Administration speak out clearly on the controversial 'trial-by-jury' issue."

Roosevelt told reporters he had written the President asking him to make a public statement, together with the attorney general, "which would make clear whether or not you felt that the 'trial-by-jury' amendment would make the civil rights bill practically ineffective as to its enforcement features."

Advertiser P. 2-A Thurs 5-30-57

In answer to a question, Roosevelt said he believed the jury trial amendment would destroy the bill. Asked if he thought that way because he believed Southern juries wouldn't bring in convictions, Roosevelt replied, "Yes."

The Democrats' statement said the civil rights bill "will be defeated or crippled only if a deal is worked out between Southern members and some Republican members." It said "such a coalition has operated too often in the past."

10 1957

May accept Southern view—

Roosevelt might accept trial by jury proposal for civil rights bill

News 5/31 Sun. 5-26-57 B'ham, Ala. 10

BY DREW PEARSON

WASHINGTON, May 25—Congressman James Roosevelt, hitherto one of the staunchest backers of the civil rights bill, has written a letter to Atty. Gen. Brownell which indicates he may accept the Southern view regarding trial by jury.

Roosevelt's letter coincides with increasing private skepticism on the part of many firm civil rights advocates that the traditional right of trial by jury should be weakened. This has been the point hammered home repeatedly by the chief Southern spokesmen opposing the Brownell-written civil rights bill—namely, Sen. Sam Ervin of North Carolina.

If Congressman Roosevelt changes his mind on trial by jury, it is sure to influence a number of other Northern Democrats and the civil rights bill, amended to contain trial by jury, would have an excellent chance of passing at this session of Congress.

Southern spokesmen have been so vigorous in demanding the trial by jury amendment that they would almost have to accept the bill if amended.

"There are many proponents of the measure," Congressman Roosevelt wrote Brownell, "who are seriously troubled as to whether or not there is a basic validity in the arguments of such distinguished opponents as Sen. Sam J. Ervin Jr., former judge of North Carolina."

Roosevelt then propounded to the attorney general, who drafted the original bill which provides for trial by a judge, not by jury, the following questions: News P. 16

"1. Would such an amendment as proposed in your opinion effectively destroy the practical workability of the proposed civil rights law?

2. How are federal juries chosen? Is the method the same in each state or area of the country, including the Southern states?

3. Does the method of federal jury selection give to the Department of Justice the ability to see that a jury properly represents all sections of the community?

4. If the Department of Justice does not have such ability, does the Federal District Court have the power to see that federal juries are truly representative of the entire community?

5. Is there any middle ground which you would advocate if your answer to question 1 is in the affirmative, such as granting to the appeals court the right to order a trial by jury where, in the opinion of the appeals court, the lower court judge has been capricious or arbitrary?"

No reply yet

BROWNELL has not yet replied to Roosevelt's letter. Roosevelt requested an answer by the first week in June, at which time the civil rights bill is due to come up for debate in the House of Representatives. Whether Brownell will reply by that time remains to be seen. **Last year he ducked repeated questions from Sen. Tom Hennings of Missouri and the Senate judiciary committee for three months.**

Case Opposes Trial By Jury In Rights Bill

Advertiser Thurs. 5-23-57 Montgomery, Ala.

WASHINGTON, May 22 (AP)—Sen. Clifford P. Case (R-NJ) said today that "neigher the Constitution nor prior legal precedent provides for a jury trial in contempt cases of the kind which might arise" under the Administration's civil rights bill. P. 1

He told the Senate that becaue of "confusion" over this issue, he was gratified the American Civil Liberties Union had issued a statement opposing a jury trial amendment to the bill.

"During its long career," he said, "the Civil Liberties Union has steadfastly refused to temporize with any of our Constitutional liberties. For this reason, its opposition to the jury trial amendment assumes particular significance at this time."

HEART OF ATTACK

Case said "the heart of the attack" made by opponents of the bill is that persons cited for contempt of court for alleged violations of injunctions obtained by the government to enforce voting and other civil rights would be denied the right to trial by jury.

Southern foes of the measure hope to write a jury trial amendment into the bill when it comes up for action in the House, probably in the first week of June.

In the Senate, where the legislation still is bottled up in the Judiciary Committee, a similar effort is planned. Administration spokesmen have said such an amendment would cripple the bill.

'NO PLACE HERE'

Case said he fully appreciates "the jury's value as a check upon the arbitrary exercise of governmental power, but I am convinced that it has no place in this legislation."

He noted that the Civil Liberties Union said that while misuse of government power must be guarded against vigilantly, the power of the courts to uphold the law must not be weakened.

"Enforcement of the law has been undermined in some sections of the country where community sentiment has blocked effecitve enforcement of the right to vote," Case said, adding:

"If court orders are to be respected in cases of this kind in which the federal government seeks to uphold public policy, the courts must be able to punish contemptuous acts."

Civil Rights Maneuvers

Courier Sat. 6-1-57 Pittsburgh, Pa. P. 9

The House Rules Committee has cleared President Eisenhower's civil rights bill by strictly sectional vote and it now goes to the floor of the House for debate and vote, with an outside chance that it will be passed; while in the Senate the full Judiciary Committee, by a 6-to-4 vote, has rejected attempts to emasculate the program.

Unfortunately, there is no cause for undue optimism on the part of proponents of the measure because the drastic steps necessary in the Senate to bring the bill to a vote will scarcely be taken (such as banning filibustering, which requires a two-thirds vote, and suspending the Senate rules), and until they are, the South will hold the whip-hand.

Desirable as the Administration's civil rights bill is, we fear that the South again will defeat it, with some aid from Northern Senators and Representatives who have nothing to lose by an adverse vote, especially in a non-election year.

With an eye to 1958 elections, we think this should spur local Negro leaders to launch an energetic, protracted and intelligent campaign to register every colored voter so that these hard-shelled Congressional opponents of civil rights may be relegated to private life.

DREW PEARSON Says:

Courier-Journal

Jury-Trial May Be Backed By Roosevelt for Civil-Rights Bill

Tues. 5-28-57 Louisville, Ky. P. 9

WASHINGTON — Representative James Roosevelt, hitherto one of the stanchest backers of the civil-rights bill, has written a letter to Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., which indicates he may accept the Southern view regarding trial by jury.

Roosevelt's letter coincides with increasing private skepticism on the part of many firm civil-rights advocates that the traditional right of trial by jury should be weakened. This has been the point hammered home repeatedly by Senator Sam Ervin of North Carolina, the chief Southern spokesman opposing the Brownell-written civil-rights bill.

If Roosevelt changes his mind on trial by jury, it is sure to influence a number of other Northern Democrats and the civil-rights bill, amended to contain trial by jury, would have an excellent chance of passing at this session of Congress. Southern spokesmen have been so vigorous in demanding the trial-by-jury amendment that they would almost have to accept the bill if amended.

'Seriously Troubled'

"There are many proponents of the measure," Roosevelt wrote Brownell, "who are seriously troubled as to whether or not there is a basic validity in the arguments of such distinguished opponents as Senator Sam J. Ervin, Jr., former judge of North Carolina."

Roosevelt then propounded to the Attorney General, who drafted the original bill which provides for trial by a judge, not by jury, these questions:

1. Would such an amendment as proposed in your opinion effectively destroy the practical workability of the proposed civil-rights law?

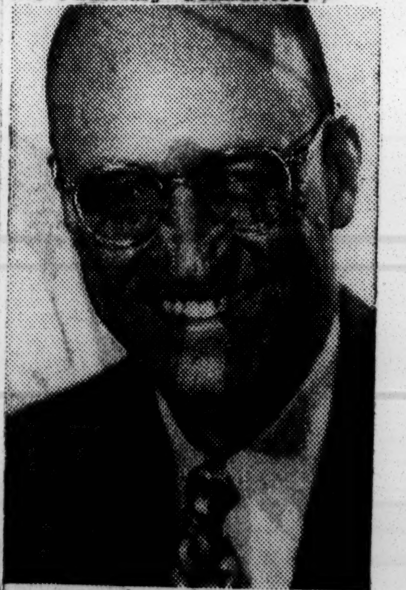
2. How are federal juries chosen? Is the method the same in each state or area of the country, including the Southern states?

3. Does the method of federal jury selection give to the Department of Justice the ability to see that a jury properly represents all sections of the community?

4. If the Department of Justice does not have such ability, does the Federal District Court have the power to see that federal juries are truly representative of the entire community?

5. Is there any middle ground which you would advocate if your answer to Question 1 is in the affirmative, such as granting to the Appeals Court the right to order a trial by jury where, in the opinion of the Appeals Court, the lower-court judge has been capricious or arbitrary?

Brownell has not yet replied to Roosevelt's letter. Roosevelt requested an answer by the first week in June, at which time the civil-rights bill is to come up for debate in the House of Representatives. Whether Brownell will reply by that time remains to be seen. Last year he ducked for three months repeated questions from Senator Thomas Hennings of Missouri and the Senate Judiciary Committee.



JAMES ROOSEVELT
Writes to Brownell

Nixon Says Eisenhower Pressing Civil Rights

NEW YORK. — Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary announced here Friday that Vice President Richard Nixon told him in a recent letter: "The Administration will continue to press for the enactment of its civil rights program during this session of Congress."

The letter from the Vice President was dated May 10.

Mr. Nixon's message to the NAACP leader also asserted: "I can assure you of the Administration's continuing and profound interest as well as active vigilance in the days ahead of what I know we both want—equal opportunity and equal rights for all."

The Vice President also reiterated his conviction "that racial intolerance and violence in this country feed Red propagandists raw material."

The letter was sent in response to a telegram which Mr. Wilkins dispatched to Mr. Nixon on May 2 expressing the hope that "the Administration is prepared to back to the hilt the civil rights proposals now bottled up in House and Senate committees." Mr. Wilkins also congratulated Mr. Nixon on an address he had made in Chicago urging "reverence for law and due process."

Lack of Quorum; No Action

Senate Judiciary Committee Continues To Delay Passage

WASHINGTON.— (INS) — Failure of the Senate Judiciary committee to obtain a quorum of members again Monday blocked any action on the controversial civil rights bill.

Sen. Everett M. Dirksen (R.) Ill., an advocate of the legislation, said there was some talk of the committee meeting three days in a row next week. But chairman James O. Eastland (D.) Miss., an opponent, told reporters that "no promises" about this were given.

The civil rights bill has been before the committee since March 19. The committee has been meeting only once a week and on several occasions it has been unable to muster a quorum, needed to transact business.

Proponents appear to have enough votes to get the legislation sent to the senate floor but so far they have not been able to get a showdown vote.

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(NNPA) —When the House leadership decides to let the civil rights bill be brought up on the House floor, opponents plan to emasculate it by amendments.

Through that strategy they hope to make the bill so worthless that its supporters will vote to kill it by sending it back to the House Judiciary committee, or if it should win Senate approval it will be so weak that it will not be effective in protecting existing federally-secured rights.

The three amendments they are backing to accomplish their purpose are: (1) the right-to-jury-trial, (2) the right to work, and (3) states' rights.

The right-to-jury trial amendment, the brainchild of Senator Sam J. Ervin, Democrat, of North Carolina, would require a jury trial for persons charged with violating federal court injunctions restraining interference with the right to vote or other civil rights.

Nullifies Key Provisions

The purpose of this amendment is to nullify the key section in the Eisenhower Administration's proposals which are embodied in the bill sponsored by Representative Emanuel Celler, of New York, chairman of the House Judiciary committee.

This key provision would give the Attorney General the power to bring civil suits to enjoin threatened deprivations of the right to vote or threatened violations of other civil rights.

A person accused of violating a court injunction could be cited for contempt of court. He would be given a hearing before a Federal judge and, if found guilty, could be sent to jail.

Southerners backing the right-to-jury-trial amendment know that southern juries will not convict white persons for violating the civil rights of colored persons.

The right-to-work amendment is a union-busting device. It would make the right to get and keep a job a civil right and would empower the attorney general to bring civil actions to enjoin any interference with that right.

Would Cost Votes

If such an amendment would be adopted, it would make the bill unpalatable to members of Congress who believe taht the trade union movement should be given legal protection in its efforts to organize workers.

The states' rights amendment would deny the Supreme Court the power to declare state laws invalid where there is federal law covering the same subject unless the Congress specifically gave the federal government exclusive jurisdiction.

This amendment, the brainchild of Representatives Howard W. Smith, of Virginia, chairman of the powerful House Rules Committee, is designed to reverse the Supreme Court in the Steve Nelson case.

In that case the court ruled that the States have no power to punish persons advocating forcible overthrow of the Federal Government. It held that the Smith Act of 1940 preempted this field for the Federal Government.

The decision affirmed the Pennsylvania Supreme Court's reversal of the 1952 conviction of Steve Nelson, a Communist leader, for violating a state anti-sedition law.

The first hurdle the states' right amendment must get over will be the point of order of whether it is germane on civil rights legislation.

Not Until June

The Celler civil rights bill, cleared for House floor action, will hardly be brought up until the week of June 3.

The Defense Department appropriation bill, carrying a total of $33,541,225,000 for the Office of the Secretary of Defense, interservice activities, the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force, will probably occupy the attention of the House all of the week of May 27.

Under the rule, filed in the House Tuesday, four days of general debate will be allowed on the civil rights bills.

Upon completion of the general debate, the bill will then be read under the five-minute rule for amendment. Any member will be entitled to speak by simply moving "to strike out the last word," a parliamentary technique to gain the floor.

There is no way of estimating how much time will be consumed in the debate on amendments.

Supporters of civil rights legislation won the skirmish in the House Rules Committee Tuesday.

Opponents wanted an open rule specifying so many hours for general debate. Such a rule would have permitted them to conduct a filibuster by demanding frequent quorum calls. The time consumed in counting the members to determine whether a quorum was present and, if not, in calling the roll to get a quorum is not counted against the time allowed for debate.

Opponents Would Lose

But under a rule specifying four days for general debate, time consumed in quorum calls would be to the disadvantage of the opponents of the civil rights bill because they are the ones hoping to convince members during the debate to vote against the measure.

The open rule permits amendments to be offered to the bill.

The rule was adopted by a vote of 8 to 4. Northern Democrats and Republicans on the committee combined in voting for the rule, while southerners voted against it.

Voting for the rule were: Representatives Ray J. Madden, Indiana; James J. Delaney, New York; Richard Bolling, Missouri; Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., Massachusetts, Republicans, and Leo E. Allen, Illinois; Clarence J. Brown, Ohio; Henry J. Latham, New York, and Hugh Scott, Pennsylvania, Republicans.

Voting against the rule were Representatives Howard W. Smith, Virginia; William M. Colmer, Mississippi, James W. Trimble, Arkansas, and Homer Thornbery, Texas, Democrats.

Mr. Smith told reporters that he would have to consult with the House leadership as to when to call up the rule for adoption by the House.

Earlier Tuesday Republican congressional leaders reported to President Eisenhower on the status of civil rights legislation.

Senator William F. Knowland, of California, the Republican leader, was asked whether he was satisfied with the progress of the Administration's legislative program.

The final test, he replied, will be what matters are enacted by the time Congress adjourns. He then said civil rights legislation had been discussed at the conference of Republican congressional leaders with the President again Tuesday morning and that they were trying to get it moving.

Senator Knowland noted that the Senate Judiciary Committee on the day before had rejected an amendment to the civil rights bill which would have cut three-fourths of the proposals out of the measure.

He said the Judiciary Committee was going ahead and voting on other amendments.

Representative Leslie C. Arends, of Illinois, the Republican "whip," predicted that the bill will pass the House but was uncertain as to whether or not the jury trial amendment will be adopted.

Senator Knowland predicted that the Senate will adjourn between Aug. 1 and 4.

His offering of a motion to discharge the Senate Judiciary Committee from further consideration of the civil rights bill, Senator Knowland said, will depend somewhat on how the Senate Judiciary Committee acts on amendments to the bill.

It has been obvious, he said, that the committee will not report the bill to the Senate floor until after the House acts on the Celler bill.

Churchman Cites Civil Rights Peril

PHILADELPHIA, May 30 (AP)—A Kansas churchman told the American Baptist Convention today human liberties are in "grave danger in America."

Speaking at the organization's 50th annual meeting, the Rev. Dr. William F. Keucher, an executive of the Kansas State Baptist Convention, said pressures toward conformity "show an ugly head in religious circles by a desire for creedal conformity and denominational uniformity."

These drives, he said, pose dangers in the fields of religion, education, politics and social relationships.

To meet such pressures, he said, "Baptists need to venture beyond the frontiers of this world's logic into the radical and revolutionary meaning of the New Birth."

Dr. Keucher referred to Koinonia Farm at Americus, Ga., where a community of Christians have been subjected to several bombing incidents, apparently, he said, because of their interracial practices.

"Have the world's standards so colored our minds," he asked, "that we are unable to recognize a real church when it appears in our midst and rebukes long-accepted patterns?"

The president of the convention earlier asked delegates to act on "three decisive issues" before them.

Harry L. Dillin of McMinville, Ore., urged the delegates to vote to locate all the convention's agencies in one city, to approve an $8 million fund for Christian higher education, and to establish a $3 million line of credit to start new churches in the United States.

10 1957

The Civil Rights Bill and Trial by Jury

Sunday Star Washington D.C. Sun. 3-17-57

No Right Is Denied

By THOMAS C. HENNINGS, Jr.
Senator From Missouri

9.31-A

Pending at the present time in congressional committees is legislation to authorize the Federal Government to help American citizens obtain full enjoyment and use of rights guaranteed, secured and protected by the Constitution of the United States.

One of the most precious of these is the right to vote, the very keystone of representative government. There is national shame that some of our citizens today are excluded from exercising their voting rights solely because of their skin color or race or national origin.

The legislation before us proposes that the United States Government be permitted to bring civil actions to assist our citizens in the exercise of their rights.

Let's look at a few situations with the voting process where the civil remedy proposed could apply.

In a situation where there is convincing evidence that an election official is about to remove the names of qualified voters from the registration books, the United States could seek a restraining order from the Federal Court in that district to prevent this unlawful occurrence.

Or, where a registrar refuses to register duly qualified potential voters, the United States could seek a court order directing him to register them.

A lawful court order should induce most election officials to perform their duties in accordance with the law and should help them to resist any lawless elements in the area who might be urging them to violate the law.

Compliance Is Aim

But if the local official does wilfully violate the court order, a contempt of court proceeding could be maintained against him. Naturally, he is entitled to legal counsel, to call witnesses and to employ all the other constitutional, historical and traditional safeguards of our judicial system. Of course, even when he is in contempt of court, he can always purge himself of all civil contempt by complying with the court order or injunction—as, for example, entering the qualified voters' names in the registration books, if that was what he had refused to do.

What about jury trials?

It may be stated categorically that the constitutional right to trial by jury, guaranteed in the Constitution of the United States, is not denied to anyone because of any provisions of the pending bill.

There are no new crimes defined, there are no amendments to the criminal code, and the jurisdiction of the United States is not broadened substantively by the authorization for civil remedies.

There has never been any constitutional right to jury trials in injunction or contempt of court proceedings and the opponents of this legislation know that.

It appears that opponents have created an issue to confuse popular understanding of Federal protection of basic rights of all persons in the United States. This issue extends to confusion of the role of juries themselves.

In old England, the mother country of practically all of our system of jurisprudence, the jury grew to take the place of primitive methods for determining facts in criminal prosecutions and in private legal controversies.

Then, as the regular law court structure of England was built, it was found to be too rigid for dealing with many problems affecting the rights of British subjects. The criminal law could not compel a government official to perform his duty in a specific instance. So new courts, called equity or chancery, came into being, and equitable relief provisions have continued to the present day.

One useful mechanism employed by courts to accomplish equitable results is the injunction—a court order directing a person to do, or refrain from doing, a particular act.

Courts similar to those prevailing in England were established in the American colonies, and these courts recognized the basic rights of Englishmen.

The substantive and procedural rights of individuals, including safeguards for witnesses and accused persons, were written into our Constitution with its Bill of Rights by the founding fathers of our Nation following the American Revolution. As a consequence, trial by jury is constitutionally guaranteed in criminal prosecutions and preserved in common law actions where the value in controversy exceeds $20.

But since there had been no right to jury trials in equity proceedings, or contempt of court proceedings, no such right was written into the Constitution.

A Classic Method

A contempt proceeding is the classic method used by a court for obtaining compliance with its orders, injunctions, and decrees. Punishment, regulated by rules and statutes, may be imposed for willful violations of court orders. Or a court, continuing to seek compliance, may detain a person in custody until he complies. Obviously, then, compliance with court orders, rather than punishment of wrong-doers, is to be desired in connection with injunctions to protect constitutional rights.

In all these cases, violators of court orders and injunctions have the right to appeal to higher courts.

The pending legislation would give the United States civil remedies similar to those now provided in over 30 Federal laws covering other areas of activity; for example, Atomic Energy Act, anti-trust and monopoly, bridges over navigable waters, etc. These laws authorize the United States to obtain injunctions—directing the performance of certain acts, or prohibiting the commission of certain acts—and do not require that criminal prosecutions must also be instituted. The pending legislation would be in keeping with these laws.

Opponents want to legislate a right to jury trials in proceedings for injunctions and contempts of court. It might be suspected that they see such a provision as a device for rendering the legislation itself meaningless.

They argue that Congress once granted such a right in labor dispute cases but they fail to point out that that provision has become a nullity for all practical purposes sinc enactment of the Taft-Hartley Act.

Congress has, with almost no exception, refused to grant jury trials when the United States is a plaintiff in the original proceedings. The pending legislation leaves the law as it is today and does not make any exceptions.

In conclusion: All of the talk about a "denial of the right to trial by jury" is a pure smokescreen thrown up by those who want to defeat or nullify this legislation. There is no necessity for changing our established legal system by granting extra protection to those persons who would try to prevent the exercise by others of the right to vote. Since compliance with the law and not punishment is our goal, the courts should not be hamstrung with procedures out of keeping with their assigned duties.

A Right Is Being Sacrificed

By SAM J. ERVIN, Jr.
Senator From North Carolina

The pending civil rights bill proposes to sacrifice trial by jury upon the altar of civil rights. A few of the high priests to this deed are professed liberals, liberals who only a few decades ago sought successfully to guarantee the workingman his right to trial by jury in contempt proceedings. But now the Southerner and civil rights are involved and these liberals suddenly find great merit in anti-jury trial arguments of their old adversaries.

The advocates of this bill would wish us believe that the jury issue is a snare and a delusion invented to confuse. Let us examine the facts. At this time Federal statutes afford for the protection and vindication of all civil rights criminal prosecutions, suits at law for money damages, and private suits in equity for injunctive relief.

In criminal prosecutions the accused has, under the Constitution, the right of indictment by grand jury, trial by petit jury, and the right to confront and cross-examine his accusers. In suits at law for damages the defendant has under the Constitution the right to jury trial whenever the amount in controversy exceeds $20. In private suits in equity for injunctive relief he has the right to jury trial as provided by statute when charged with indirect contempts which are also crimes under Federal or State law.

The Government's Role

Virtually all violations of the civil rights of others are crimes under existing Federal or State law. In all the above cases the defendant is entitled to trial by jury. But there is an express exception to the criminal contempt statute: Where the United States is a party to the action, jury trial is not available. It is this exception which is to be deliberately utilized to rob State and local officials involved in civil rights disputes of trial by jury.

The pending bill confers no individual rights but confers upon the Attorney General the discretionary power to file civil actions and proceedings of injunctive relief "for the United States, or in the name of the United States" for the benefit of the real party in interest. Thus jury trial is completely circumvented.

And how do the advocates answer this jury bypass? They say there is no constitutional right to jury trial in contempt cases. They answer as the British Parliament answered in the 1760s when it extended, through the Sugar and Stamp Acts, the jurisdiction of the admiralty courts in order to deprive the colonists of jury trial—there was no constitutional right to jury trial in the courts of admiralty.

Shoe on Other Foot?

They use the same words addressed to the workingmen of this country when the injunctive process was applied to labor disputes. But the American colonists knew they were deprived of jury trial, albeit by constitutional means, and they made this deprivation a chief cause and justification for revolt. And the laborers knew they had been deprived of their right to jury trial, albeit by constitutional means, and Congress guaranteed to them this right, first through the Clayton Anti-trust Act and then more effectively through the Norris-La Guardia Act.

It is curious that the advocates of this bill place such stress upon the fact that there is no constitutional right to jury trial in contempt cases. This fact alone should be reason enough against the proposed extension of the injunctive process into the area of civil rights. It should be warning to Congress to take under serious study the whole issue of Federal equity jurisdiction.

For if civil courts of equity can be substituted for common-law methods of dealing with crime in the civil rights area they can be substituted in other areas of Federal criminal law and the jury trial guarantees which the framers of our Constitution thought has been placed beyond encroachment can be made utterly meaningless.

Guarantee Can Be Provided

Congress can write into the pending civil rights bill the guarantee of jury trial. Congress can give to the State and local officials who will be the defendants in these cases the same guarantee of jury trial that laborers received in the Norris-La Guardia Act of 1932. This act provided jury trials for all cases of contempt arising out of the

violation of injunctions in labor disputes, including those to which the United States was a party.

The crux of the matter is that the advocates do not want to provide jury trial for defendants under this bill. They claim it will emasculate the legislation because Southern jurors may be reluctant to convict. So that, in this bill so widely proclaimed as mild and nonpunitive in character, jury trial is finally opposed on grounds that Southern jurors cannot be counted upon to convict.

Here again the argument is not new. Here is the very same justification given for the establishment of the Star Chamber, for the acts of Parliament depriving colonists of jury trial, for the opposition to jury trial for workers involved in labor disputes. In each instance it was feared that juries would not convict.

If this argument is examined closely it will become evident that here is the justification used by mobs to usurp the powers of regular tribunals of justice. Mobs justify their actions on these same grounds—that they can achieve swifter and more certain results than courts of law. The argument should be spurned whether offered by mobs or offered in the name of civil rights. The denial of jury trial and of other safeguards of individual liberty can never be justified in the interests of speed and certainty of results.

A Mass Indictment

The argument that Southern jurors will not convict in civil rights cases is further a mass indictment of a whole people as utterly faithless to their oaths and duties. No proof of the charge is given. The philosophy seems to be either that all defendants in civil rights disputes are guilty or that the defendants, whether guilty or innocent, should be punished.

We are unable to accept the view that the jury system is the pillar of justice save where Southerners and civil rights are concerned and that then it becomes the stumbling block to justice.

We do not maintain that juries are perfect. They do make mistakes and they do not always render just verdicts. But we do maintain with Judge Henry Clay Caldwell that "for a free people, 'trial by jury' is immensely superior to any other mode of trial that the wit of man has ever yet devised, or is capable of devising; and evil will be the hour for the people of this country, when seduced by any theory, however plausible, or deluded by any consideration of fancied emergency or expediency, they supinely acquiesce in its invasion or consent to its abolition."

ABOUT THESE ARTICLES

The legislative battle over civil rights this year finds many of the old arguments partially obscured by a new issue raised by Southern civil rights opponents. It involves a basic American right regarded with equal reverence in both North and South—the right of trial by a jury of one's peers.

S. 83, the civil rights bill now under discussion, would permit the United States Attorney General to seek an injunction in a Federal court against anyone who "has engaged in or is about to engage in any act or practice" which would deprive another person of the right to vote in Federal elections or primaries. Failure to heed such an injunction, if granted, could lead to a contempt conviction without a jury trial.

The spokesman for the Southerners, who argue that this provision denies a basic right, has been Senator Sam Ervin, former Justice of the North Carolina Supreme Court. Senate champion of S. 83 has been Thomas C. Hennings of Missouri, a former St. Louis district attorney, practicing attorney and a member of the American Judicature Society.

At the request of The Sunday Star, they have stated their positions in these articles.

Ike's Civil-Rights Plan Ready for House Action

Courier-Journal Louisville Ky. P.5 Wed. 5-22-57

Washington, May 21 (UP)—The House Rules Committee, by an 8-to-4 vote, today cleared President Eisenhower's long-delayed civil-rights program for House action.

House Democratic leader McCormack of Massachusetts promptly said he would call up the four-point measure the week of June 3.

House leaders generally agreed it would be passed without too much trouble. But leaders on the Senate side were not too optimistic. Senate Republican leader Knowland of California forecast "lengthy debate which some might call a filibuster."

However, the civil-rights measure was believed to have a better chance of getting through this Congress than it had previously. Even if not acted on in the current session, it can be calle dup in the Senate during next year's session without having to retrace its lengthy House course.

Southern Fight Certain

In any case, Southern senators are certain to fight it with all the weapons at hand.

The committee provided that the House spend four days debating the bill. It also said the measure would be opened to unlimited amendments from the floor.

At today's weekly White House legislative conference, Representative Arends (R., Ill.) predicted:

"Without doubt the House will pass a civil-rights bill."

The four-point bill, a somewhat watered-down version of the Administration's civil-rights program, was approved last March by the House Judiciary Committee. The measure would:

1. Create a bipartisan commission to investigate charges that citizens' voting rights are being denied because of their color, race, religion, or national origin.
2. Set up a separate civil-rights division in the Justice Department.
3. Authorize the Government to start civil suits directly in federal courts for injunctions or other relief to prevent civil-rights violations.
4. Strengthen voting protection by prohibiting private individuals as well as public officials from interfering with voting in elections for federal offices.

BIG PUSH IN BEHALF OF CIVIL RIGHTS BILL IS PREPARED BY GOP

Commercial Appeal Sun. 6-2-57 Memphis Tenn. P.1

Administration Working On Wavering Members As House Debate Nears

FIREWORKS WEDNESDAY

President Will Lunch With 200 Representatives On Capitol Hill — Jury Trial Issue Argued

By MORRIS CUNNINGHAM
From The Commercial Appeal Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, June 1.—The Eisenhower Administration is planning an allout effort in behalf of its controversial Civil Rights Bill, it was indicated Saturday.

The House will open debate on the measure Wednesday, with a final vote expected around June 14. It then will go to the Senate.

Administration leaders are confident of House passage but they want to avoid any crippling amendments and to pass the bill with a heavy majority.

Hard Senate Fight Due

They figure a demonstration of strength in the House will be helpful in the Senate, where a much tougher battle—including a Dixie filibuster—is expected.

President Eisenhower's influence will be thrown into the battle Monday. The President has announced he will make one of his rare visits to Capitol Hill and will lunch with the 200 Republican House members in the House Office Building's caucus room.

The President's visit to Capitol Hill will be followed by a letter from Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell Jr. disputing Dixie arguments for a trial-by-jury amendment.

Mr. Brownell, it was learned, is drafting the letter and will dispatch it Tuesday or Wednesday to congressmen who have asked his views on the jury trial issue.

The inquiring congressmen include pro-civil rightists Senator Clifford P. Case (R., N. J.) and Representative James Roosevelt (D., Calif.).

Some Republicans Wavering

Mr. Borwnell's letter, it was indicated, will be along the lines of an earlier statement by Asst. Atty. Gen. Warren Olney III to the effect that a jury trial amendment would "emasculate" the bill.

The Administration pressure will be directed primarily at wavering Republicans. "Several Republicans have told me," Representative Clifford Davis (D., Tenn.) reported, "they don't see how in the world they can vote against trial by jury."

The bill, as drafted by Mr. Brownell's department, would deny jury trials to persons charged with contempt of court as the result of accusations they had violated a Federal Court injunction.

The amendment would spell out a guaranteed right to a jury trial in such cases. And despite Administration pressure, Representative Frank E. Smith (D., Miss.) and other Southerners see a "fighting chance" for its adoption in the House.

Backers of the bill argue that Southern juries will not convict in civil rights cases and that inclusion of a jury trial provision would make the bill meaningless.

Alabama Acquittal Echoes

Thursday's acquittal of two white men by an all-white jury in Montgomery, Ala., for bombing a Negro church is expected to figure in the arguments.

Opponents of jury trials also are expected to recall the acquittal in Mississippi of two white men charged with the murder of Emmitt Louis Till, a Negro youth.

Preparing for the forthcoming House struggle, 83 Northern and Western Democratic representatives issued a statement this week urging Republicans to join them in defeating the Dixie amendment and passing the bill.

They said they were "determined" to see enactment of "meaningful" civil rights legislation.

Commercial Appeal P.4

Representative Roosevelt, one of the 83 signers, criticized President Eisenhower's silence on the jury trial amendment.

"Neither he nor his attorney general," Mr. Roosevelt said, "has seen fit to reply to a request last week that the Administration speak out clearly on the controversial trial-by-jury issue."

Southerners Are Busy

The statement by the 83 Democrats said the bill "will be defeated or crippled only if a deal is worked out between Southern members and some Republican members."

Dixie members of the House have been meeting almost continuously this week in preparation for the battle.

"We propose to exhaust every possible argument and parliamentary procedure," said Mr. Davis, the Memphis Democrat. "Some of the ablest men in the House will be leading this fight.

"If the members would take a purely judicial attitude on the merits of ths bll, I don't see how on earth they could vote for it. Instead of guaranteeing civil rights to the people of the country, it would actually deny them."

Senate supporters will attempt to bring the House-passed bill before the Senate immediately after it comes over from the House.

Senator Douglas said the proper motion, in his judgment, would be one to suspend the Senate rules for immediate consideration of the bill. He said the motion would take a two-third majority.

Aimed at by passing the Senate Judiciary Committee, presided over by Senator James O Eastland (D., Miss.), this apparently would be an unprecedented move in the long history of the Senate.

10 1957

Civil Liberties Unit Asks Worthy Passport Hearing

The American Civil Liberties Union took the first step today in its challenge of the State Department's power to ban American reporters' travel to Red China and other countries.

An ACLU lawyer filed a request with the State Department's passport division for an informal hearing on its refusal to renew the passport of William Worthy, Baltimore Afro-American newsman who defied the ban and went to Red China.

A letter from New York lawyer, William M. Kunstler, to Miss Frances G. Knight, director of the State Department's Passport Office, asked that the hearing be arranged "at your earliest convenience."

On March 29 the State Department announced a "tentative" refusal of Mr. Worthy's request for a renewal of his passport. A procedure of appeal was also outlined.

Mr. Worthy may first have an informal hearing in the Passport Office; if he gets no satisfaction he can appeal to the Board of Passport Appeals; if the board upholds the State Department decision Mr. Worthy may appeal to the courts.

The ACLU lawyer informed Miss Knight that "it might be necessary for Mr. Worthy as a professional newsman to leave the country in the near future."

Patrick Murphy Mallin, ACLU executive director, said in a companion statement:

"We are anxious to have the basic question of freedom of movement and a reporter's right to report the news free of Government interference settled.

"The attorney assigned to the case is ready to argu these key constitutional points in the administrative proceedings and, if necessary, in the courts. Because of the general importance of these questions and Mr. Worthy's personal need to have a passport to travel abroad without delay, we hope the passport office will act speedily on the request for the hearing."

GOP Civil Rights Bill Faces Most Crucial Legislative Test

BY JOHN CHADWICK
Associated Press Staff Writer

WASHINGTON, March 31 — The Eisenhower administration's civil rights bill, chugging along in Congress, now is at a crucial point in its legislative progress.

So far it has moved along faster than civil rights bills in the past, bearing out the apprehensions expressed by Southern foes at the start of the session.

The House Judiciary Committee already has approved a bill substantially conforming to the administration's recommendations, but Rules Committee clearance still is needed. The House voted for the program last year in the final week of the session, and is expected to pass the bill again this year.

But the decisive battleground is in the Senate. There the administration's bill was approved without change March 19 by a judiciary subcommittee, and it now awaits action by the full Judiciary Committee. This group buried it last year without a vote.

What the full committee does with the bill, and how quickly, may prove the key to the legislation's fate at this session of Congress.

Supporters of the measure are well aware that Sen. Eastland (D., Miss.), the chairman, and other Southern senators on the committee are in a position to force delays.

The longer the bill is delayed in getting before the Senate, the better the chances of Southern opponents to filibuster it to death.

But wholly aside from any attempts to smother the bill in parliamentary red tape, Southerners have been waging a vigorous fight against the administration measure this year on its content.

They contend that far from being the "middle-of-the-road program" described by Atty. Gen. Brownell and other administration spokesmen, it is a "drastic" measure invading states' rights and undermining the Constitution.

Here is a rundown on just what the bill provides, and the arguments for and against it:

Part one provides for the creation of an executive branch commission on Civil rights, composed of six members appointed by the President and approved by the Senate. Not more than half the members could be from the same political party.

The commission would be directed to:

1. "INVESTIGATE ALLEGATIONS in writing that certain citizens of the United States are being deprived of their rights to vote or . . . are voting illegally or are being subjected to unwarranted economic pressures by reason of their sex, color, race, religious, or national origin.

Brownell recommended deletion of the reference to sex. The bill approved by the House Judiciary Committee does so. This version also omits any reference to "unwarranted economic pressures."

2. "STUDY AND COLLECT information concerning economic, social, and legal developments constituting a denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution."

3. "APPRAISE THE LAWS and policies of the federal government with respect to equal protection of the laws under the Constitution."

The commission would be required to submit a final report not later than two years after its creation. In those two years it would be empowered to subpena witnesses and records. And it or any subcommittees it authorized could hold public hearings to take sworn testimony "at such times and places" as might be deemed advisable.

And another section of existing law says that all citizens qualified to vote shall be allowed to do so "without distinction of race, color or previous condition of servitude."

To this section on voting rights, the bill would add a paragraph barring any interference with a person's right to vote for President or members of Congress through intimidation or coercion.

At present citizens who feel they are being deprived of these rights may sue for damages or seek injunctions, but the only avenue of enforcement open to the government is criminal prosecution.

The administration bill would authorize the attorney general to make use of civil proceedings as well—in other words, he could file damage suits or apply for injunctions, just as private citizens now may do.

The attorney general could institute proceedings in federal court for the government, or in the name of the United States but for the benefit of the real party in interest, "whenever any persons have engaged or are about to engage in any acts or practices" contrary to civil rights statutes.

Furthermore, the bill specifically provides that the Federal District Courts shall have jurisdiction regardless of whether the aggrieved party has exhausted administrative remedies under state law.

At present a federal court will entertain a person's suit for damages or injunction only if he shows that he has been unable to obtain relief otherwise.

Suppose, for example, that a person tried to register as a voter and the local registrar kept putting him off. If state law provided for appeals in such cases to a board of review or some other administrative remedy, a person would have to follow that course before going into federal court.

Opponents contend that the administration bill, by making this unnecessary in civil rights cases, would have the effect of giving the attorney general power to nullify state laws.

Brownell, in testifying for the bill, put primary emphasis on voting rights and said the proposed civil remedies would enable the government to take effective action to deal with what he called attempts to disenfranchise Negroes.

In other civil rights cases also, Brownell said, criminal prosecutions are difficult, cumbersome and, in situations not involving brutality and violence, "often unduly harsh."

"Our experience over the years in civil rights cases demonstrates," he said, "that in many situations civil remedies would go far toward permitting the government to arrive at the most rational and fair solution of the problems presented."

Opponents of the legislation contend, in the words of Sen. Ervin (D., N. C.), that it would empower the attorney general to "bypass and circumvent all of the substantial safeguards established by the Founding Fathers to protect our citizens against bureaucratic and judicial tyranny."

Civil Rights: The Jury Issue

When the 85th Congress assembled in January, a sufficient number of members in both the House and the Senate apeared ready to follow through on the commitments both parties have made to enact civil rights legislation.

But since then Mr. Eisenhower's admittedly "moderate" civil rights bill has encountered trouble in the form of an all-out attack by the South's most articulate legal minds on the lack of provision for trial by jury in contempt cases arising out of failure to heed injunctions against civil rights violations.

Day in and day out, the Southerners have pounded away at what they call "the denial of a fundamental right of all Americans." Their offensive had been made more effective by the fact that it has been led, not by a rabble-rouser, but by Senator Sam Ervin of North Carolina, a former Supreme Court justice in his State whose legal acumen is admired by most of his colleagues from the North as well as the South. No one, not even the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, has accused Senator Ervin of being a racist. In his presentation of the Southern viewpoint, there is no talk of "mongrelization" or of "racial purity."

Senator Ervin has directed his soft-spoken attack against that part of the bill that permits the Department of Justice to seek an injunction against a State's refusal to register a Negro voter. Violations of the injunction could be punished by a fine or prison sentence, with no requirement that the defendants be given a jury trial.

Senator Ervin's side of the argument has made its inroads on the liberals. Last week one of them, Sentor Joseph O'Mahoney, Democrat of Wyoming, announced that he had some misgivings about the denying of jury trials in such civil rights cases. He previously had voted with the Southerners when the bill came up in the Subcommittee on Constitutional rights.

Southerners, hoping that they had established a beachhead among the ranks of the liberals, immediately seized on Senator O'Mahoney's "disaffection." Southern papers gave prominent play to the new development and expressed the hope editorially that at last perhaps the liberals were beginning to see the light.

Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois, a leading proponent of civil rights, tried to repair the damage with a lengthy legal defense of the pending bill. His answer to the Southern argument required eight pages of the body of the Congressional Record and it cited numerous previous cases to support his argument that "there is no constitutional guarantee of jury trial in contempt proceedings."

A decision, one way or the other, might be in sight when Congress returns to its labors, for Senator Eastland, chairman of the Judiciary Committee, said, before returning to Mississippi last week, that his committee would take up the bill when Congress gets back.

The administration bill has already been reported by the House Judiciary Committee, and is presently awaiting floor clearance by the Rules Committee. House civil rights proponents expect no trouble at their end of the Capitol, for the House passed civil rights legislation last year without much difficulty.

IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL:

Afro-American, Baltimore, Md. Sat. 4-27-57 P.3

Dixie Senators Hold Civil Rights 'Tiger'

With half of the first session of the 85th Congress over, it is becoming evident that opponents of civil rights legislation intend to give a repeat performance in the Senate Judiciary Committee.

Sen. James O. Eastland (D., Miss.) Judiciary Committee chairman, aided chiefly by Sen. Olin D. Johnston (D., S.C.), last year kept civil rights legislation bottled up in committee until Congress adjourned!

Their strategy was to hold prolonged hearings. The Constitutional Rights subcommittee, of which Sen. Thomas C. Hennings, (D. Miss) is chairman, approved and sent four civil rights bills to the full committee in February 1956.

* * *

ATTORNEY GENERAL Herbert Brownell submitted to Congress on April 9 the administration's four-point civil rights program.

The House Judiciary Committee on May 21 favorably reported a bill embodying the administration's program. Southern members of the powerful House Rules Committee, led by Rep. Howard W. Smith of Virginia, committee chairman, and William Colmer, Mississippi, delayed rules committee action as long as possible.

But the House Rules Committee eventually sent the bill to the floor and the measure was debated and passed.

* * *

THE SENATE Judiciary Committee, however, voted to hold hearings on the four bills approved by the Hennings subcommittee, the four Brownell proposals and five other civil rights bills which had been referred to it.

Eastland stretched out the hearings interminably. Every week or 10 days he had a southern attorney general appear and deliver a diatribe. Usually he was the only member of the 15-member committee present. In his absence, Johnston presided.

When civil-rights supporters pressed for an end to this farce, Eastland used another trick to block action. With the Senate meeting at 9:30 a.m. in a drive to adjourn, it was necessary for the committees to obsit while the Senate was in session.

Eastland got permission for his committee to meet to consider only certain specific bills. The bills not listed in his request were out of order. Civil rights was never one of the listed bills.

* * *

ON THE last day of the session Sen. Paul Douglas of Illinois, Herbert Lehman of New York and Hennings sought unsuccessfully to get the civil rights bill before the Senate by moving to discharge the Judiciary Committee from further consideration of such measures.

They had been balked in earlier efforts to offer such a motion by sen. Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, the Democratic leader, who kept the Senate operating in he legislative day of July 16 until July 27.

No action was taken on the discharge motion. It was offered as a gesture to record the "Desire" that the Senate act on civil rights.

This legislative history is cited only because it has become obvious that Eastland is up to hos old tricks.

Civil Rights In Security Plan Argued

Post-Times Herald P.9-C Fri. 4-5-57 Washington D.C.

By James Carberry
Staff Reporter

A Defense Department spokesman defended the Government's industrial security system yesterday as a program that protects both the Nation's secrets and the individual's rights and liberties.

George MacClain, special assistant to the director of the Defense Department's Office of Industrial Personnel Security Review, who addressed the 9th annual conference of the National Civil Liberties Clearing House, was disputed sharply by fellow speakers.

The system applied to industries under Defense Department contracts lends itself to labor-baiting, charged Ed Rovner, assistant general counsel of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers.

"Labor Spy" Charge

Employers decide which employes shall have access to confidential material and are encouraged to investigate these employes, Rovner said, which is "an implicit invitation to the reinstitution of the 'labor spy'." He asked that union representatives receive security clearance "without the veto of the employer."

MacClain replied that employers act on the employe's record in deciding whether he should be cleared and denied that the Defense Department has encouraged use of the clearance system for anti-labor practices.

David Shapiro, volunteer counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union, attacked the use of anonymous informants.

Exceptions Noted

In reply, MacClain cited a speech read earlier by Thomas E. Harris, assistant general counsel of the AFL-CIO, for the absent Dudley B. Bonsal, chairman of a special committee on the Federal loyalty-security program of the New York City Bar Association.

"Confirmation should always be afforded," he said, except when "it would be inconsistent with the requirements of national security to do so."

Since 1949, MacClain reported, about 3 million clearances have been granted in industries, out of a total work force of about 17 million. From July, 1953, through February, 1957, he continued, less than 3000 cases "have involved derogatory information that was sufficiently serious to require consideration by a screening board."

Of thtse, he said, about 90 workers were denied clearance or had clearance revoked. About 1300 were cleared, he said, and the remaining cases were closed without a decision, principally because the workman quit.

Roper Speaks

Elmo Roper, board chairman of the Fund for the Republic, addressed the conference banquet last night.

"With Communism largely eliminated as an internal threat," Roper said, "our efforts to hold a sane balance between liberty and security can be made in an atmosphere which will contain much less fear and hysteria than it has in the last 10 years."

Sen. Richard Neuberger (D-Ore.) introduced Roper. Neuberger proposed that anyone slandered on the floor of Congress, or before a Congressional investigating committee, be permitted to sue the Government for damages.

Republicans Deny 'Deal' To Put Off Civil Rights

Herald Tribune, New York, P.1, 4-10-57

WASHINGTON, Apr. 9 (AP).—Republican Congressional leaders said today they have no "deal" with Southern Democrats to delay action on civil-rights legislation for another year. Sen. James O. Eastland, D., Miss., agreed there is no such arrangement.

Senate Republican leader, William F. Knowland, Calif., and House Republican chief Joseph W. Martin jr., Mass., were asked about this after their regular weekly meeting at the White House with President Eisenhower. They told newsmen there was nothing to such reports—that, in fact, they look for early action in both the Senate and House on Mr. Eisenhower's civil-rights program.

Suspected "Deal"

Rep. Richard Bolling, D., Mo., had said he suspects a "deal" may have been arranged.

Reports of such an arrangement have been laced with speculation that Republicans might be willing to keep the civil rights issue alive until 1958 in order to plague the Democrats and split North and South on the question in an election year.

Sen. Eastland, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee which is considering the Administration bill, was asked if he had any agreement with Republican members to stall the program which he opposes.

"No, sir," he replied, then added with a quick grin, "I wish I had."

Sen. Styles Bridges, N. H., of the Senate Republican Polic[y] Committee, a supporter of th[e] Administration bill, also sai[d] he knew of no "deal."

Southern opponents hav[e] sought to stall the measure's progress at every turn, and have succeeded up to now in delaying final committee votes in both branches of Congress. But Rep. Martin said he expects a bill will clear the House Rules Committee soon after Congress returns from an Easter recess scheduled to start April 18.

Civil Rights Battle Hurt, Senator Says

Post-Herald, B'ham, Ala. Sat. 6-1-57 [?] P.13

BY GENE WORTSMAN
Post-Herald Correspondent

WASHINGTON, May 31—Acquittal of two white men charged with bombing a Negro church in Montgomery, Ala., weakens the Southern fight against civil rights legislation, Sen. Paul Douglas (D., Ill.) said today.

Douglas is a leading backer of the legislation.

He said he read the account of the acquittal "very, very carefully" in the New York Times today.

He said he had read that the state presented a confession from one of the defendants.

Now, he said, reading from the Times, "Notice the appeal of the defense. They asked for a verdict that would give encouragement to 'every white man, every white woman and every white child in the South who is looking to you to preserve our sacred traditions.'"

Douglas said the story also quoted the defense as saying the verdict would "determine our very civilization and our way of life" in the South and that it must "go down in history as saying to the Negroes that 'you shall not pass.'"

The courtroom spectators, he said, applauded the verdict.

"I think this indicates that our belief is correct that Southern juries will not penalize white election officials for refusing Negroes the right to vote," Douglas added.

Douglas said from the Montgomery verdict it seems that justice will be more certain if Federal judges rather than juries decide civil rights cases.

10 1957

Thousands Urge Action On Civil Rights Bills

Defender Chicago, Ill. Sat. 5-11-57 p. 5

Over a thousand telegrams were wired to Illinois Congressman Monday night following a mass meeting at Olivet Baptist church which was called by Dr. J. H. Jackson to urge Congress to act now on civil rights.

The rally, which drew 3,000 citizens was one of a number staged across the country in response to Dr. Jackson's plea for a national "Urge Congress Movement" to support President Eisenhower's civil rights program which is under Dixiecrat fire in the Congress.

Dr. Jackson told the audience: "We have not called you here to create your interest in civil rights, for we know every normal citizen is interested in these rights. But we have called you in order to seek to harness all of our forces in our attempt to secure these rights by asking the Eighty-Sixth Congress to pass them now.

"The civil rights program in question may not include as much as all of us would desire, but we feel it is a worthy and workable program."

Other speakers who called for action included Mrs. Irene McCoy Gaines, president of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs; Willoughby Abner, local NAACP president; Sam Stratton, professor of history at Dunbar High School; Atty. Willie Whiting of the local NAACP; Russell R. Lasley, vice president of the United Packing House Workers and the Reverend O. D. Pelt of the Shiloh Baptist church. Miss Mahalia Jackson stirred the rally with her songs while Dr. Jackson acted as chairman of the meeting.

Telegrams pledging support to the objectives of the "Urge Congress movement came from many eminent figures across the nation. Governor Stratton of Illinois wired Dr. Jackson as follows: "I extend my best wishes to your meeting today and assure you of my backing of the President Eisenhower's civil rights program." Wires also came from Congressman Barratt O'Hara and Senator Dirksen.

The "Urge Congress Movement" which was launched two weeks ago by Dr. Jackson who is president of the National Baptist Convention, USA Inc., has a ten-point program demanding action by the Congress on civil rights now.

Washington Dateline

Inquirer Philadelphia Tues. 4-9-57 p. 18

Civil Rights Run Into Snag

From Our Wire Services

WASHINGTON, April 8.

CIVIL rights legislation ran into a double setback in Congress today, but it appeared likely the House might reach a vote next month.

The House Rules Committee met and adjourned without acting on a motion designed to bring the legislation to a vote on the House floor.

Chairman Howard W. Smith (D., Va.), announced later the committee would consider a civil rights bill immediately after the Easter recess, which is to end April 29. He predicted the committee would approve it, saying two-thirds of the committee favor it.

Smith opposes the bill but he said he recognizes "the facts of life."

Rep. Richard Bolling (D., Mo.), who is striving for a vote, had said earlier he could see no practical way to force committee action before the recess.

If the committee approves the bill, it would be cleared for House action.

In the Senate, the judiciary committee gathered with civil rights proposals on its schedule.

Not enough members showed up to do business, however, and this meant another week's delay as the committee adjourned for lack of a quorum until next Monday.

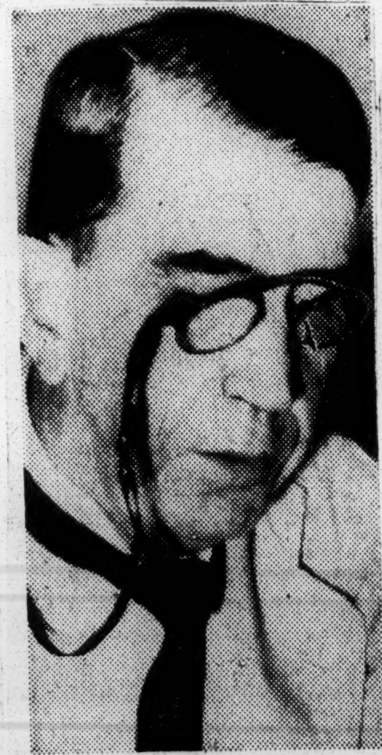
The delays amounted to another victory for Southern members of Congress who are fighting the proposals. Their last-ditch weapon would be a Senate filibuster, and a filibuster grows in effectiveness as the time nears for adjournment of Congress.

* * *

Check on Chickens

The Senate approved and sent to the House a bill establishing mandatory Federal inspection of poultry to protect the Nation's health. The Senate acted by voice vote after accepting an amendment by Sen. Chapman Revercomb (R., W. Va.) to require inspection only at processing plants.

Revercomb had complained that the original language of the bill would have authorized Federal agents to inspect "every farmer's chicken coop."



REP. H. W. SMITH

Washington Dateline

Inquirer Philadelphia, Pa. Mon. 4-8-57 p. 2

House 'Deal' Rumored To Block Civil Rights

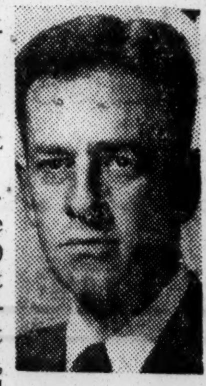
From Our Wire Services

WASHINGTON, April 7.

REP. RICHARD BOLLING (D., Mo.) said today he has heard rumors that a "deal" has been made to block passage of President Eisenhower's Civil Rights Bill this year.

Bolling, a leading backer of the bill, said he would put the rumors to a test tomorrow at a meeting of the House Rules Committee. He said he would call up the measure for immediate hearings and clearance to the House floor.

The object of the reported "deal" by Republicans and Southern Democrats, Bolling said, is to delay House passage to force the Senate to postpone action until next year.



SEN. CASE

Sen. Clifford P. Case (R., N. J.) warned that time is working against civil rights, school aid and refugee legislation. He urged Congressional leaders "to exert every effort" to speed action. "If we are to avoid last minute legislating and the threat of filibustering."

Bolling, a leading backer of the bill, said he would put the rumors to a test tomorrow at a meeting of the House Rules Committee.

Ervin, Johnston Label Rights Bill 'Despotic'

Constitution Sat. 5-11-57 Atlanta Ga. P. 1

WASHINGTON, May 10 (AP)—A minority report by Sens. Ervin (D-NC) and Johnston (D-SC) today denounced the administration's civil rights bill as "indefensible" and as conferring "autocratic and despotic" powers on the attorney general.

The report was filed by the two Southern senators as members of a Senate judiciary subcommittee which approved the measure last March 19 by a 4-2 vote. The full committee has yet to act. A similar bill is before the House Rules Committee.

Ervin and Johnston, terming the bill "as drastic and indefensible" a proposal as ever was laid before an American legislative body, aimed their attack mainly at provisions empower-

Associated Press Wirephoto

SOUTHERNERS DENOUNCE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL

Sens. Johnston (D-SC), Left, Ervin (D-NC) Issue Report

ing the federal government to seek injunctions against violations of voting or other civil rights.

RELY ON INJUNCTION

They and other Southern opponents claim a federal judge under those provisions could issue an injunction and jail a person for contempt without a jury trial. Proponents argue Southern juries have shown an unwillingness to convict in civil rights cases, hence reliance on the injunctive process is necessary.

Ervin and Johnston said the bill is "deliberately designed" to rob citizens of basic constitutional right. They added it would give the attorney general "a legal club by which he can browbeat state and local officials into submission to his will."

They argued further the measure is based on the "strange thesis that the best way to promote civil rights of some Americans is to rob other Americans of civil rights equally as precious and to reduce the supposedly Sovereign states to meaningless zeros on the nation's map."

SCENT RUSSIAN FLAVOR

They said the bill is "deliberately designed to confer upon the attorney general autocratic and despotic powers which may befit the office of commissar of justice in a totalitarian country, but which are incompatible with the office of chief law officer of a republic having a government of laws rather than a government of men."

Ervin was told at a news conference that, at House hearings on the bill, a question had been raised as to whether his position with respect to jury trials was consistent with rulings he had made while a justice of the North Carolina Supreme Court.

The senator replied that North Carolina law permits punishment for contempt without a jury trial for violations of temporary restraining orders, with punishment limited to 30 days in jail or a $50 fine.

He said that while he was on the state court he joined in upholding the lower courts in four such cases involving punishment for contempt without a jury trial. He said he hadn't been happy about it, but that he hadn't written the state law and felt that his duty as a judge was to apply the law and not to make it.

Ervin and Johnston were asked whether they favor a "right-to-work" amendment, proposed by Sen. McClellan (D-Ark), forbidding labor agreements that require employes to be union members. Eighteen states now have right-to-work laws.

Without committing himself definitely, Johnston said he would "put most anything in the bill to kill it." Some northern senators have said the McClellan amendment, if approved in committee, would kill the civil rights bill.

Ervin said he expects to support the McClellan amendment. But he added the bill is so broad that under its present terms the attorney general could bring suit to strike down any state laws and permit union or closed shop agreements.

Referring to the measure as containing "loaded legal dice," Ervin said some have tried to make it appear to be concerned only with voting rights, but he ... power of the states to legislate," contended "it is as broad as the

Attorney-General Seeks Civil Rights Powers

WASHINGTON (ANP)—Pointing out that Negro voters in Mississippi were asked such questions as "How many bubbles are in a bar of soap," Attorney General Herbert Brownell last week urged broader powers to his office through the pending civil rights bill as a remedy for stopping such actions.

The U.S. Attorney General declared that many college graduates, teachers and businessmen had complained they were asked such questions by a registrar of voters in Mississippi to keep Negroes from voting unless they could answer.

TEXAS

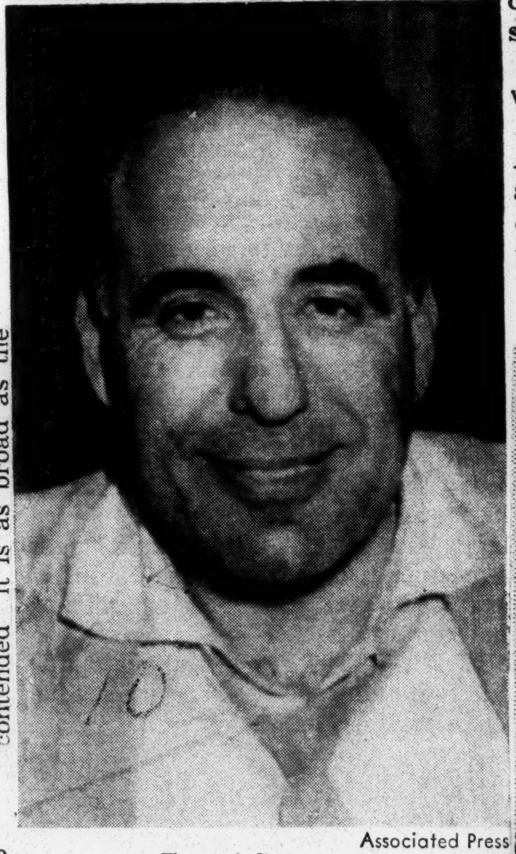
For Whom the Bell Tolls

In the Texas legislature last week two senators turned the South's prime weapon against civil-rights legislation, the filibuster, to a novel use. Up from the lower house swept a rash of school segregation bills, and in an effort to stop them the protesting pair put on the longest filibuster in Texas history.

Filibuster leader was San Antonio's Henry Gonzalez, 41, the first Texan of Mexican parentage to be elected to the state senate since 1892. Alternating with Laredo's Abraham Kazen Jr., 38, Freshman Senator Gonzalez (who perfected his speech as a child by practicing with pebbles in his mouth "like Demosthenes") ranged the course of world history and literature to flesh out his marathon talk. Quoting hugely from Herodotus, the Prophet Jeremiah, John Donne and many another classic, he dazzled his colleagues —and almost wore them down—with his panegyric on freedom and on the crucial need for racial equality.

Deftly Gonzalez needled his state-proud colleagues for borrowing the first of the bills—which would, in effect, permit school boards to assign pupils on a racial basis—from "lesser states." "Texas had to import foreign-made provisions from such backward entities as South Carolina," he cried. "Why is it that you are so poverty-stricken?" And time and again he warned his colleagues of the ultimate perils of segregation: "It may be some can chloroform their conscience. But if we fear long enough, we hate,

* Dramatized for TViewers last week in *Playhouse 90's* hour-and-a-half presentation of *Child of Trouble*.



Associated Press

TEXAS' GONZALEZ

It's easy to sleep on another's wounds.

Negro. I say, the bell tolls for you. It is ringing for us all."

Gonzalez and Kazen spoke for a record-breaking (for Texas) 36 hours and two minutes—and did not give up the fight until they won agreement from the segregationists to vote only on the first bill, leaving the rest for this week. Said Senator Gonzalez, after his colleagues passed the measure: "I intend to fight every one [of the other bills] to the last ditch."

To Press for Enactment of Civil Right

New York—Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, announced here May 23 that Vice President Richard Nixon told him in a recent letter: "The Administration will continue to press for the enactment of its civil rights program during this session in Congress."

The letter from the Vice President was dated May 10.

Mr. Nixon's message to the NAACP leader also asserted: "I can assure you of the Administration's continuing and profound interest as well as active vigilance in the days ahead of what I know we both want —equal opportunity and equal rights for all."

Conviction

The Vice President also reiterated Negro applicants. Negroes are, and have been, flagrantly denied the right to vote."

LED BY DR. J. H. JACKSON (left) president of the National Baptist Convention, U. S. A., Inc., and pastor of Olivet Baptist church, citizens send more than 1,000 telegrams to Illinois congressmen urging action now on Civil Rights. Mass meeting, attended by 3,000 persons, was at Olivet Baptist church.

10 1957

Dixie Senators Say Rights Bill Is 'Insulting'

Defender Chicago, Ill. Sat. 5-18-57

By ROSE McKEE

WASHINGTON — (INS) — Two southern senators have called the administration's civil rights bill unconstitutional, drastic, indefensible and insulting and said they will do anything to block it.

Sens. Olin D. Johnston (D) S. C., and Sam J. Ervin (D) N. C., declared in a minority report that the bill is proposed at a time "when never-ending agitation on racial subjects by both designing and sincere men impairs our national sanity."

Johnston said at a joint news conference the two of them would "vote to put almost anything in the bill to kill it—anything we can do to kill the bill will be a service to the country."

SEEK AMENDMENT

Ervin said he will support the right-to-work amendment, opposed by many supporters of the bill. But he said he thought the proposed legislation would be so broad that the attorney general could bring suits under it to by-pass state laws that permit union shops.

The legislation to protect voting rights of Negroes and create a presidential commission to investigate civil rights offenses is still in the committee stage in both house and senate.

Although senate leaders said early in the session that the bill would come to a vote this year, this is now questionable because of the long delay.

ROPE OF SAND

Ervin declared that "if this bill is not unconstitutional then our constitution has become a rope of sand."

Both he and Johnston declined to say when they thought it might come out of the senate judiciary committee. In referring to it as "loaded legal dice," Ervin made it clear he would do nothing to hasten committee action.

In their report, the two southerners declared that the only reason advanced by supporters of the bill is "an insulting and insupportable indictment of a whole people."

Defender

They accused supporters of saying that southern jurors cannot be trusted to try civil rights cases, and that is the reason for the injunction provision.

The report declared that the bill is based on the "strange thesis that the best way to promote the s to rob other Americans of civil rights of some Americans civil rights equally as precious."

FORETELLS EVIL

It charged that the proposed presidential commission would produce "evil" because its activities "will foment controversies in racial matters and inevitably give rise to the charge that it is being used to exploit so-called minority groups for political purposes."

The two senators at their news conference declared the bill would be the "personal possession" of the attorney general, who would have dictatorial powers under it and who could bring suits without the consent of the plaintiffs.

They called the measure a "legal club by which the attorney general can browbeat state and local officials into submission to his will" and nullify state laws.

Senator Ervin Sees Accord On Civil Rights

Evening Star Washington, D.C. Mon. 5-20-57

By the Associated Press

Senator Ervin, Democrat of North Carolina, said today he foresees "a good chance" that the House will eliminate two features of the administration's civil rights bill opposed by Southerners.

And he added in advance of a Senate Judiciary Committee meeting that he saw no use of Senators "feuding and fighting" over the legislation until after the House acts on it. The House may act early next month.

Prompt Action Sought

Proponents of the measure have been trying to jar it loose from the Judiciary Committee ever since it was approved by a subcommittee last March 19 by a 4-2 vote.

They planned to try once again at today's meeting, but only a brief session was in prospect. The Senate itself has agreed to meet an hour earlier than usual to take up a supplemental appropriation bill.

This left only half an hour for the Judiciary Committee meeting under a Senate rule which requires committees to obtain unanimous consent to sit while the Senate is in session.

Senator Ervin said he thinks there is a good chance the House will rewrite the bill to require a jury trial for defendants in any contempt cases arising out of injunctions the attorney general would be authorized to seek for the enforcement of voting and other civil rights.

Revisions Expected

He also said he believes the House may eliminate a provision of the bill that he and other opponents contend would empower the attorney general to "nullify" State laws.

This is a provision under which the attorney general could seek injunctions in Federal courts for the protection of a person's civil rights regardless of whether or not the individual had exhausted his administrative remedies under State law.

Civil Rights Bill Expected to Get Committee OK

Sunday Star Washington, D.C. Sun. 5-19-57

By ROBERT K. WALSH

There could be many a slip between House Rules Committee clearance of a civil rights bill Tuesday and the chances of prompt action by the House itself on the measure.

The bill approved by the Judiciary Committee seven weeks ago seems certain to receive a go-ahead vote of perhaps 8 to 4 when the Rules Committee meets. It also seems likely to win House passage. But its arrival on the House floor may be delayed until well into June and the House may tangle on debating it for a few days.

Rules Committee Chairman Smith, Democrat of Virginia, would have three days in which to report the bill formally to the House after the committee's expected Tuesday vote for clearance. Then he would have seven legislative days to call up the bill on the House floor.

Smith Noncommittal

If Mr. Smith, an outspoken foe of the legislation, does not act within that time, any other member of the committee could ask the Speaker for recognition to call up the bill. Such a move, however, could be made only on the second or fourth Mondays of a month, which, in this instance, would be June 8 or 22.

Mr. Smith has not disclosed whether he intends to send the bill to the House immediately after the committee acts Tuesday or whether he might use up the three days and sit on the bill for the full seven legislative days.

Advocates of the bill say that if the Rules Committee chairman shows signs of undue reluctance they will try to have the House hold an unusual Saturday session this week to provide an extra legislative day.

House Democratic and Republican leaders show no disposition to delay or prolong House consideration of the bill bearing the name of Judiciary Committee Chairman Celler, Democrat of New York, and supported by the Eisenhower administration. Democratic Leader McCormack predicted to the Associated Press several weeks ago that the House would pass the bill by the end of May. He reportedly still is confident that the bill will go through early in June.

Wary of Filibuster

House passage even within the next two or three weeks might come too late to give the bill any fighting chance of being considered by the Senate this year. The 1957 congressional session may go into August, but the threat of an almost certain filibuster by Southern members might deter leaders from bringing up the bill.

A Senate supporter of the civil rights bill yesterday gave only a 50-50 chance of enactment this year. Senator Javits, Republican of New York, told reporters that early this year he thought the prospects were "better than ever."

The major immediate hurdle in the Senate is in the Judiciary Committee, headed by Senator Eastland, Democrat of Mississippi. Senator Hennings, Democrat of Missouri, chairman of a subcommittee which approved a bill last March, has been attempting unsuccessfully every Monday since then at regular committee meetings to have it reported out.

Southern members have been able to bottle it up thus far. The committee meets again tomorrow at 9:30 a.m. but the Senate will convene earlier than usual at 10 a.m. Southern members are likely to invoke the rule against committee meetings while the Senate is in session.

Senate Democratic Leader Johnson has promised he would not stand in the way of action on the bill. Republican Leader Knowland said he favors keeping the 1957 session going until a civil rights bill is considered.

On the theory that half a loaf is better than none, supporters of the bill believe they will achieve a major gain if it is passed by the House this year. That would give them all of the 1958 session of the 85th Congress to try to push the bill for concurrent action in the Senate.

Notwithstanding optimistic forecasts that the House will pass the bill, some of its backers concede privately that they face a rugged floor fight. The Rules Committee is expected to clear the measure under an open rule allowing any member to offer germane amendments. This would open the way for battles on "trial by jury" and "right to work" amendments and whether "religion" should be listed in the bill.

Southern members have served notice they will demand an amendment requiring jury trials for persons charged with contempt of court for alleged noncompliance with Federal court injunctions in civil rights cases. That would apply to injunctions obtained by the Justice Department in the name of the United States in complaints of deprivation of voting or other civil rights.

The American Civil Liberties Union yesterday announced its opposition to such an amendment.

"While there is always need to guard vigilantly against the misuse of government power, including injunctions which are too broad," the ACLU board of directors stated, "there is also need to prevent weakening the power of our courts to uphold the law of the land. The right of equal treatment under law is fatally undermined when community sentiment blocks the enforcement of law."

'Quiet' Rights Filibuster On, Ives Charges

Post-Herald B'ham Ala. Mon. 5-27-57

WASHINGTON, May 26 (AP)—Sen. Ives (R., N. Y.) said today the administration's civil rights bill "is the victim of a quiet Southern filibuster" within the Senate Judiciary Committee.

"Usually you think of a filibuster as consisting of long and largely irrelevant speeches on the Senate floor," he said. "But a bill can be filibustered in committee just as effectively—more so, in fact, since it may never see the light of day."

With Southern opponents avowedly seeking to block action, the civil rights bill has been locked up in the Judiciary Committee ever since its approval by a subcommittee last March 19 by a 4-2 vote.

Chairman Eastland (D., Miss.) has announced that at a closed meeting tomorrow the committee will consider a right-to-work amendment under which labor agreements requiring union membership would be prohibited.

The amendment has been offered by Sen. McClellan (D., Ark.), in the hope it will scuttle the whole bill. Opponents of the amendment, many of them among the strongest supporters of the civil rights measure, regard it as a "union-busting" proposal.

Ives, in a radio broadcast recorded for New York stations, said he still was "hopeful" that the bill would emerge from the judiciary committee and be brought to a vote in the Senate before Congress adjourns.

Rules Committee to Vote On Civil Rights Today

The House Rules Committee meets this afternoon under an agreement to vote on a civil rights bill, with prospects that it will clear the measure for House action.

House debate and expected passage, however, may be delayed until the first week in June. That still would be much earlier than the July 23 date on which the House passed a similar bill last year, 279 to 126.

The 12-member Rules Committee last week concluded public hearings on the present bill reported out by the Judiciary Committee early in April. Committee members indicated the vote today for sending the bill to the House floor will be about 8 to 4.

To Decide On Procedure

The committee in closed session this afternoon also will decide on time and amendment procedures for House debate. It seems likely to allot several days for debate and to allow an open rule for floor consideration of any germane amendment.

Southern members opposing the legislation have proposed many changes. Theier main effort, aside from trying to kill the bill itself, would center on an amendment to guarantee jury trials for persons accused of violating Federal court injunctions issued in cases of alleged actual threatened violation of voting and other civil rights.

Some opponents also intend tto offer a "right-to-work" amendment banning union shop arrangements requiring employes to join labor unions in order to keep their jobs. House Democratic Leader McCormack said he believes such an amendment would be ruled out of order as a rider to the civil rights bill. In any event it would be defeated in the House, he predicted.

If the civil rights bill is cleared today it would not have to be called up immediately by Rules Committee Chairman Smith, Democrat of Virginia.

Allowed Seven Days

He would have seven legislative days before bringing it to the House floor. Supporters of the bill said they would urge a Saturday session of the House this week to provide a legislative day if Mr. Smith shows signs of undue delay. Because of the Memorial Day holiday and scheduled consideration of the Defense Department appropriation bill next week, it is doubtful that the civil rights bill would come up before the first week in June.

The bill, bearing the name of Judiciary Committee Chairman Celler, Democrat of New York, and backed by the Eisenhower administration, has four principal sections.

It would create a special Civil Rights Commission with subpoena power to study civil rights problems and investigate complaints. It would greatly expand the Justice Department's civil rights division and put it under an Assistant Attorney General.

It would allow the Attorney General to take voting and other civil rights cases into Federal court and also to obtain Federal court injunctions in the name of the United States and in behalf of individual complainants. It is the latter provision which Southern opponents warn would deprive persons of jury trial if accused of noncompliance with such court injunctions.

GREEN LIGHT IS GIVEN TO CIVIL RIGHTS BILL

Southerners Are Unable To Block Clearance By House Committee

By MORRIS CUNNINGHAM

From The Commercial Appeal Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, May 21.—The Administration's Civil Rights Bill moved a step closer to passage Tuesday as the House Rules Committee voted 8-to-4 to clear it for House action.

Representative William M. Colmer (D., Miss.), one of the measure's most outspoken foes, joined the three other Dixie members of the Rules Committee in voting "no."

Voting for clearance were the committee's four Northern Democrats and four Republicans.

Fight To Go On

Mr. Colmer served notice that Southerners will continue to use every possible parliamentary maneuver to delay the measure in the House. However, he conceded it probably will be called up in the House around May 31 and passed around June 10.

Nevertheless, Mr. Colmer said various amendments will be offered with the hope some of them will be adopted. The Southerners' main amendment will be one to guarantee jury trials in contempt of court cases arising from the injunctions the bill would authorize.

Amendments to guarantee the right to work and to assure equal rights for women also will be offered, Mr. Colmer said. But these may be knocked out on points-of-order as not germane.

Bill Called 'Vicious'

As now drafted, Mr. Colmer called the bill "vicious" and "objectionable." He said if passed in its present form it will subject Southerners to "government by injunction."

House passage by June 10 would move the bill to the Senate more than a month earlier than last year. This difference in time would impair, to some extent, the chances of a Dixie filibuster in the Senate. The later in a session a filibuster comes, the more effective it is.

Negro Editor Hits 'Faith In Fist'

JACKSON, Miss., May 25 (AP)—Mississippi's leading Negro newspaper said this week it was "somewhat startled" by a Negro Congressman's suggestion that Negroes put "faith in our fist, if necessary," in seeking first-class citizenship.

The remark was made by Rep. Charles C. Diggs (D-Mich) in a speach that otherwise urged Negroes to pursue legal means to gain full civil rights.

In a lengthy editorial, Editor Percy Greene of the weekly Jackson Advocate said he was "somewhat startled by Diggs' admonition . . . with clenched fist raised."

"Even at the risk of being branded by the few remaining adherants of the NAACP as an 'Uncle Tom,'," the editorian said, "the best thing that they (Negro leaders) can do and should do now is let the responsible white leaders of their community know that they totally and unequivocally reject the philosophy and implications in the call to have 'faith in our fist, if necessary', in the struggle for civil rights and first - class citizenship."

Backers Plan Rare Move in Rights Battle

By WILLIAM S. WHITE

(Copyright 1957 by The New York Times Co.)

WASHINGTON, May 28—Senate advocates of civil rights legislation have just about decided to attempt the rare and difficult course of by-passing their greatest obstacle, the Senate Judiciary Committee.

They are planning to bring civil rights bill directly to the floor. They intend to act immediately after the expected approval of a civil rights measure by the House about the middle of next month.

Their plan is to move that the House bill be taken up at once by the Senate itself rather than being sent, as is the custom, to the Senate Judiciary Commitee.

A Filibuster—deliberate time-killing debate to prevent action—would be started at once by Southern senators. But the issue would have been joined.

The issue since January has been inert in the judiciary committee, and the committee has been in the control of an adamant Southern minority of four of a total membership of 15.

The tentative plan to try to by-pass the judiciary committee is understood to have been initiated among the Republicans and to have the strong backing of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Some Democrats of the Senate civil rights group have been reluctant to take such a step, since it would challenge the committee system at a time when all committees are under Democratic control.

PLAN FRONTAL ATTACK

The reluctance of these Democrats is being overcome, however, because their alternative admittedly would be less likely to succeed.

What they had in mind was a frontal effort to wrest the Senate civil rights bill from the judiciary committee by a motion to discharge that committee from further jurisdiction.

This would require a two-thirds vote of the Senate, whereas the other maneuver—to ignore the inert Senate bill and take up the House-approved bill without reference to committee—could be brought off by a simple majority.

SEVERAL ALTERNATIVES

Sen. Knowland of California, the Senate minority leader, declared after a weekly conference with the President that his party was determined to obtain civil rights action and that "several alternative moves" were under discussion.

So far as was disclosed the President himself did not mention the subject in the White House meeting.

On the Senate floor Sen. Douglas (D-Ill) accused the Southerners of attempting "emasculation by delay" in the judiciary committee.

No Quorum, Senate Unit Stalks Civil Rights Bill

Consideration of the Administration's civil rights bill ran into further delay yesterday as a majority of the 15-member Senate Judiciary Committee failed to show up for a scheduled meeting.

With only seven members on hand—one short of the required quorum — Chairman James O. Eastland (D-Miss.) called off the meeting after waiting about 40 minutes.

The bill has been bottled up in the Committee since approval by a subcommittee March 19.

Sen. Everett Dirksen (R-Ill.) told newsmen all GOP members of the Committee were on hand except for Sen. William Langer (N. D.) and William Jenner (Ind.), who have been ill. The only Democrat present, besides Eastland, was Sen. Estes Kefauver (Tenn.).

10 1957

In and Out of Congress

GFWC Seeks Backers For Equal Rights Bill

Post + Times Herald P.12-C
Washington, D.C.
Thurs. 3-7-57

THE General Federation of Women's Clubs is spearheading an extensive campaign to round up support in and out of Congress for proposed legislation to write into the Constitution an amendment granting equal rights to women.

Recently Mrs. R. I. C. Prout, president of the General Federation, sent a letter to all members of Congress asking them to vote favorably on the equal rights amendment as proposed by Rep. Katharine St. George (R-N.Y.) without any change.

She sent a bulletin also to each of the Federation's state presidents and legislative chairmen giving them a report on the status of legislation (now pending before a House Judiciary Subcommittee) and enclosing a list of the Congressmen in each of their respective states who have not taken a stand on the measure.

The state officers were urged to write these Congressmen soliciting their favorable support of equal rights legislation

This latter was a step in the campaign to build up support for the amendment in state legislatures which must ratify it in event Congress approves the St. George resolution or one of the others introduced on the same subject.

STENNIS FIRES AGAIN AT CIVIL RIGHTS BILL

Commercial Appeal P.15

Provisions Are Compared To Reconstruction Acts

Tues. 3-12-57
Memphis, Tenn.

From The Commercial Appeal Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, March 11. — Senator John Stennis (D., Miss.) declared Monday the injunctive processes in the Administration's civil rights bill represent "a disregard for due processes of law."

The Mississippian, a lawyer and former judge, compared the bill's provisions with Federal Judge Robert L. Taylor's injunction in the Clinton, Tenn., racial disorders.

Criticizing Judge Taylor's action, he declared that "an injunction against the world must be void."

"Except in the most extreme cases—almost beyond the power of imagination — an injunction against criticism of a court decision is a violation of the First Amendment of the Constitution," he said.

Referring to the use of equity jurisdiction and remedies in procedures under the Administration's bill, Senator Stennis said, "The whole history of equity is disregarded and reversed so that government by injunction will replace government by law."

He called the Administration bill an addition to "that part of the ill-considered civil rights legislation of the Reconstruction days which still remains on our law books as the remnant of a dark, bygone era of military control of a defeated and impoverished South when wholesale disenfranchisement of white voters was the policy of government."

Solon Flays Ike's Civil Rights Plan

Defender
Sat. 3-16-57
Chicago, Ill.
P. 1

WASHINGTON — (INS) — Sen. Herman Talmadge (D) Ga., charged Sunday that the administration's civil rights proposals would set up a "Gestapo commission" that would "destroy" civil liberties.

He added that further legislation for civil rights is not needed because, "the American people have more civil rights than any nation on the face of the earth."

Asked on the ABC-TV program "College Press Conference," whether any Negro had been illegally denied the ballot in Georgia, Talmadge replied, "not to my knowledge."

On the question of school segregation, he said: "There won't be any integration at any time in Georgia."

Talmadge added that Negroes have recourse to federal courts to settle any grievances they may have over the civil rights issue.

The Georgia senator also said that military spending could not be reduced but other sections of the federal budget could be cut "five per cent across the board," saving "three to five billion dollars."

GEORGIAN AID FEARS GESTAPO ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Daily Tribune
Thurs. 2-21-57
Chicago, Ill.
P. 5

Washington, Feb. 20 (AP) — Georgia's attorney general today pictured President Eisenhower's civil rights program as leading to "a federal gestapo" that would cater to Negro pressure groups "inspired by the communistic ideologies of the police state."

Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook said enactment of the Eisenhower civil rights bills would lead to intimidation of a majority of Americans "to appease the vociferous minorities which . . . . have now apparently wrested control of our government from the people."

Cook, in a 24 page brief filed at a public hearing of a senate judiciary subcommittee, said that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People [NAACP] was "the most aggressive proponent of these civil rights measures" except for the Communist party.

"Would Destroy States"

Cook said the Eisenhower program would "inevitably destroy the states" and lead to the stirring up of civil rights litigation to justify the cost of a "new board of bureaucrats" which would oversee the program.

Confined to a hospital by a virus infection, Cook assigned an aid of Sen. Talmadge [D., Ga.] to file his brief at the hearing on civil rights legislation.

Charles J. Bloch of Macon, Ga., a past president of the Georgia Bar association, testified in opposition to the bills.

Block expressed hope Congress would "coöperate with us in securing a reversal" of the Supreme court's school desegregation decision.

Asks Special Commission

The Eisenhower bills call for a creation of a special commission to investigate civil rights problems, the establishment of a civil rights division in the justice department, and authority for the federal government to seek Federal court remedies to protect voting rights and other civil rights.

Cook said the proposed civil rights commission "would result in the creation of a federal gestapo which would pry into the affairs of the states and their cistizens, and intimidate a majority of our citizens."

Negroes In South Carolina Urge Civil Rights Laws

Globe + Independent
Nashville, Tenn.
Fri. 2-22-57
P. 1

New York, Feb. 14.—A message from Negroes in South Carolina, urging the passage of civil rights legislation at this session of Congress, compares the situation of some Negroes in the Deep South to that of the Hungarians who fled from violence in their homeland.

The letter, was sent to Rep. Emanuel Celler, chairman of the Home Judiciary Sub-committee, by the president of the South Carolina State NAACP.

"The Negro is only seeking real, true and unadulterated equality in this, our great government, that he may move about unhampered, unsegregated, as other Americans . . . even Hungarians, who are coming to our country fleeing from what Negroes suffer in certain sections of this country,' the letter asserts." It is dated Feb. 10 and signed by the Rev. J. M. Hinton, NAACP state president.

The executive committee of the Mississippi State NAACP telegraphed Rep. Celler on the same day urging passage of federal civil rights legislation as "the only means by which Negroes in Mississippi may attain the freedom that all men cherish."

The Mississippi committee also telegraphed President Eisenhower urging him to "speak out against all forms of violence that is being used against us for no reason, other than our desire for the rights guaranteed under the Constitution of the United States of America."

The Jackson Miss NAACP branch telegraphed Sen. Thomas C. Hennings, chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights on Feb. 10. The message said in part:

"The present trend of physical violence and injustices heaped upon Negroes solely because of race makes it necessary that we call upon you and your committee to make every possible endeavor to pass civil rights degislation that will guarantee the security of persons in Mississippi."

Early Rights Bill Action Predicted by Hennings

Evening Star P. 7-A
Washington, D.C.
Thurs. 3-7-57

By the Associated Press

Senator Hennings, Democrat of Missouri, said today he is confident a Senate judiciary subcommittee he heads will approve a "meaningful" civil rights bill "very soon."

The subcommittee ended its public hearings on the proposed legislation two days ago, a deadline previously set over the opposition of its ... Southern members, Senators Ervin, Democrat of North Carolina and Olin Johnston, Democrat of South Carolina.

Senator Hennings said in a statement he saw "absolutely no need" for further hearings either by the subcommittee or the full Judiciary Committee, of which Senator Eastland, Democrat of Mississippi, is chairman.

Senator Ervin said he hasn't decided whether to request that additional witnesses be heard.

The subcommittee's hearing record is being kept open until noon tomorrow for submission of statements. Senator Hennings said he would call a closed meeting "as soon as posible" to act on the legislation, but he set no date.

In its hearings, which began February 14, the subcommittee considered the Eisenhower administration's civil rights program as well as separate measures introduced by Senator Hennings and others.

The administration proposals would empower the Attorney General to seek injunctions to enforce voting and other civil rights, create a presidential commission to investigate complaints of civil rights violations, and establish a civil rights division in the Justice Department.

Southern foes of the proposals argue the legislation would permit "government by injunction" and would infringe on States rights.

In the House, a judiciary subcommittee has approved a bill patterned to the administration program. The full committee may act on it next week.

Now's time for civil rights, World Peace officer says

Afro-American p. 3
Baltimore, Md.
Sat. 3-9-57

JENKINS, Minn.—"The time to bring an end to the insults, intimidations, threats, abuse and other crimes perpetrated upon colored people is now," Carl A. Ryan, secretary-treasurer of the World Peace Association, warns in a letter to President Eisenhower and justices of the U.S. Supreme Court.

The country, Mr. Ryan said, should not wait until "an unbearable accumulation of diabolical incidents lead to another socalled civil war."

"t took four years of war to 'convince southern states that "colored people are free and equal under the laws of this country. . . . Now, more than 90 years after the end of the Civil War, we respectfully ask, when is this country going to be made safe for all our people to live in?"

Celler Seeks to Speed Debate

Herald Tribune

Civil Rights Proposals Voted by House Group

Tues. 3-19-57 P. 12
New York, N.Y.

By Rowland Evans Jr.

WASHINGTON, Mar. 18.—President Eisenhower's civil rights proposals were approved with slight changes today by the House Judiciary Committee.

Rep. Emanuel Celler, D., N.Y., committee chairman, announced he would immediately ask the House Rules Committee to clear the legislation for floor debate at the earliest possible time. Should the Rules Committee attempt to hold up the bill, it was understood that Reu. Celler would circulate a discharge petion among members of the House. To discharge a committee from further consideration of legis lation requires 218 signatures, or a constitutional majority of the whole House.

Southerner Is Chairman

The Rules Committee has as chairman Rep. Howard W. Smith, D., Va., a powerful leader of the Southern bloc.

The bill approved today by a three-to-two margin of the Judiciary Committee is substantially the same as legislation passed by the House last summer. It died at the end of the session without ever reaching the Senate for debate.

This year, the prospect is far better. The House is expected to adopt the bill before the Easter recess in late April. A Senate Judiciary subcommittee, after exhaustive hearings, hopes to report its version of the civil rights bill to the full committee by Wednesday with a prospect of final committee action there by the Easter recess and probable weeks of debate in the Senate itself later in the Spring. Advocates of civil rights legislation contend, however, that the chance of final action this year is better than 50-50.

Achilles Heel

The debate in Congree will expose anew the Democratic party's Achilles heel. Northern Democrats have been fighting for civil-rights reforms for years. Southerners have used every technique available, including the Senate filibuster, to thwart legislative action. Thus politically, the Republicans would stand to gain the most, at least from the short-term view, if the Eisenhower program succeeds.

The bill approved by the House committee today would do these things:

1. Create a bi-partisan Civil Rights Commission to examine the whole question of violation of voting rights of Negroes and other minority groups. The six-member commission would have authority to study various legal techniques used to deny equal rights because of race, color, religion or national origin. The committee struck from the Administration text a provision empowering the commission also to investigate "unwarranted economic pressures" brought against minorities.

New Division

2. Create a new Civil Rights in the Justice Department to be headed by an Assistant Attorney General. The new division would handle all the Federal legal work growing out of existing civil-rights statues and out of new provision in the pending legislation.

3. Permit the government for the first time to bring an action in its own name to safeguard existing provisions of law.

This would permit the Federal government, in its own name, to start civil suits in Federal court for injunctions or other civil relief to prevent violation of civil rights, including the right to vote. These Federal suits could be brought without first exhausting state administrative remedies for alleged violations and with or without the consent of the person allegedly aggrieved.

Intereference in Voting

4. Strengthen the right to vote by prohibiting private individuals or state and local officials from interfering, by coercion, intimidation or other means, with voting in any election or primary for a Federal office.

CIVIL RIGHTS BILL APPROVED BY HOUSE GROUP

Daily Tribune
Tues. 3-19-57
Chicago, Ill.
P. 12

Rules Committee Is Next Hurdle

[Chicago Tribune Press Service]

Washington, March 18—The house judiciary committee finished revising the Eisenhower administration's civil rights bill today and Chairman Celler [D., N. Y.] began the job of obtaining clearance for the measure from the rules commitee.

As finally approved by the judiciary commitee, the bill would:

1. Create a bipartisan commission to investigate charges of civil rights violations.

2. Establish a new division in the justice department which would rosecute civil rights violations.

3. Authorize the attoreny general to seek civil action in civil rights cases. Under present law, the federal government can prosecute such cases under criminal statutes only.

Preventive Action Urged

4. Protect the right to vote by authorizing the attorney general to start civil actions to prevent a person's being deprived of his right to vote, rather than acting after a would-be voter has been kept from the polls.

Altho the bill emerged from the committee bearing Celler's name, it was essentially the administration measure introduced by Rep. Keating [R. N. Y.]

The next step is for the rules committee, headed by Rep. Smith [D., Va.] who opposes civil rights legislation, to hold a hearing and schedule the bill for floor debate. Celler wrote Smith urging early action. Smith told reporters he did not know when the committee would act.

Runs Into Quorum Trouble

A senate judiciary subcommittee, headed by Sen. Hennings [D., Mo.], has been trying for 10 days to complete action on a similar civil rights bill but has run into quorum trouble—not enough senators for official action. Hennings was scheduled to try again tomorrow.

Southerners on the house judiciary committee, claiming the bill before the group would stir up racial antagonism in the south, tried to scuttle the measure with crippling amendments but were defeated by votes of more than two-thirds, Keating told reporters.

In the final session today, the southerners obtained adoption of an amendment which struck a provision that the attorney general could start actions in the name of the United States for the benefit of persons claiming their civil rights were violated.

Civil Rights Legislation Hits Snag

Post-Herald
Birmingham, Ala.
Tues. 4-9-57

House Committee Adjourns Without Acting On Motion

P. 2

WASHINGTON, April 8 (AP)—Civil rights legislation ran into a double setback in Congress today, but it appeared likely the House might reach a vote next month.

The House Rules Committee met and adjourned without acting on a motion designed to bring the legislation to a vote on the House floor.

Chairman Smith (D., Va.) announced later the committee would consider a civil rights bill immediately after the Easter recess, which is to end April 29. He predicted the committee would approve it, saying two-thirds of the committee favor it.

Smith opposes the bill but he said he recognizes "the facts of life."

Rep. Bolling (D., Mo.), who is striving for a vote, had said earlier he could see no practical way to force committee action before the recess.

If the committee approves the bill, it would be cleared for House action.

In the Senate, the judiciary committee gathered with civil rights proposals on its schedule. **Not enough members showed up to do business, however, and this meant another week's delay here as the committee adjourned for lack of a quorum until next Monday.**

The delays amounted tn another victory for Southern members of Congress who are fighting the proposals. Their last-ditch weapon would be a Senate filibuster, and a filibuster grows in effectiveness as the time nears for adjournment of Congress.

Senator Hennings (D., Mo.) said in a statement he was "extremely disappointed" but would try again to get action in the Senate committee.

"As we all know," he said, "if we are to get a satisfactory bill passed in this session, it is imperative to get the legislation out on the floor of the Senate at the earliest possible moment."

The House Judiciary Committee has approved a bill patterned after Eisenhower administration recommendations. The bill is aimed primarily at alleged violations of Negroes' civil right, including voting rights, in the South.

Under the bill, the attorney general could go into federal district courts to seek injunctions against alleged violators of civil rights. Contempt cases arising from injunctions would not carry the right of a jury trial for the accused, and the Southern critics have stressed this point.

Senator Ervin (D., N. C.) told reporters today "I predict it will never pass in this form."

The administration bill, he said, "is designed to deprive people of the right to trial by jury, and equally indefensible is a provision that the aggrieved would not have to show that they had exhausted administrative remedies" before going to court.

Senate Group Again Delays Rights Action

Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.
Tues. 4-16-57

WASHINGTON, April 15 (AP)—The Senate Judiciary Committee put off action on the civil rights issue again today, but Chairman Eastland (D-Miss) said it probably would begin considering the legislation April 29.

Eastland wouldn't predict when the committee might take a vote, but Sen. Neely (D-WVa) offered an estimate that it never would.

Neely, who supports the proposed legislation, said that if action depends on what the committee does, "You are going to get judgment on Judgment Day."

Two motions were reported to have been made at today's closed session, with neither of them coming to a vote. Sen. Hennings (D-Mo) offered a motion to take a vote on May 6 and Sen. Ervin (D-NC) offered one to postpone consideration.

Eastland said the two motions were discussed, but the committee adjourned at noon without action and probably will not meet again until April 29. That is when the Easter recess will end.

"At that time," Eastland told reporters, "in all probability, we will begin consideration of the bill."

Southern critics, who have been trying to delay action, concede that he House vote will go against them; however, if they can put if Senate action they will strengthen their last-restort weapon, the filibuster.

10 1957

War Vets Resent House Committee's 'Slur' On Civil Rights Legislation

WASHINGTON (ANP) -- The American Veterans Committee charged last week that the seven members of the House Judiciary Committee signing the Minority Report on civil rights legislation with misusing the name of the veterans in an attempt to defeat this legislation. The charge was contained in a statement issued by AVC director Kennedy M. Birkhead after a study had been made by AVC, of the committee report.

"It is absurd to suggest, as this minority report does, that while citizen soldiers were fighting in the last war, 'left-wingers' at home were attempting to have civil rights legislation enacted," the veterans group formed during World War II states.

"Such an allegation is a slur upon all veterans and non-veterans alike. America's number one veteran, President Dwight D. Eisenhower, is the sponsor of the current civil rights legislation. Many members of Congress are veterans including those who proposed and are fighting for this legislation such as Senator Paul Douglas, who long past draft age entered the Marine Corps as a private in the last war and was discharged as a Captain. Rep. Richard Bolling is also a veteran, who rose in the service to the rank of Colonel on the staff of General MacArthur. Furthermore, former President Truman, who had a distinguished record of military service in World War I in France, proposed the 1948 civil rights program," said the AVC.

The veterans group questioned whether the Congressman who signed the Minority Report believed that the millions of Negro veterans who served in the armed forces did not support civil rights legislation. "AVC has no doubt that the millions of ex-servicemen who fought side by side with Negro servicemen equally supported this legislation," the statement continued.

"To suggest that those urging enactment of civil rights legislation are only those who did not serve in the armed services and that they sought to bring about 'agitation, dissention, and strife,' is to impugnate the loyalty of the millions of our citizens who supported their country during war, AVC stated.

"The charge that civil rights legislation is the work of 'left-wingers' is to slander most of the clergymen of this nation who have strongly supported the cause of civil rights," the veterans organization said.

"AVC, as a non-segregated veterans organization, believes it speaks for millions of veterans in supporting civil rights. We are sure that the veterans of this country deplore the divisive tactics of the signers of the Minority Report on Civil Rights and of the House Judiciary Committee. To attempt to forment conflict between different groups of the population and set one against the other has never been in the American tradition. We are sure that the concept of equal rights for all citizens has the overwhelming support of the majority of the American people AVC said and urged enactment of this legislation during this session of Congress."

DAILY MEETINGS ON RIGHTS URGED

Hennings Scents Filibuster Atmosphere in Judiciary Group's Delay on Bills

By C. P. TRUSSELL

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, May 10—The Senate Judiciary Committee will be urged Monday to snap out of its "snail's pace" in handling civil-rights legislation. It will be asked to vote on a proposal to sit daily, morning, afternoon and night, if necessary, to get a rights bill to the floor.

The request will be made by Senato r Thomas C. Hennings Jr., Democrat of Missouri, chairman of the Constitutional Rights subcommittee. The subcommittee approved the Administration's program March 19.

"Week after week," Senator Hennings said, "I have proposed at every Judiciary [Committee] meeting to come to an agreement to set a date for voting on this matter. If we don't get some definite date the snow will be on the ground before the Senate gets any bill."

Mr. Hennings has scented an atmosphere of filibuster at the weekly meetings of the judiciary panel since March 19. A filibuster is the use of the privilege of unlimited debate to prevent a question from coming to a vote.

At best thus far, Senator Hennings observed, the Monday meetings of the committee, headed by Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi, a foe of civil rights measures, have been marked by "inordinately protracted discussion * * * about even taking up the subject of civil rights."

Monday is the regular meeting day for the Judiciary Committee¼ "The committee has seldom met other days. Senator Hennings called this schedule a "snail's pace."

Meanwhile, a Southern minority of Constitutional Rights sucommittee filed a report on the proposed legislation.

In the report Senators Olin D. Johnston of South Carolina and Sam J. Ervin Jr. of North Carolina, Democrats, charged that the Eisenhower program would hurt more Americans than it might help.

The program, the Southerners held, could reduce sovereign states—South, North or anywhere—to "meaningless zeros" through "autocratic and despotic" powers granted "deliberately" to any Attorney General.

Under the powers granted the Attorney General, the minority report contended, state law could be nullified and "a legal club" would be in the Administration's hand to "browbeat" state and local officials into bending their civil rights and other programs to Washington's will.

Such "intimidation," the minority report held, could reach beyond civil rights questions. The bill, it contended, could institute a "Government by injunction" that would allow an Attorney General to litigate, at public expense, "all claims of virtually all aliens, citizens and private corporations" on a variety of grounds. It said these grounds could include international discrimination pertaining to elections, public education, business and trade, labor disputes, prices, interest rates, railroads, motor carriers, communications and even taxes.

Rights Bill Hit By Dispute on Debate Curb

By ROBERT K. WALSH

The civil rights bill, still under exhaustive discussion before the Rules Committee, already is involved in a dispute over the length of time for debate when the measure finally reaches the House floor.

At the moment, there is no official estimate on how soon the bill, reported out on April 1 by the Judiciary Committee, will be cleared by the Rules Committee for House action. The rules group opened hearings last Thursday, resumed them for two hours yesterday, planned to continue briefly today, and seemed likely to go on at least through next week.

Representative Willis, Democrat of Louisiana, first of a "considerable number" of House members wishing to testify against the legislation, was the only scheduled witness for today. Before he appears, the Rules Committee takes up another bill authorizing transfer of some naval vessels to friendly nations.

Debate Curb Argued

Meanwhile, a controversy developed within the committee as to whether the bill should be sent eventually to the House under a procedure allowing two days for general debate or a specific number of hours. A rule in terms of days probably would be a speedier process because general debate would be restricted to two afternoons at the most.

But a rule allowing, for example, eight hours conceivably could keep the general debate going for several afternoons because of consideration of various other matters at the start of each session and the possibility of sudden moves to adjourn earlier than usual in the afternoon.

Rules Committee Chairman Smith of Virginia mentioned the matter yesterday when Representative Madden, Democrat of Indiana, said he saw no reason for Rules Committee hearings on a bill heard extensively earlier this year by the Judiciary Committee. Mr. Madden recalled also that the House debated and passed a similar bill last year after long committee hearings.

Fears "Severe Limitation"

The chairman said he hoped Mr. Madden and other committee members favoring the current bill would be "more liberal" than last year in giving the House a thorough opportunity to debate the measure. Mr. Smith contended that two days, as suggested by Judiciary Committee Chairman Celler, of New York, would be a "severe limitation." He urged that the allowance be in terms of hours.

Mr. Celler, who yesterday concluded testimony that he began last Thursday at the start of Rules Committee hearings, recommended that an "open rule" be granted so that amendments could be offered from the floor. Under that amending procedure, each House member could speak for five minutes on each proposal.

Much of yesterday's hearing was a discussion mainly between Mr. Celler and Representative Colmer, Democrat of Mississippi, as well as Mr. Smith, on the "trial by jury" issue. Opponents of civil rights legislation in House and Senate this year have centered much of their fight against the bill's lack of a requirement for jury trials for persons who might be judged in contempt for noncompliance with Federal Court civil injunctions in complaints of violation of voting or other civil rights.

Mr. Celler insisted there is no constitutional right of trial by jury in injunction cases. He accused opponents of the civil rights bill of shedding "crocodile tears" and of "malarky" in attacking the civil rights bill from that standpoint.

Mr. Colmer, in turn, accused Mr. Celler of inconsistency because in 1932 he defended a jury trial provision in the Norris-LaGuardia Act relating to injunctions in labor disputes. Mr. Celler denied that he was wrong either in 1932 or 1957. He said the circumstances and the times have changed.

Rights 'Deal' Denied by Party Heads

Associated Press

Republican Congressional leaders said yesterday they have no "deal" with southern Democrats to delay action on civil rights legislation for another year. Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss.) agreed there is no such arrangement.

Senate GOP Leader William F. Knowland (Calif.) and House Republican Chief Joseph W. Martin (Mass.) were asked about this after their regular weekly meeting at the White House with President Eisenhower.

They told newsmen there was nothing to such reports—that, in fact, they look for early action in both the Senate and House on Eisenhower's civil rights program.

Rep. Bolling (D-Mo.) had said he suspects a "deal" may have been arranged.

Reports of such an arrangement have been laced with speculation that Republicans might be willing to keep the civil rights issue alive until 1958 in order to plague the Democrats, split north and south on the question, in an election year.

Eastland, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee which is considering the Administration bill, was asked if he had any agreement with Republican members to stall the program which he opposes.

"No, sir," he replied, then added with a quick grin, "I wish I had."

Ike Likes Rights Bill--Solon

Keating Disputes Charge Made by Celler

WASHINGTON, May 9 (AP)—Rep. Keating (R-N. Y.) said Thursday President Eisenhower strongly supports the civil rights bill pending before the House rules committee.

Keating is the senior Republican on the House judiciary committee, headed by Rep. Celler (D-N. Y.). Keating said Celler has implied the measure does not have "the enthusiastic support of the President."

"I can assure you it does," Keating told the rules committee. "It is President Eisenhower's bill, introduced by me, backed by the administration, but dressed up in Mr. Celler's clothes—because of the exigencies of politics which we all understand and I am not criticizing."

Bill Aimed at Dixie 'Violations'

By saying the bill was dressed in Celler's clothes, Keating was referring to the fact that it carries Celler's name as author.

The legislation is aimed primarily against the alleged violation of the rights of Southern Negroes, including their voting rights. The rules committee is considering a request for clearing the bill for a vote in the House.

Keating also told the committee that to require a jury trial for contempt of court cases growing out of the civil rights legislation would make the plan 80-90 per cent ineffective.

Assault on Juries Charged

He cited a hypothetical case of a voting registrar who refused to comply with a court order and was charged with contempt.

"If this were left to a jury," Keating said, "I would apprehend it would be very difficult to obtain a conviction."

Chairman Howard Smith (D-Va.) asked Keating whether he was "assaulting the jury system."

Keating said, rather, that those who are demanding the rights to a jury trial "are assaulting the federal judiciary."

Unlimited Debate Assailed

Meanwhile, Sens. Douglas (D-Ill.) and Javits (R-N. Y.) made Senate speeches against the present Senate rule which makes it difficult to halt filibusters.

Douglas said some senators use the filibuster openly to prevent a vote on civil rights bills while others do it quietly.

"Some men who will not stab civil rights to death will furnish the dagger—interminable debate —to do the job," Douglas said.

Javits said there "is no difference between being for civil rights and being for a move to prevent a filibuster in the Senate."

He said he has been unable to get the Senate rules committee to act on several proposals to make it easier to end debate and force a vote.

Passage of 'Rights' Bills Seen By NAACP Aide

Passage of pending civil rights legislation appears certain during the current session of Congress, a spokesman for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People said last night.

"Republicans see civil rights issues as a happy hunting ground and Democrats regard them as a political necessity," J. Francis Pohlhaus, general counsel for the District Bureau of the NAACP, asserted.

Although most legislators regard eventual passage of such legislation as inevitable, this does not prevent opponents of civil rights from fighting a delaying action by means of "deceit, stalling, subterfuge and procrastination," the attorney said.

Asked from the floor about the so-called right-to-work amendment sponsored by Senator McClellan, Democrat of Arkansas, Mr. Pohlhaus replied that "everyone realizes that this is just a gimmick to torpedo the bill." He said he doubted that any of the lawmakers now sponsoring various amendments were "acting in good faith."

"We are not afraid the legislation will be defeated . . but we do fear that its enemies might succeed in pulling its teeth," he continued.

Turning to the question of Federal aid to schools, Mr. Pohlhaus said the NAACP was in favor of the Powell amendment, which would deny such aid to schools that have refused to comply with the 1954 Supreme Court decision.

"Many think that raising the general educational standard is a goal to be sought at any cost, but we feel that this would be a clear-cut instance of trying to make the end justify the means," he said.

Mr. Pohlhaus spoke to an open forum on civil rights, held at the St. Peter Claver Center, 814 Seventh street S.W.

House GOPs Expect Rights Okay in May

WASHINGTON, April 9 (UP)—The two top Republican members of the House Rules Committee predicted today that the House will pass President Eisenhower's hotly disputed civil rights bill sometime next month.

The two—Reps. Leo E. Allen (Ill) and Clarence J. Brown (Ohio)—denied there was any deal between Southern Democrats and Republicans to delay action on the measure. Brown called such talk "a lot of hot air."

House Republican Leader Joseph W. Martin Jr. (Mass) and Senate GOP Leader William F. Knowland (Calif) also denied the existence of any such deal. Martin predicted after a White House legislative conference that the bill will reach the House floor sometime after the Easter recess.

But Rep. Richard Bolling (D-Mo), a Rules Committee member, said fresh evidence of a GOP-Southerner deal was supplied yesterday when the committee decided to wait until after the Easter recess to hold hearings on the civil rights measure.

SEN. SPARKMAN SUPPORTS ANTI-RIGHTS RESOLUTION

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (NNPA) — Senator John J. Sparkman, of Alabama, the 1952 Democratic Vice Presidential candidate, announced Thursday his 'full support' of a resolution adopted by the Alabama League of Municipalities at its 1957 convention opposing Federal civil rights legislation.

"The League's resolution is in keeping with the Constitution and with the principle of fairness to all of our citizens, minority as well as majority," said Sparkman.

The Alabama Senator reiterated his opposition to the Eisenhower Administration's civil rights program. He charged that it would destroy trial by jury and give the Attorney General dictatorial powers over local law enforcement officers.

"I am not willing,' Sparkman said, "to give any Attorney General of the United States such great authority, and that is especially true of the one now in office."

LEGISLATION HIT

The resolution adopted by the Alabama League of Municipalities charges that advocates of pending civil rights legislation are seeking to "legislate social equality" and invade the rights of states and individuals.

The League went on record as opposing passage of civil rights legislation "by whatever means are available to us and are in keeping with the democratic processes of government".

Sparkman said he has previously attacked civil rights legislation proposed by Attorney General Herbert Brownell.

"There is no individual or group no government or agency, local or national; no employees federal, state or private, that would be free of the whims and fancies, real or imaginary of the Attorney General and the lawyers he would hire under this legislation," Sparkman warned in testimony before the Senate Constitutional Rights subcommittee which approved the Brownell proposals to protect the right to vote and other civil rights.

Hearings Begin On Rights Bill

By Philip Dodd
Chicago Tribune

The House Rules Committee started hearings yesterday on President Eisenhower's civil rights program, with Chairman Howard W. Smith (D., Va.) stating he was not "particularly interested" in early action.

Yesterday's only witness was Chairman Emanuel Celler, D.-N. Y.) of the House Judiciary Committee, which sent the civil rights bill to the Rules Committee April 1 after several weeks of hearings.

The function of the Rules Committee is to scehdule major legislation for House debate, determine how many hours debate shall last, and stipulate whether or not amendments may be offered from the floor.

Celler told the Rules Committee he wanted an "open" rule permitting floor amendments so the House can "work its will," but said he would insist amendments should be germaine.

The New Yorker made it clear he was opposed to expected attempts to take on a "right-to-work" amendment, which would make it illegal to make union membership a requirement for holding a job. Such a proposal has been made by Sen. John L. McClellan (D.-Ark.) in the Senate Judiciary Committee, which is considering a civil rights bill.

After describing the bill, which would enable the Attorney General to institute civil damage suits and injunction proceedings to protect voting and other civil rights, Celler ran into a barrage of questions from Rep. William M. Colmer (D.-Miss.).

Colmer was particularly critical of a provision that would permit the Attorney General to create a special civil rights commission in the Justice Department. He said it would create a "new bureaucracy with the sky the limit" that would cost millions of dollars.

Yesterday's session lasted one hour and 10 minutes. The hearing was recessed to next Tuesday and Celler was asked to come back for more questioning. At least 12 House members, the majority of them Southerners opposed to the bill, have asked the Rules Committee to be heard.

10 1957

Letters to The Times

To Try Civil Rights Case

Opposition to Jury as Device to Defeat Program Is Backed

The writer of the following letter has served as legal adviser to U. N. R. R. A. and to the U. N. Secretariat, and was United States Reporter at Congresses of Comparative Law at The Hague and in London. He is Professor of Law at Tulane University.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

Warren Olney 3d, the Assistant Attorney General, is justified in condemning bills now pending in the Congress which require jury trials in contempt of court cases. These cases arise from the National Government's proposed legislation to authorize the Attorney General to bring civil suits in instances of threatened violations of voting rights and of other constitutionally guaranteed civil rights.

The proceedings in the project of the National Government would be "suits in equity" which would not require jury trials. But the counter-proposals that there be jury trials in such civil "suits in equity" come, as Mr. Olney describes it, from "opponents of more effective enforcement of the constitutional prohibitions against official discrimination based on race or color."

He says that a "disastrous" effect of the proposals to require jury trials in such cases "would be to give juries 'the completely novel power' to substitute their interpretation of the Federal Constitution and laws for that of the Federal judges."

Jury System in South

The opposition of Mr. Olney to the use of juries in civil liberties cases arising in "equity" is not a contradiction. It may be readily explained and understood in the light of the general repressive conditions prevailing in most of the South today, the consequences of which are that requirements and presuppositions for the administration of the jury system do not exist.

The jury system cannot flourish if the jury is not free from fear and if it cannot make objective determinations.

The introduction of the jury into "equity" activity, when it is not constitutionally required, under the social circumstances which obtain in most of the South at present would, as Mr. Olney says, be a "clever device to nullify" civil rights legislation. Indeed, it would pass off arbitrary determinations as determinations made under the rule of law.

You will recall that a bifurcation existed between "common law" and "equity" in the history of English law. The jury system obtained at "law," but did not in "equity."

The Attorney General is wise in invoking institutions of the civil law, such as "equity," to secure constitutional rights of the Negro people which have been denied for almost a century, and which have been nullified in much of the South despite the recent decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Supporters of Equality

The Southern racists not only seek to intimidate the Negro, but also to silence the white people who recognize the equality of the Negro, who support the authority of the Supreme Court, and who give their primary allegiance to the nation. Against these forces the Southern racists have directed a "cold terror," the force of which perhaps has not yet been appreciated elsewhere in the United States.

Under such circumstances of intimidation and fear which prevail throughout most of the South today civil rights legislation would be negated if enforcement thereof were entrusted to juries functioning in the midst of the "cold terror." The situation which now exists in most of the South recalls the situation in feudal England, which explains in part the emergence of English equity.

Similar conditions of "cold terror" in the South today also justify the use of "equity" for the enforcement of certain civil rights of the Negro in an area of law where there is no question of constitutional guarantee of trial by jury.

You are correct, therefore, in writing in your editorial of April 26 that the proposed legislation of the National Government "is essentially moderate legislation, but its passage could have profound effects in extending a real equality of citizenship to the Negro in many parts of the country where equality does not now exist." MITCHELL FRANKLIN.

New Orleans, La., April 30, 1957.

Trying Civil Rights Cases

Provision for Use of Injunction by Attorney General Explained

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

An enormous number of words have been spoken and written on both sides of the civil rights bill (H.R. 6127) which bears my name and which is now before the Congress.

I firmly believe that the argument condemning this bill as a denial of trial by jury is a gross distortion not only of the scope of the bill but perhaps, more important, of the intentions of its proponents. It is an argument which has the Machiavellian convenience of covering the clichés of segregation with new but transparent verbalisms about the jury system.

The civil rights bill authorizes the Attorney General of the United States to seek injunctive relief in civil rights proceedings where such relief would be an appropriate remedy for a violation of existing Federal law. This grant of authority is not a devious scheme to supplant existing criminal remedies which give the accused the right to a jury trial.

Injunctive Relief

Those criminal remedies remain, but, as in many areas of law, they have been found inadequate to prevent irreparable injury. The existing right of individuals to seek injunctive relief on their own behalf has been found ineffective in the frequently tense, fear-ridden, and embittered context of these cases. The soundest and most realistic legal method is to allow the Attorney General to seek an injunction on behalf of an individual or of an entire class.

Antagonists of effective civil rights legislation argue that in subjecting those who violate Federal injunctions to contempt proceedings we are depriving them of their right to a trial by jury, since the law provides that where the United States is a party there shall be no trial by jury in a contempt proceeding. Thus the impression they seek to convey is a deliberate and special isolation of those accused of civil rights violations from the traditional processes of constitutional liberty and from jury trial particularly.

The plain fact is that there is not now nor has there ever been in the United States a constitutional right to trial by jury in contempt proceedings. This is well established law not only in Federal but also in state jurisprudence. While it is true that Congress, in 1914, provided for a jury trial in criminal contempt proceedings, the act carefully excepted contempt arising from any suit brought or prosecuted in the name of or on behalf of the United States.

Court's Power to Act

As to civil contempt, the summary power of the court to act without a jury has been and is completely free of statutory limitation. Indeed, the Supreme Court in the case of Michaelson v. U. S. strongly intimated that an attempt to guarantee trial by jury in civil contempt cases might well be an unconstitutional encroachment upon the powers of the judiciary.

In at least two states statutes attempting to create such a right have been declared unconstitutional by state courts. It is perfectly clear, therefore, that there is no trial by jury in civil contempt cases, nor is there a constitutional right to one.

Where were the advocates of jury trial when an Alabama court fined the N. A. A. C. P. $100,000 for contempt of court without a jury trial? Where are these advocates of jury trial today when Southern Legislatures are setting up investigative committees to harass integration and are arming these committees with power to subject those who disobey their orders to contempt citation and punishment without a jury trial?

I am aware of the deeply embedded social attitudes of the South. I am also aware that many of our citizens are being deprived of their constitutional rights. The solution to that dilemma is not susceptible to a quick answer or a glib formula. What I have proposed is neither of these. It is an entirely moderate proposal. It does not create new rights. It does not seek to brand people as criminals. Its purpose is effective protection through remedial process of rights already guaranteed to all Americans.

EMANUEL CELLER,
Chairman, House Committee on the Judiciary.
Washington, May 9, 1957.

Way Open To Vote On Rights

By KENNETH WEISS

WASHINGTON — (INS) — The House Rules Committee cleared the way Tuesday for a four-day floor fight over President Eisenhower's controversial Civil Rights Bill expected early next month.

The committee did not disclose its vote, but chairman Howard Smith (D) Va., indicated the legislation was reported out eight to four.

Smith said the measure will be sent to the floor for four days debate under a rule permitting amendments.

The Congressman did not say when the measure would come up but it is expected the Democratic leadership will try to get the Bill considered during the early part of June.

RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

The Bill provides protection for voting rights for Negroes and sets up administrative machinery in the Justice Department to handle other Civil Rights violations.

The measure is strongly opposed by the Southern bloc in the House but members of this group are expected to be outvoted on the floor by Northern liberals and the Bill passed without serious change.

The legislation will have a hard time getting through the Senate, however, where Southern legislators have the right of unlimited debate.

DIED WITHOUT ACTION

Last year a similar Civil Rights Bill was approved by the House on a 279-126 roll call vote but the measure died without action in the Senate Judiciary committee.

The four members of the Rules Committee who were understood to have voted against the measure were Smith, William M. Colmer (D) Miss., James W. Trimble (D) Ark., and Homer Thornberry (D) Tex.

Supporters of the Bill were believed to be Richard Bolling (D) Mo., Ray Madden (D) Ind., James Delaney (D) N. Y., Thomas O'Neill (D) Mass., Leo Allen (R) Ill., Clarence Brown (R) Ohio, Henry Latham (R) N. Y., and Hugh Scott (R) Pa.

Southerners Fail In Rights Strategy

Southern Blockade

Ward Sat. 5-18-57

In the Senate, there is a powerful blockade against taking action on the President's civil rights proposals. Through clever, well-planned, devilishly executed maneuvers, the Southerners have prevented action on the four-point program.

This is the responsibility of the Democratic Party. For the Majority Leadership, which belongs at the moment to the Democratic Party, could if it would, do something about it. Those who are blocking action on civil rights are Democrats. The responsibility must be fixed now and remembered at election time.

Under its present chairman, the Judiciary Committee claims for itself the dubious label of "graveyard of civil rights." The boast has been dramatized. For this committee, for all practical purposes, is tagging to the name of the Democratic Party the shameful title of "party of the graveyard of civil rights."

B'ham, Ala. P.8

Worse than that, the Southern Democrats in refusing to let the civil rights proposals come to vote are now depriving their fellow senators of the right to vote the same as they unjustly withhold suffrage from the poor, the weak, the neglected, and the darker citizens of the South. Their tactics turn the spotlight on the whole racial disfranchisement system in the South.

The Chairman of the Judiciary Committee at the May 13 meeting recognized an opponent to the President's civil rights bills who held the floor for 90 minutes, all the time the committee was in session. No one else was recognized. This was a member of the Majority Party, a Senatorial leader, a Democrat, who was killing time, delaying, frustrating the machinery of Congress. The Democratic Party must assume the responsibility for the conduct of its leaders at the polls.

The so-called Northern Democrats are allowing the Southern Democrats to dig political graves for them. For the graveyard of civil rights should be made the burial grounds of Democrats in those areas where the citizens are free to vote freely. There is no use playing around with this issue any longer.

Still, the President, we think, should fight for his civil rights proposals. Let us hope that he will carry the fight to the people where he can get help. The people look to the President to speak out for his program, for the things he believes in, for fair play. Let us believe that the President will never let those down who believe in him.

Only phony issues have been raised by the Dixie delayers to the President's civil rights program. The opponents want to knock the teeth out of it so that it will be without biting power. They seek to use it to weaken organize labor by tacking on an anti-labor amendment.

The fight for civil rights can be won. Those who believe in civil rights must help fight for the program.

Senate Group Rejects Move To Soften Bill

Advertiser Tue. 5-21-57 Montgomery, Ala. P.1

WASHINGTON, May 20 (AP) — The Senate Judiciary Committee today rejected a Southern proposal to knock out key parts of the administration's civil rights bill.

The six-man majority was made of Sen. Kefauver (D-Tenn) and five Republican senators: Wiley (Wis), Watkins (Utah), Dirksen (Ill), Butler (ND) and Hruska (Neb).

Voting for the proposal, by Sen. Ervin (D-NC), McClellan (Ark) and Johnston (SC).

It was some sort of a surprise that the committee took any action today. This was the first voting test of strength recorded in the committee since a subcommittee approved the bill 4-2 on March 19.

SPECIAL DIVISION

Ervin's proposal aimed at dropping provisions which would:

Create a special division in the Justice Department to enforce civil rights laws;

Create a special commission with power to examine complaints of violation of civil rights; and

set up a system permitting injunction suits to protect a variety of civil rights.

If these provisions were dropped, the only thnig left in the bill would be a section designed especially to protect the voting rights of Negroes.

The House Rules Committee has a metting set for tomorrow on clearing the bill for a vote in the House. Assuming it is cleared, a House vote could be expected by the end of this month, or early June.

Chairman Eastland said the next subject on the Senate Judiciary Committee list is the McClellan amendment to include a "right to work" amendment.

This amendment would outlaw any labor contract which requires labor union membership as a condition for getting or keeping a job.

It is bitterly opposed by labor unions and by many of those who want the civil rights legislation passed. Hence, if the Southerners opposed to passage could nail it into the bill, the legislation's chances would be hurt.

Advertiser P.2-A

The committee schedule calls for another meeting next Monday but Eastland said he plans to discuss with members the possibility of holding a special meeting later this week.

Four members were absent today and reported in hospitals for treatment or checkup: Jenner (R-Ind), Neely (D-WVa), Hennings (D-Mo) and Langer (R-ND).

PRESIDENT TERMS RIGHTS PLAN MILD

New York Thurs 5-16-57

Asserts It Seeks to Follow Supreme Court Decision and to Go 'No Further'

By C. P. TRUSSELL

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, May 15—President Eisenhower said today that his civil rights program was designed only to follow the Supreme Court's school integration decision of 1954 and to go "no faster and no further."

At his weekly news conference he described the controversial program as "a very moderate thing." This was in the face of charges in Congress, mostly from the South, that it would take more civil rights from more citizens than it would help.

The President had been reminded that he had predicted recently in a message to Republicans in Louisville that the G. O. P. would make gains in Congressional seats and Governorships in the South. He was asked whether his advocacy of the civil rights program might damage those predictions.

Not in the long run, the President retorted. He added:

"* * * because the civil rights bill is a very moderate thing, done in all decency and in a simple attempt to study the matter see where the Federal responsibilities lie, and to move in strict accordance with the Supreme Court's decision, and no faster and no further."

Dispute on Jury Trials

The President said that he was "not enough of a lawyer" to discuss a highly legalistic controversy in Congress. This dispute was over whether the civil rights bill would deny jury trials in cases where individuals were accused of violating injunctions started by the Attorney General in alleged civil rights abuses.

He passed the question on to Herbert Brownell Jr., the Attorney General. Meanwhile, the President emphasized that the Federal courts must be upheld in their dignity, position and prestige.

In Congress, however, it was argued that, while no aspersions had been directed at Federal courts, the pending legislation could put into the hands of the incumbent or future Attorneys General the power to deny jury trials to persons accused of practicing disemination.

Such injunctions, it is held, could be instituted without the consent or knowledge, or even against the protests of the alleged injured party. Any finding of a violation of an injunction could lead to contempt of court proceedings, it is argued, and the entrance of the Federal Government into a case would wipe out the right of a jury trial.

The President's program also would create a six-member nonpartisan panel to study civil rights and would set up a civil rights devision in the Justice Department. It also would seek to prevent interference with a persons right to vote in any election for national officers.

The civil rights program now is land-locked in the Senate Judiciary Committee. An attempt to force the panel to a decision on when a vote might be taken on it was defeated last Monday. Instead, there are amendments pending that could lead to long debate and much delay in getting the legislation to the floor.

The House Rules Committee, meanwhile, conducted its seventh day of hearings today. This panel, headed by Representative Howard W. Smith, Democrat of Virginia, serves as a traffic di- [illegible] for sending bills to floor [illegible]. The committee has agreed [illegible] hearings on Friday and [illegible] its votes next Tuesday. [illegible] civil rights bill in some [illegible] expected to be passed by [illegible]. This has happened [illegible] not in the Senate, [illegible] power of filibuster pre[illegible]. This is the rule of unlim[illegible] debate under which vocal and [illegible]l power has beaten many civil rights measures in the past.

10 1957

The Civil Rights Bill

Advertiser P 4-A
Montgomery, Ala.
Thurs. 5-2-57

What It Is And Where It Stands, What The South Dislikes About It, With The Justice Department's Answers; Trial By Jury Issue Is The Key

FROM TIME MAGAZINE

CONVENING in January, the U.S. Congress appeared certain to pass the first major civil rights legislation since Reconstruction. As late as March the Eisenhower Administration's civil rights bill seemed headed for surprisingly smooth congressional sailing. But as congressmen return from their Easter vacations, the civil rights package is in the deepest sort of trouble. The trouble is compounded of real fears about the principles of the bill and of shrewd Southern maneuvering against it.

The Administration's civil rights bill is the result of three years' intensive study by the U.S. Department of Justice under Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell Jr. It is aimed less at making major substantive changes in the civil rights laws than at offering new methods of enforcing laws already on the books.

Since Reconstruction the U.S. has had criminal statutes providing fines of up to $5,000 and imprisonment of up to 10 years for persons acting to deprive others of their rights to equal protection under the law—including the right to vote in federal elections. These laws have been generally ineffective for the simple reason that Southern juries would not vote for conviction.

The U.S. also has civil statutes under which a private citizen can file suit to protect his own civil rights. But these too have been ineffective, mostly because of a requirement that the litigant go through the time-consuming, vastly expensive machinery of local administrative agencies and state courts before reaching the federal courts.

NEW POWER

THE new bill would bypass the administrative agencies and state courts and give a civil rights plaintiff the right, generally denied him in the past by judicial ruling, to take his case directly to the federal courts. And in its most controversial provision it would empower the U.S. attorney general to file civil suits (obviously he already has the right to prosecute criminal violations) whenever "any persons have engaged or there are reasonable grounds to believe that any persons are about to engage" in acts that would violate existing civil rights statutes.

An example of how the new system might work: a white man threatens to harm a Negro if the Negro votes. The Negro complains to the Justice Department but is himself afraid—or too poor—to file suit. The attorney general, under the new law, would bring suit in the name of the U.S. The white man's threat was not in itself a violation of the civil rights statutes. But it would probably be considered "reasonable grounds to believe" that he intended to deprive the Negro of his voting rights. The attorney general could thus ask the courts for an injunction against the white man.

The burden of proof would be on the government. The defendant would have the usual rights to cross-examine, present witnesses and appeal. If the injunction were issued and the white man ignored it by, say, continuing to threaten the Negro, he could be held in civil contempt. At his contempt hearing he would not have the right to a jury trial—a key point in the program. If found guilty, he could be jailed until he purged himself of the contempt by agreeing to obey the injunction.

THE ARGUMENTS

THE civil rights bill would also provide for a new assistant attorney general to handle civil rights cases and would set up a six-member bipartisan commission with subpoena powers to conduct a two-year study of civil rights. But it is around the provision granting the attorney general the power to file civil suits that the storm of criticism and reply has blown up. Arguments:

THE SOUTH: The clause giving complainants the right to bypass local administrative agencies and state courts and go directly to federal court on rights violations "nullifies state law."

THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT: If state laws are in opposition to valid federal laws, they are nullified under the U.S. Constitution, and the sooner the matter is adjudicated, the better for all concerned.

THE SOUTH: The attorney general would have the right to burst into all sorts of situations where he has no business, harass and thus drive from public office state or local officials whom he might suspect and, in a sense, have the unthinkable power of actually making laws. Example: he could get a court order breaking up a White Citizens' Council meeting.

THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT: The attorney general could act only where existing civil rights statutes were violated (or where he could show "reasonable grounds" for believing that they were about to be violated). White Citizens' councils could certainly continue to meet and could even plan and carry out economic boycotts.

GONE WITH THE JURY

IT IS on an issue developed by North Carolina's respected Democratic Sen. Sam Ervin Jr., onetime judge on his state's Supreme Court, that the Southerners have built their first line of defense. As a member of a judiciary subcommittee conducting hearings on the civil rights bill, Ervin began asking questions about "the abolition of trial by jury." This, he argued, would result from the civil contempt citations against persons disobeying the courts' injunctions under the new bill. It would, cried Ervin, be a "tragic error to attempt the protection of civil rights for any one group through a process which denies a liberty equally precious—that of trial by jury. The Administration's civil rights proposals will do exactly this."

Sam Ervin's trial-by-jury slogan was taken up by Southern newspapers. Indeed, the issue worried many who were otherwise friendly to civil rights. Yet the contempt citation is the judiciary's historic enforcement tool. Jury trials in contempt cases have absolutely no basis in equity or constitutional law and precious little legislative sanction. (With a single exception, trial by jury has never been required in contempt cases to which the U.S. government was a party. The exception: the Norris-La Guardia Act of 1932 required jury trials in contempt proceedings arising from labor disputes. The provision was in effect repealed—with the enthusiastic approval of most Southern congressmen — by the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947.)

As early as 1894, the Supreme Court wrote: "Surely it cannot be supposed that the question of contempt of the authority of a court of the U.S., committed by a disobedience of its orders, is triable, of right, by a jury." North Carolina Supreme Court Judge Ervin himself on four occasions upheld the right of the courts to try for contempt—without juries.

THE OPENING SALVOS

YET Sam Ervin's trial-by-jury issue has already come to dominate the civil rights fight, principally because the slogan can easily outrun the difficult and technical counter-explanation. It has so strengthened the Southern position that civil rights backers may find it impossible to obtain the 64 votes necessary to cut off a Senate filibuster.

The Southerners are within shooting distance of a Senate majority for an amendment that would require jury trials in civil rights contempt cases; Wyoming's Democratic Sen. Joseph O'Mahoney has announced his support of such an amendment, while apparently wavering are such influential senators as Minority Leader William Knowland of California and Assistant Majority Leader Mike Mansfield of Montana.

Such an amendment, said Assistant Attorney General Warren Olney III, would "emasculate the whole bill." Olney's choice of words, retorted Southerners, merely proved that the original intention of the bill was to rape the South. With those salvos, the big guns of the civil rights bill began booming this week.

SEE CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION PROCEEDING AT SNAILS PACE

Advocate Sat. 5-11-57 P1
Jackson, Miss.

Washington, May 7 — Prospects of getting the civil rights bill out of the House Rules Committee by the end of the week failed today as the hearings continued at a snail's pace.

Only one witness, Chairman Celler (D-NY) of the House Judiciary Committee, was heard during today's two-hour session.

Rules committee chairman Howard Smith (D-Va), set additional hearings for tomorrow and Thursday, stating that "quite a number" of House members want to testify for or against the legislation.

Smith is a member of southern group in Congress which hopes to kill the bill by delaying tactics. That was what happened last year.

Predict Passage

Earlier today House Democratic leader McCormack of Massachusetts expressed hope that the Rules Committee would finish its hearings this week. He predicted the House would pass the bill by the end of May.

As approved by Celler's committee last March, the bill conforms closely to what President Eisenhower has asked for in the civil rights field.

It would provide for a presidential commission to investigate complaints of civil rights violations and study the need for additional legislation.

It would also set up a new division in the Justice Department to protect civil rights, including voting rights, and would **authorize** the attorney general to bring injunction suits in federal courts in behalf of aggrieved individuals.

Colmer Talks

At today's hearing Rep. Colmer (D-Miss.) and other Southerners renewed their contention that the bill would subject persons accused of violating civil rights injunctions to punishment without a jury trial.

Celler called this "looking for ghosts under the bed." But he said that if judicial power ever were abused under the bill he would lead a move to amend it.

Colmer read to Celler at length from the New Yorker's testimony 25 years ago in support of the Norris-LaGuardia act, which made jury trials mandatory in cases based on labor dispute injunctions.

Celler said circumstances and especially the approach of courts to injunction requests had changed. And he said he could not recall Colmer objecting to what Celler said was the passage of 2 statutes containing injunction enforcement provisions without trial by jury, and to the Taft-Hartley labor relations act, which Celler said in effect repealed the jury trial provision of the Norris-LaGuardia act.

Sat. 5-11-57
P.4

CONG. POWELL PREDICTS RIGHTS BILL PASSAGE

Solon Believes South Will Vote On Side Of Decency

BY THADDEUS T. STOKES

ATLANTA, Georgia — (SNS) Cong. Clayton Powell (D.-N.Y.) predicted that Congressmen would pass a Civil Rights Bill immediately after they return from an Easter vacation. The prediction was made while he was speaking to an estimated 1,500 persons who were attending a mass meeting of the Love, Law and Liberation movement at Wheat Street Baptist Church on Auburn, Sunday afternoon.

The congressman, considered a pro-integrationist, based his prediction upon the belief that "more than half of the southern senators will vote on the side of decency, since the "solid-south' isn't solid anymore. This was shown when four southern states refused to endorse the Southern Manifesto." He added, if the congressman's vote were secret, many southern senators, would not hesitate to be decent civil rights legislation."

Powell predicted further that Negroes will have equality all over America by 1965. "No force, individual or a combination can stop the Negro in his fight for full freedom. As long as the Negro is not free then America cannot be the land of the free, home of the brave or a Christian nation.

BOMBINGS

"America cannot be free as long as bombings will be tolerated in Alabama, Georgia and other states because of racial differences," Powell stressed. "The enemy of America is the White Citizens Council and such groups."

The New York congressman explained that America should be glad to have the Negro as a citizen because he is the greatest selling point where international relations are concerned with countries like Asia, Africa and Europe.

He referred to the kidnap-murder of the Americans in Iran, recently as a propaganda trick.

Powell stated further that countries like Egypt, India Iran, Ghana, are more concerned about how the American Negro is treated than any other single facet of this country's government.

NON VOTER

Striking out at Atlanta Negroes, the speaker said "non voters are literally lynching themselves. They are 20th century uncle Toms. And if they don't vote for T. M. Alexander, Sr., as alderman; and Dr. Rufus E. Clement as a Board of Education member, they should be run out of Atlanta."

Powell emphasized that he was not going to relent on his fight to prevent the passage of any legislation which would provide federal aide to any school district which refuses to integrate schools. "Because I believe that the Supreme Court is the law of the land. And that court says that segregation in public schools is illegal," He said

He stated further, "I am not worried about Eleanor Roosevelt, President Eisenhower or others who accuse me of fighting progress in American education."

"The Negro has fought within the legal and moral law of the land. Now the stamina of the south is upon the Negro. He is the law abiding citizen. The white citizens have failed to follow the law."

He explained that Georgia has not attempted to integrate schools after three years. He also pointed out that he advocates moderation "But Georgia has made no start. If they would have attempted integration with moderation they would have integrated at least three grades."

RACIAL TRAGEDY

Senator Eastling of Mississippi said he would advocate gradualism "go slow," which means at least go."

On concluding Cong. Powell advised the audience to "stand, work live and fight together.

Powerful agencies are working to end this racial tragedy. Work on. Those who fall by the wayside will be replaced by others."

He was presented by Rev. William Holmes Borders, pastor of Wheat Street church and president of the LLL Movement.

Candidate Alexander and Dr. Clement were presented for brief remarks, as well as the six ministers who were arrested last December in an attempt to ride local buses unsegregated.

Nearly $1,500 was collected. Rev. Borders said that the money was needed for the pending court case of the six ministers.

Other speakers included Rev. P. L. Jones of Philadelphia church; Rev. George W. Dudley who explained the purpose o fthe LLL movement; E. M. Martin, vice president of the Atlanta Life Insurance Co.; and Rev. B. J. Johnson, pastor of Mt. Calvary church, who presided.

Solon Says Church Vital Aid In Civil Rights Push

WASHINGTON — (ANP) — "The churches of America have their greatest opportunity and their greatest challenge in extending and preserving the civil rights of all Americans," Congressman Henry S. Reuss (D. Wis.) told the Wesley Foundation in a speech at Rankin Memorial Chapel, Howard university, Monday.

Speaking on the general topic of "The Implications of Politics for the Christians," Reuss declared that the increasing participation in civic and political life by religious minded citizens was one of the most encouraging developments in recent years for those who believe in human rights.

"I do not think there is any social institution with greater potential for improving race relations than the church," Reuss asserted. "This is true of both the so-called 'white' churches and the 'Negro' churches, and particularly in the South where the church has been a focal point in the lives of both white and colored citizens."

MORE RESPONSIVE

"Studies have shown that the prejudiced American is more responsive to appeals based on the principles of Christian brotherhood than to arguments deprived from abstract political philosophy or based on loyalty to the 'American way of life.'

Referring specifically to the Negro church, Reuss said that he felt it would lose its influence if it did not take the lead in working for equal rights. He praised the Rev. Martin Luther King and his ministerial colleagues in Montgomery, Ala., for their leadership in the campaign to end bus segregation.

Reuss said the churches have a big internal job to do so that eleven o'clock Sunday morning is no longer the "most segregated hour in America." He suggested to his student audience that political activity by broadening horizons and making new contacts, would help break down this racial separateness among churches.

Church members can make their convictions about equality most quickly felt by political action, Reuss said. He predicted a "better-than-even chance," that Congress would pass civil rights legislation this year, largely because the recent election had shown the power of voting by citizens who are concerned about equality.

10 1957

outhern Bloc ts Up Delay On Rights Bill

advertiser Fri. 3-29-57 Montgomery, Ala.

WASHINGTON, March 28 (AP)—Civil rights legislation today ran into another delay which proponents said may turn into a serious threat to its enactment this year.

The new roadblock, halting a move to force the bill out of the House Rules Committee, was built of technicalities. P. 1

Southern members of the House Judiciary Committee, which approved the bill last week, have not yet prepared their minority report registering their opposition to it. There was disagreement among committee members as to when the committee had decided such reports would be filed, but the Southerners indicated it would take them at least several days.

REPORTS NOT IN

Because the reports were not in, the bill's backers in the House Rules Committee let a meeting pass today without a showdown on a time to bring the measure before the House. Chairman Howard Smith (D-Va) of the rules group is an outspoken opponent of the bill.

Rep. Bolling (D-Mo), one of the supporters, said it would be impractical under the customs of the House to try to force Rules Committee hearings on a bill before the reports were available.

Bolling told newsmen the delay is "very unfortunate" and poses a threat to the drive to have the House act on the bill early in May.

Southern strategy has been to delay a House vote until late in the Congressional session, so that Southerners in the Senate will be in better position to stage a filibuster when appropriation and other vital measures are waiting for action.

EASTER RECESS

The House is expected to begin a 10-day Easter recess April 18.

Rep. Keating of New York, senior Republican member of the Judiciary Committee and a supporter of the measure, said he thinks the House ought not to recess "until we are assured of a prompt vote on this measure."

He conceded he does not expect much success in trying to block a House recess, however.

"It is clear that every obstacle of delay will be employed by the opponents of this bill," Keating said. "The only way to meet this is by vigorous action, always within the established rules of the House."

Rights Bill's Backers Bow To New Delay

Constitution Atlanta Ga. Fri. 3-29-57

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Southerners Win On Wording in Civil Rights Bill

Bystander P. 1 Thurs. 3-28-57 Des Moines, Iowa

Washington, D. C.—(CNS)—Southern Congressmen won an important victory in their fight against Federal civil rights legislation when they had struck out of the bill now before the House Judiciary Committee, a provision that would authorize investigating complaints of "unwarranted economic pressures."

The Southerners on the committee had the phrasing so struck out that only complaints which deprived persons of voting rights could be reviewed. Committee Chairman Celler, a Democrat from New York and Representative Keating, Republican of New York and ranking minority member were both obviously hurt that the bill was so weakened.

Closed Session

Of course, it was a closed session that debated the provisions of the bill. However, Chairman Celler stated afterwards that the Southerners wanted and proposed several drastic amendments, but all of these were rejected.

Should the phrase "unwarranted economic pressures" have succeeded in staying in the bill, it would have authorized a Civil Rights Commission to "investigate allegations in writing under oath or affirmation that certain citizens of the United States are being deprived of their right to vote or are being subjected to unwarranted economic pressures."

Progress In Civil Rights

Weekly P. 12 Sat. 4-27-57 New Orleans La.

By Alice A. Dunnigan for ANP

Much has been said around Capitol Hill in recent weeks about progress made in civil rights during the past few years. Everybody, Democrats and Republicans, Northerners and Southerners are strutting around with chest poked out and thumbs stuck in suspenders boasting of the role they have played in this march of progress.

Southern opponents of civil rights legislation continuously point with pride to the advances made by Negroes in the past few years, and argue that this progress will continue if "yawl just let us alone." Civil Rights legislation is not essential to the promotion of racial improvement, they contend.

GOP LEADERS HAPPY

Republican leaders are happy about the gradual abolition of second-class citizenship in this country. They pat themselves on the back with a sense of pride for the brisk march toward equality of opportunities for all citizens.

The Democrats, on the other hand, boast of the fact that the foundation for human betterment was laid by the Democratic administration.

They all attempt to make appear that whatever gains that have been made by the Negro have been handed out by some privileged sector of our society. They seem to forget that Negroes are as much American citizens as ayone else. And that they are guaranteed the same rights as any other citizen by the Constitution of the United States. But in spite of this guarantee, they must necessarily fight hard even to obtain these rights.

GAINS MADE, HARD WON

It was Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, who reminded them in his testimony before a Congressional Committee that every gain which we have made has been hard won. They have neither been granted by the Judicial Branch of the government through hard and expensive court fights, or the Executive Branch through exerted pressure upon our leaders. Nothing has been gained through the Legislative Branch of our Government for the past 80 years.

Even the white primaries were not outlawed until the case was brought before the Supreme Court four times at a tremendous expense, said Wilkins.

At any rate, all the talk about progress made by the Negro in the past decade, started this reporter to reviewing some of the gains which have actually been made and who was responsible for this advancement.

So she has decided to pass on to her readers in a series of 10 articles, advances made in the past ten years, on a year-to-year basis.

Senator Thomas Hennings, chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights challenged Attorney General Herbert Brownell during his testimony on civil rights legislation on the claim made by the Administration to start this civil-right wheel rolling.

STARTED IN 1947

It all started ten years ago, back in 1947, when President Truman appointed a committee to study this problem, and the committee came out with a volumnious report called "To Secure These Rights," said Hennings.

The Missouri Senator was correct. It was back in Dec. 1946 when President Truman issued Executive Order 9808 establishing the President's Committee on Civil Rights, and asking this committee to prepare a written report on its findings.

Truman based his idea on the groundwork laid by President Roosevelt who constantly contended that "We have nothing to fear but fear itself." Taking a clue from this expression, President Truman said in his executive order that "Freedom from fear, and the democratic institutions which sustain it, are again under attack. In some places, from time to time, the local enforcement of law and order has broken down, and individuals - sometimes ex - servicemen, even women - have been killed, maimed, or intimadated."

He went on to state that "The Constitutional guarantees of individual liberties and of equal protection under the laws clearly place on the Federal Government the duty to act when state or local authorities abridge or fail to protect these Constitutional rights."

BOTH RACES ON COMMITTEE

The committee was made up of a representative group of both races and various religious denominations. Negro members were Mrs. Sadie T. Alexander of Philadelphia and Dr. Channing H. Tobias of New York. Other members included the chairman C. E. Wilson, James B. Carey, John S. Dickey, Morris L. Ernst, Rabbi Roland B. Gittelsohn, Dr. Frank P. Graham, the Most Reverend Francis Hass, Charles Luckman, Francis P. Matthews, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., The Right Reverend Henry Knox

Sherrill, Boris Shiskin, and Mrs M. E. Tilly.

Out of an extensive study made by this committee came a 178 page hard-hitting report which was submitted to the President in October 1947. This report highlighted, unflinchingly, those areas where freedom was lagging.

It pointed out segregation in the nation's capital; racial and religious discrimination in employment, housing and education; infringements of the right to vote, to serve in the Armed Forces, and to enjoy equal justice under the law.

Acting upon information gained through this report President Truman issued an order which paved the way for integration in the armed forces. He also set up a committee aimed at barring discrimination in industries working under government contracts, thus laying the foundation for the abolition of discrimination on the job, in public housing and finally in tax supported colleges. He created another committee to study and remedy segregation policies practiced in the Federal Government.

GOP FOLLOWS POLICY

This policy has been followed by the Eisenhower Administration who issued an order abolishing segregation in schools on army posts, in veterans hospitals and other institutions supported by federal funds. He has strengthened the President's Committee on Contracts Compliance and the committee which demands equality of opportunity in civil service.

The courts have followed suit in outlawing racial segregation in public accommodations in the District of Columbia, and in the schools and on public transportation throughout the nation.

These advances have not come with ease. In the south today children have been threatened with mobs while on their way to school, hooded cross burners have attempted to terrorize communities, ministers and other respected citizens have been jailed and even killed all because they are demaning their equal rights as American citizens.

SEEK TO EVADE HIGH COURT RULING

A handful of governors have searched for ways to evade the Supreme Court's desegregation decision. Federal legislators have signed manifestos opposing integration in the schools; and petitions requesting resegregation in government hospitals. Hearings have been called by congressional committees calling for an end to integration in the public schools of the District of Columbia and in the local fire department.

A serious and delicate problem remains to be solved. But a study made recently by the American Jewish Committee stated that "The People (will) take the lead."

"It is increasingly clear that the clock will not be turned back - that America will continue its ever-forward march toward 'one nation under God, indivisable, with liberty and justice for all'."

A Brighter Prospect for the Civil Rights Bill?

Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky.
Sat. 4-27-57

By Congressional Quarterly

WASHINGTON. — The top lobbyist for civil rights legislation has been assured by Congressional leaders they will back a major effort to pass the stalled bill right after the Easter recess.

Senate Republican Leader William F. Knowland of California will lead the fight against any attempt by Southerners to defeat the legislation through a Senate filibuster, the chief hurdle the bill must clear.

This emerged in a Congressional Quarterly interview with Clarence Mitchell, chief lobbyist for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Mitchell said Knowland promised the N.A.A.C.P. he himself would lead the fight, if necessary, to break a filibuster on the legislation to guarantee such civil rights as voting.

Mr. Knowland

Knowland confirmed the promise when questioned by Congressional Quarterly. He also said he would move to call up the civil rights bill for floor consideration in the Senate if the Democratic leadership did not do so within a reasonable time.

Asked if he would seek to invoke cloture to shut off the filibuster, Knowland said, "Not necessarily cloture. There are other parliamentary maneuvers." He did not elaborate.

It takes the vote of 64 of the 96 Senators to invoke cloture. It is questionable if the pro-civil righters could round up that many votes on the civil rights measure.

Other parliamentary maneuvers sometimes used to fight filibusters are around-the-clock sessions and strict adherence to rules requiring a member to stand while speaking, without so much as touching his desk. The around-the-clock sessions are designed to exhaust the filibusters.

Mitchell sees the Senate filibuster as the biggest single obstacle to getting a civil rights bill passed this year. But because of Knowland's pledge for help and other assurances on the House side, Mitchell termed the prospects for passage "very good."

In the House, Mitchell said, he has received promises of action on the rights bill right after Congress' Easter recess from both Majority Leader John W. McCormack and Minority Leader Joseph W. Martin, Jr. Last year the House passed a civil rights bill by a 279-126 vote, but the legislation never got past the Senate Judiciary Committee.

Congress went home for Easter with civil rights bills stalled in the Judiciary Committee of the Senate and Rules Committee of the House. Both committees are chaired by arch foes of civil rights legislation—Senator James O. Eastland, Democrat, of Mississippi, and Representative Howard W. Smith, Democrat, of Virginia.

But Mitchell said he was optimistic about the bills clearing both committees by mid-May. There are four anti-civil righters on the 15-member Senate Judiciary Committee. "It is just inconceivable," Mitchell said, "that four men can thwart the will of the 11 others once those 11 make up their minds to get the bill out of Committee."

As for the House Rules Committee, Mitchell said Representative Leo E. Allen, Republican, of Illinois, the Committee's ranking Republican, promised him the rights bill would clear there May 10. In addition Representative James Roosevelt, Democrat, of California, will file a discharge petition April 29 in case it is needed to blast the bill out of the Rules Committee.

How to Break a Deadlock

The Rules Committee is the gateway most bills must go through to get to the House floor. A discharge petition signed by 218 Representatives can push a bill through the Rules Committee, regardless of the chairman's wishes.

An obstacle to the rights bill outside the parliamentary ones concerns proposed Federal authority to force the hand of local voting registrars. Under the bill, for example, the Federal Government could get a civil court order demanding that a registrar allow someone to vote. If the registrar refused, he could be tried in Federal Court for contempt without benefit of an indictment or jury trial. Some Senators and Representatives contend this authority poses a threat to individual and states rights.

Mitchell termed the jury issue a "phony," adding that the N.A.A.C.P. never could accept opposition against the rights bill on that ground as legitimate.

The N.A.A.C.P. has lobbied extensively for the bill, both on Capitol Hill and back home. It also has been urging greater activity on the part of the Administration. Asked how he regarded President Eisenhower's support of civil rights, Mitchell said, "Well, we appreciate what he has done but we wish he would go a little farther."

Organizations for the Measure

Special stress on Capitol Hill has been put on getting friendly members of civil rights committees to attend all hearings, even to the point of often routing absent members from their offices. The N.A.A.C.P. is joined in its efforts on behalf of the rights bill by such organizations as the A.F.L.-C.I.O., Americans for Democratic Action, American Civil Liberties Union, American Veterans Committee and the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League.

During the Congressional Easter recess, N.A.A.C.P. members were urged to call on their Senators and Representatives to urge their support of the rights bills and the discharge petition.

His lobbying job, Mitchell said, was made a lot easier by the 1956 election statistics. "The Democrats," he explained, "learned they must do something to make up for their anti-Negro Southern committee chairmen, while the Republicans found out they could win Negroes away from the Democrats."

The number of Negro voters and their solidarity will be graphically demonstrated to Congress May 17 when a prayer meeting of about 50,000 persons in front of the Lincoln Memorial has been scheduled. May 17 is the third anniversary of the Supreme Court decision outlawing public school segregation.

Mitchell denied that the meeting is designed to spur Congressional action on civil rights. But, he added, "I'm sure Congress will be well aware of the great number of civil rights-minded people on hand."

DAR Advocates States' Rights

Fri. 4-26-57
Kansas City, Mo.

WASHINGTON, D. C. —(ANP) —The Daughters of the American Revolution, an organization of reactionary dowages, at their 66th Continental Congress held here last week, passed a resolution urging Congress to reject all civil rights legislation and recognize states' rights for the protection of constitutional rights.

The resolution viewed with alarm the increasing tendency of the Federal Government "to encroach upon and absorb functions" belonging to the states and to "exert the powers so usurped by means either of administrative rulings by commissions or other governmental agencies, or by judicial action based on the substitution of injunction and contempt procedures for the normal constitutional processes of trial by jury."

Atty. Gen. Brownell Says

165 Years Is Long Enough To Wait For Civil Rights

By Alice Dunnigan

WASHINGTON (ANP) -- The time has come to make civil rights meaningful, declared Atty. General Herbert Brownell last week. "I think 165 years is long enough to wait to get this working right."

The statement was made before the Celler subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee, Monday. Attorney Gen. Brownell was the first of a long list of witnesses to appear before this committee in favor of civil rights legislation.

After outlining the Administration's position on the 4-point civil right measure introduced by Rep. Kenneth Keating (R., N.Y.) Brownell told newspaper and television reporters that he was happy to see the House begin hearings on this bill early in the session.

He hoped that they would soon take action so that the measure could be sent to the senate in plenty of time for action. Law enforcement is an important part of implementing civil rights to all citizens, said the Attorney General but an educational program would help.

The Keating bill calls for the creation of a bipartisan commission to investigate asserted violations of the law in the field of civil rights, especially involving the right to vote. It recommends the creation of a civil rights division in the Department of Justice.

It provides for new laws to aid in the enforcement of voting rights. And calls for an amendment of the laws so as to permit the federal government to seek from the civil courts preventive relief in civil rights cases.

Among other witnesses appearing on the first day of the hearings was Congressman James Roosevelt, son of the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Young Roosevelt declared that "the denial of civil rights the relegation to second-class citizenship - to any group of citizens is wrong, morally, legally and politically."

Roosevelt approved the bill introduced by Cong. Emanuel Celler (D., N.Y.) because it is broader than the Keating bill, and includes strict penalities for violations.

One of the chief witnesses on Tuesday was Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the N.A.A.C.P., who testified for 22 national organizations.

The NAACP favored the Celler bill, but stated that it would accept the Keating Bill as a minimum provision on civil rights.

Wilkins referred to the Keating measure as a compromise bill. It makes no reference to segregation in interstate transportation; it does not deal with the poll tax or with violence directed against members of the armed services or with several other pressing issues. But, added Wilkins, it would constitute a step forward in safeguarding of the most basic rights - the right to vote and the right to security of the person.

The NAACP executive expounded the denial of the ballot to certain American citizens. He offered to the committee a sample ballot used last spring in Alabama elections which carried a declaration of white supremacy.

In Humphrey's County, Miss. there were approximately 400 colored voters prior to May 1955. By May 7 of that year the number of colored voters had been reduced to 92. On that day the Rev. George Lee, a leader in the effort to increase the number of Negroes registering and voting was fatally shot in Belzoni, Miss. Within a few weeks there was only one colored person eligible to vote in that town, he was Gus Courts. On Nov. 1955, he was shot and seriously wounded and has since had to leave the state.

Statewide the records show that there are 497,000 Negroes eligible to vote in 1954. Of this number only 22,000 were registered by primary day in 1955, the number of Negro registered had been forced down to around 8,000.

Others who appeared in behalf of thi legislation were Congressman Hugh Scott (Pa.), Barratt O'Hara (Ill.), William A. Barrett (Pa.), John E. Ray (N.Y.), and Louis C. Rabaut (Mich.).

Civil rights hearing set

WASHINGTON (NNPA)—After efforts failed Wednesday to skip subcommittee hearings on civil rights legislation, Senator Thomas C. Hennings of Missouri, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Constitutional Rights subcommittee, announced that hearings on all civil rights bills would begin Feb. 12, Abraham Lincoln's birthday.

In a closed-door session of his enlarged subcommittee, Senator Hennings moved that an omnibus civil rights bill be reported to the full Senate Judiciary Committee, of which Senator James O. Eastland, Dixiecrat, of Mississippi is chairman, without delay. The motion was rejected, 5 to 2.

Senator Hennings then moved that hearings on all civil rights bills pending before the subcommittee be limited to two weeks, at the end of which the subcommittee would vote on reporting the bills to the full committee. This motion was defeated, 4 to 3.

* * *

AFTER THE meeting ended, Senator Hennings said:

"I am convinced that there is a demand from the country that a civil rights program be enacted promptly. I want to do everything I can to see that definite action is taken without delay.

"Extensive hearings were held last year over a four months' period. Much of the substance of this omnibus bill was approved by the House last year, and other parts were approved by this subcommittee.

"All points of view on the subject of civil rights have been fully aired in the past.

"I was very much disappointed that the committee would neither agree to report out the omnibus bill nor agree upon a definite time limit on hearings before the Constitutional Rights Committee.

"**HOWEVER,** as long as we are going to have hearings, I am going to see that they start promptly. Therefore, as chairman of the committee, I have called for them to begin at 10 a.m., February 12.

"Although my motion to limit hearings to a specific period of time was narrowly defeated, I believe I am reporting the sentiment of the majority of members correctly to say that they will not tolerate long drawn-out inconclusive hearings."

The omnibus civil rights bill, on which Senator Hennings sought immediate action, was composed of most of the substance of (1) President Eisenhower's program as introduced by Senator Everett M. Dirksen of Illinois and co-sponsored by all other Republican members of the Senate Judiciary Committee, (2) the four civil rights bills approved by the Hennings subcommittee last year, and (3) a number of separate bills sponsored by Senator Hubert Humphrey, Democrat, of Minnesota and others.

THE BILLS approved by the subcommittee last year were reintroduced this year by their three sponsors, Senators Hennings, Joseph C. O'Mahoney (D., Wyo.), and William Langer (R., N.D.)

Senator Hennings had planned originally to have his three-member subcommittee of himself, Langer and O'Mahoney report the four bills without hearings and to offer a resolution to limit hearings in the full Judiciary Committee on these measures to two weeks.

But Senator Eastland blocked this plan by adding to the subcommittee four new members —Senators Olin Johnston of South Carolina and Sam J. Ervin of North Carolina, Democrats, and Arthur V. Watkins of Utah and Roman L. Hruska of Nebraska, Republicans.

Ervin and Hruska are new members of the Judiciary Committee.

Editorials

Civil Rights Show

It had been the hope of Congressman Celler (Dem., N. Y.), chairman of the House Judiciary Subcommittee, to conclude hearings on President Eisenhower's civil rights program by last mid-week, but ever-alert Dixiecrats intervened with parliamentary maneuvers which extended the show for several more days.

Their purpose, of course, was to place on the record the objections of numerous Southeern spokesmen of segregationist persuasion after protagonists of the President's civil rights program had had their say and the Attorney General had assured that states' rights would not be encroached upon if the bills were passed.

The familiar pattern is beginning to shape up: Southern propagandists for continuance of semi-citizenship for Dixie Negroes will be last to get over their propaganda, then the House subcommittee will recommend passage, then the President's program will be passed by the House, and then it will be murdered in the Senate, as of yore.

With Congressional elections two years off, any progress in civil rights legislation will be stymied until this time next year when agitation will be revived for political purposes by Senators and Representatives fearful of the wrath of Negro voters.

This sort of grim vaudeville has been going on for decades and will continue unless and until Negroes (now agitating for favorable statements and visits of inspection) get busy (a) to register every adult Negro to vote, and (b) to organize Negro voters' organizations in all communities to canalize every effort to destroy politicians uncommitted to civil rights.

We suggest this grass roots job in lieu of indignation meetings and cries for Administration politicians to assure us that the spirit of Lincoln is not dead.

Southerners Win Delay In Civil-Rights Fight

Courier-Journal P.4
Thurs. 2-14-57
Louisville, Ky.

Get House Committee To Extend Hearings 12 Days; Call Legislation 'Bunch of Garbage'

Washington, Feb. 13 (AP)—Southerners, battering at civil-rights legislation as "evil and dangerous" and a "bunch of garbage," wrung from a House judiciary subcommittee today a 12-day respite before hearings are halted.

The time element is important to chances of passing such legislation. Delaying tactics at every turn are a Southern stratagem.

The subcommittee had yielded twice before to Dixie protests and kept the hearings going. Now, instead of ending tomorrow, another round of testimony is set for February 25-26.

But "under no circumstances," Chairman Celler (D., N. Y.) declared, will there be another extension.

Celler and other backers of civil-rights measures aimed at first at no hearings at all, contending every possible argument had been brought forth in previous years.

Want Speedy Action

They want to push a bill through the House as quickly as possible, on the basis that the sooner they hustle it to the Senate the better the chances of defusing the big Southern weapon—the filibuster. A filibuster, or talking the legislation to death, would have increased prospects of success late in the Congressional session.

The subcommittee is considering bills to give the Federal Government stronger powers to combat any violations of civil rights in the states.

Southerners contend that this would trample on the rights of the states. An array of them appeared before the subcommittee today.

Representative Forrester (D., Ga.) shook a finger, banged a fist on the witness table, quoted the Bible at times, and called the legislation "a monstrosity, a bunch of garbage."

Tennessee's attorney general, George F. McCanless, said it would increase racial tensions, endanger the peace of communities, and "set in motion an inquisition that could accomplish nothing except to intensify distrust and misunderstanding."

Warns of 'Dangers'

Richmond attorney John J. Wicker, speaking "purely as a citizen of Virginia," hit at the legislation as evil and dangerous and capable of depriving people of the right of trial by jury.

Ernest W. Goodrich, Commonwealth's attorney of Surry County, Virginia, argued that the civil-rights measures have inherent dangers posing a dire threat to the nation "far more serious than any external threat from abroad."

Civil-Rights Proposals Attacked By Southerners as 'U. S. Gestapo'

Herald Tribune Fri. 2-8-57 P.7
New York

WASHINGTON, Feb. 7 (AP).—Southern witnesses denounced President Eisenhower's civil-rights program today as containing the seed of a "Soviet-type Gestapo."

Critics from Georgia and Alabama opened such a broadside before a House Judiciary subcommittee that Northern members protested against what they called "inflammatory" statements.

"Enactment of this legislation," Attorney General Eugene Cook of Georgia said, "would result in creation of a Federal Gestapo which would hold needless investigations, pry into the affairs of the states and their citizens, and intimidate a majority of our citizens solely to appease the politically powerful minority pressure groups inspired by the Communistic ideologies of the police state."

Rep. Henderson Lanham, D., Ga., appearing as a witness against the civil-rights legislation, said "Stalin himself could not have conceived" as effective a surrender of local powers as the program would authorize.

Alabama Circuit Judge George C. Wallace of Clayton, Ala., told the subcommittee he was "not going to permit any unlawful interference by the Federal police in my district." He said he would "order the arrest of any Federal agent" who came into his judicial district and "demanded" the jury list.

Judge Wallace said he was referring to an incident in which he said F. B. I. agents "took over the courthouse" in Cobb County, Ga.

Upholds F. B. I. Action

The chairman, Rep. Emanuel Celler, D., N. Y., told Judge Wallace this was a "high handed" statement. Rep. Celler said it was the F. B. I.'s duty to determine whether constitutional guaranties were being violated.

Rep. Kenneth B. Keating, R., N. Y., a subcommittee member, contended the F. B. I. went into Georgia to determine whether Negroes were being systematically excluded from jury duty in a Cobb County rape case.

Rep. Lanham said "the F. B. I. had no business there in the first place and the Attorney General was using the F. B. I. for political purposes."

Testimony favoring the legislation came from Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers Union, who said it was time for Congress to change its "do-nothing record" on civil rights.

Rep. Celler said hearings on the legislation will continue into next week.

Eugene Cook, who testified before a House subcommittee hearing on civil rights.

SOUTH PLEADS, 'LET US ALONE' ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Tribune P.10
Thurs. 2-7-57
Chicago, Ill.

Congress Told, 'Don't Open Civil War Scars'

BY PHILLIP DODD
[Chicago Tribune Press Service]

Washington, Feb. 6—Southern congressmen today pleaded with northern colleagues drafting civil rights legislation to "leave us alone."

Rep. Hemphill [D., S. C.], told a house judiciary subcommittee that proposals to increase federal authority to prosecute civil rights violations were aimed at southern states, they would "reopen the old wounds" of the Civil war.

"Time has erased most of our scars," Hemphill said, "so I ask you to leave us alone."

Won't Stand for It

"Do you believe this legislation is aimed at the south?" asked Chairman Celler [D., N.Y.].

"I don't want to accuse any member of Congress of sectional hatred," Hemphill replied.

The subcommittee is considering 45 civil rights bills introduced by house members, including President Eisenhower's proposal for a commission to investigate civil rights violations, a civil rights division in the justice department, and authority for the attorney general to seek civil injunctions to prevent civil rights violations.

Hemphill said the proposed civil rights commission could conduct a "grand inquest into the private lives of our citizens." Southerners, he said, remember that during the post-Civil war reconstruction period "the heel of the tyrant was upon us" and will not stand for "interference" with their traditions.

"Would Turn Back Clock"

The South Carolinian said the south had made "remarkable" progress in improving the lot of the Negro and that the "New York proposals" would turn back the clock.

By "New York proposals," Hemphill referred to the fact the administration program was prepared by Atty. Gen. Brownell, a New Yorker, and introduced by Rep. Keating [R., N. Y.]. Also, a more sweeping civil rights bill has been introduced by Celler.

Other southerners opposing the civil rights bills included Rep. Brown [D., Ga.], who said the states have ample power to prosecute civil rights violations. Federal "preemption" of the field would be unwarranted, he said.

Rep. Abbitt [D., Va.], who hails from Appomattox, where Lee surrendered to Grant, filed an opposition statement.

"Promising Time" to Act

Sen. Javits [R., N. Y.] urged the house committee to speed action on civil rights legislation because this is a "promising time" to seek senate approval. He predicted the senate rules would be changed this year to make it easier to halt the usual southern filibuster against civil rights proposals.

The subcommittee also heard testimony from several congressmen who have introduced civil rights bills. They included Representatives Dawson [D., Ill.], Dingell [D., Mich.], Powell [D., N. Y.], Vanik [D., O.], and Certella [D., Conn.].

Dawson said passage of the administration bill would help "make the Constitution a living document" and that he would support it even tho he favored more extensive legislation.

Dingell said the injunction provisions of the administration bill were "not forceful enough" and that stringent criminal penalties for all types of civil rights violations should be enacted.

VOICE OF THE PEOPLE

Bill Of Rights Guards Liberty

News P.18-2
Birm. Ala.

Much has been written, especially during the last few years about the "rights of the people"—or as a recent writer to your paper (Gene Starnes, March 25, 1957) put it, "The question is do we believe in the American way of life?" Or as another writer (Robert L. Story, March 31, 1957) has stated, "They (the Supreme Court) have encroached upon states' rights and upon the individuals' rights to a very dangerous point."

I am not an historian nor do I know a great deal about American history, but there are a few basic facts of which I am aware. Probably the best document in American history for "the American—our way of life" is stated by the first ten amendments of the Constitution known as the Bill of Rights. They have been the guardian of our liberties. Our freedom today is as secure as it was in 1791. Each individual—whether white or black, Jew or Gentile, male or female, large or small—has a dignity and freedom that the state cannot touch. Even more, the very purpose of the state is to serve the individual—every individual—to make his life happier, freer, and more secure. It is this principle that the Bill of Rights affirms and protects.

President Dwight D. Eisenhower said in his second inaugural address on 21 January 1957: "Yet this peace we seek cannot be born of fear alone, it must be rooted in the lives of nations. There must be justice, sensed and shared by all peoples, for, without justice the world can know only a tense and unstable truce. There must be law, the world promises only such meager justice as the pity of the strong upon the weak. But the law of which we speak, comprehending the values of freedom, affirms the equality of all nations, great and small." Substituting the word individual for nation and people for world, this carries the same intent and meaning of the Bill of Rights.

JAMES H. M. HENDERSON,
P. O. Box 247, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama.

10 1957

Civil Rights Bill Would Give Attorney General 'Despotic Power,' Ervin Warns Senate

Advertiser P.6-7 Fri. 4-5-57 Montgomery Ala.

WSHINGTON, April 4 (AP)—Sen. Ervin (D-NC) told the Senate today that parts of the administration's civil rights program would give the Attorney General "despotic power" and that would be repugnant in other respects to our governmental and legal system."

"This is a despotic power which no good Attorney General ought to want and no bad Attorney General ought to have," said Ervin, a former North Carolina state judge.

Ervin is a member of the Senate Judiciary Committee which now is considering civil rights bills backed by Atty. Gen. Brownell and the Eisenhower administration.

He centered his criticism on a portion of the administration program designed to give the federal government new legal weapons against violations of voting or other civil rights.

At present citizens who feel they are being deprived of such rights may sue for damages or seek injunctions, but the only avenue open to the government is criminal prosecution.

Under the administration bill, the attorney general still could seek injunctions, or he could file civil suits in the name of the United States but for the benefit of the persons whose rights were allegedly infringed upon or about to be infringed upon.

Ervin said this provision would "confer upon one fallible human being, namely, the temorary occupant of the office of Attorney General, whoever he may be, the despotic power to grant the benefit of the new procedure to some citizens and withhold it from others."

Ervin said this would be government "by the whim of the Attorney General," and he continued:

"The bill is utterly repugnant to the fundamental concept that courts are created to administer equal and exact justice in compliance with certain and uniform laws applying in like manner to all men in like situations.

Work Rider Dims Hopes On Rights Bill

Post + Times Herald P.1 Tues. 4-30-57

By Robert C. Albright
Staff Reporter

Washington D.C.

Southern opponents of the Administration's "right-to-vote" civil rights bill yesterday unveiled a union-opposed "right-to-work" rider in a dramatic new move to block Senate civil rights action.

The Southern maneuver came as the Senate Judiciary Committee, captained by Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss.), agreed to consider the civil rights bill but under a procedure so conditional that

First in series of articles on prospects for passage of other major legislation appears on Page A13

other matters can be called up at any time.

The controversial "right-to-work" amendment, which in effect would knock out union and closed shop agreements, was put forward by Sen. John L. McClellan (D-Ark.), chairman of the special Senate committee investigating improper labor-management practices.

The amendment came within an ace of adoption. Only nine of the 15 members of the Judiciary Committee were present. The nine would have divided 7 to 2 in favor of the rider, it was indicated, on the basis of their statements to the committee.

Post + Times Herald P. 9-d

In the end, a vote was postponed in order to permit Sen. Thomas C. Hennings Jr. (D-Mo.), chairman of the Constitutional Rights Subcommittee which handled the "right-to-vote" legislation, to be present when the test comes on the rider. Hennings was in Missouri yesterday.

The Southern move, most adroit since they launched their "trial-by-injunction" attack on the civil rights bill, threw a bad scare into Northern liberal ranks however. Should the labor-opposed "right-to-work" amendment be tied to the civil rights bill in Committee, it might be impossible to erase it on the Senate Floor without killing the entire civil rights measure.

Under the McClellan proposal, the right to work would be made a civil right and membership in a union would not be necessary to hold a job. The Attorney General could use the injunction process to insure the right to work, in the same manner the President's bill empowers him to seek court orders to insumre the right to vote. A second McClellan amendment would similarly empower the Attorney General to take criminal action to punish interference with the so-called "right to work."

The development dampened prospects of Sentae action on the civil rights bill this session even as the House outlook for early passage considerably brightened. House Majority Leader John W. McCormack (D-Mass.) predicted flatly the bill wil pass the House by the end of May "by a vote of 2 to 1."

Rules Chairman Howard W. Smith (D-Va.), a leading House foe of the civil rights bill, earlier indicated his Committee will start hearings on the legislation later this week.

Rep. James D. Roosevelt (D-Calif.) meanwhile announced that he was taking out further "insurance" to get the bill before the House, by circulating a petition to "discharge" the Rules Committee. The petition requires 218 signatures, or a majority of the House, to be operative.

Roosevelt said he did not want to be represented as "showing a lack of confidence in the Rules Committee," but added: "The petition does, however, make certain that any difficulties encountered in the Rules Committee can be overcome prior to the closing rush of the session."

Across the Capitol Sen. Paul H. Douglas (D-Ill.) raised the possibility of a Senate move to "discharge" the Senate Judiciary Committee.

Douglas interrupted a speech by Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.) to ask Jackson if he did not think a discharge motion should be offered if the Committee did not act soon.

Jackson said he felt the Senate should act on civil rights but did not comment directly on the discharge proposal.

Sen. Jacob K. Javits (R-N. Y.) said he would support a discharge motion to bring civil rights legislation out of the Judiciary group.

The Senate Judiciary Committee, meantime, adopted a motion by Sen. Arthur V. Watkins (R-Utah) to make the civil rights bill "the pending business" in the Committee. But conditions were tied to his motion permitting members to lay aside civil rights at any time, to take up such matters as nominations and private immigration bills.

A specific exemption from the agreement was made just in case McClellan wishes to move to call up a bill almost as controversial as the civil rights measure. This bill would offset the Supreme Court decision holding Federal laws on sedition take precedence over state statutes on the subject.

Civil Rights Bill Back In Spotlight

Post-Herald P.1 Mon. 4-29-57 B'ham, Ala.

WASHINGTON, April 28 (AP)—With the return of Congress tomorrow from a 10-day Easter vacation, President Eisenhower is expected to reinforce efforts of his Senate and House leaders to get action on his lagging legislative program.

On tap immediately is another meeting of the Senate Judiciary Committee on the administration's civil rights bill. The measure has languished since it was approved by a 4-2 subcommittee vote last March 19.

Chairman Eastland (D., Miss.) has said that "in all probability" the committee will begin consideration of the measure at tomorrow's meeting, but he declined any prediction on how long it might take to reach a showdown vote.

Time is of the essence since Southern foes of the bill have vowed to try to filibuster it to death as they have done other civil rights measures in the past, if it is reported out of committee and brought up for action in the Senate.

Even before the Easter recess, Senate Republican Leader Knowland of California served notice of increased pressure to shake the bill loose from the Judiciary Committee where it died last year after being passed by the House shortly before adjournment.

Knowland said he would object to any Judiciary Committee members conducting hearings away from Washington until after the committee acts on the civil rights bill.

Close associates of Eisenhower said that, with his return from Augusta, Ga. Tuesday, he can be expected to take a hand in efforts to push along not only the civil rights bill but other key parts of his program, such as foreign aid, federal aid for school construction and increased immigration of refugees.

With four months of the present session already gone, no hearings have been held on Eisenhower's refugee proposals in either the House or the Senate.

A House education subcommittee has approved a school aid bill, but no action has been taken in the Senate.

The President's $4,400,000,000 foreign aid program has run up against a budget cutting drive.

The civil rights bill has been approved by the House Judiciary Committee, but before it can be brought up in the House for action it must win clearance from the Rules Committee.

House passage of the civil rights bill is generally expected, however, once again making the Senate the decisive battleground.

The Southerners' filibuster weapon becomes increasingly effective as adjournment approaches because appropriation bills and other measures begin to pile up. So far the Senate has not passed any of the regular money bills for the new fiscal year starting July 1, although several have cleared the House.

Democrats Spar Over Rights Note

Constitution Sat. 5-4-57 Atlanta Ga.

WASHINGTON, May 3 (AP)—The civil rights issue flared up briefly today in the Democratic National Committee but members quickly put it aside without a fight.

The committee opened three days of party strategy sessions, to

be highlighted tomorrow night by a $100-a-plate money-raising dinner featuring former President Harry S. Truman and Adlai Stevenson, the Democratic presidential nominee of 1952 and 1956, as orators.

What brought on the civil rights skirmish was a letter sent to National Chairman Paul M. Butler by Robert R. Nathan, chairman of Americans for Democratic Action. Butler read it to the members of the committee. It called on the membership to "support meaningful civil rights legislation," including the Eisenhower administration's program. The letter said some Democratic senators are obstructing such legislation by delay and deceit.

Thus a constant sore point within the Democratic party was prodded again. And the national committeeman from Alabama, Charles W. McKay, jumped to his feet with a motion that the entire letter be stricken from the record of the meeting. Another Southerner, B. Everett Jordan, of North Carolina, seconded the motion.

The members jockeyed through several substitute proposals but finally voted unanimously for one offered by Edgar A. Brown of South Carolina that the letter be received as information and placed on file. Brown said he offered this "in the interest of harmony and good feeling."

From the party treasurer, Matthew McCloskey, came a report that the party is in a sort of sad financial plight—the deficit has jumped from $470,000 last February to $660,000 now.

McCloskey said he didn't want to scold the committee members but the states just hadn't been cooperating the way they should. He said the committee would have about $800,000 coming in if the states were meeting their quotas, whereas the actual take has been only $24,000. Part of the deficit is the $154,597 in unpaid bills left over from the Stevenson-Kefauver campaign. The National Committee voted to pick up the tab for these.

One positive action today was adoption of a resolution calling on Congress to hurry up action on statehood for Alaska and Hawaii, as pledged by the Democratic party platform.

Work, Civil Rights Link Aim

Times-Picayune Tues. 4-30-57 New Orleans La. P.6

Amendment Proposed by Foe of Bill

By J. W. DAVIS

WASHINGTON, April 29 (AP) — Sen. McClellan (D-Ark), who opposes the civil rights bill, sought to amend it today with a 'right to work' provision.

The important timetable for the legislation indicated the possibility of House action before the end of May, but none in the Senate until June or later.

The right to work proposal is bitterly opposed by union leaders and by many members of Congress elected with strong union backing. A number of these members support the civil rights bill but might not vote for it if it included McClellan's amendment.

The amendment, like right to work laws in 18 states, would forbid arrangements under which a worker may be forced to join a union in order to hold a job.

The amendment also would forbid conspiracies seeking to force union members to take a certain stand in a federal election. It states that no officer or member of a union "shall intimidate, threaten, coerce" a union member with intent to influence his vote.

The civil rights legislation is aimed primarily at protecting Southern Negroes from alleged violation of their civil rights, including voting rights.

Rep. McCormack of Massachusetts, the Democratic leader in the House, predicted today that the House would pass the bill by the end of May by 2-1.

McCormack said four of the eight Democrats on the House Rules Committee are ready to turn it loose for a vote by the House, and when three of the four Republicans "decide to make up their mind, it will come out."

Rep. Roosevelt (D-Calif) began circulating a petition to take the bill away from the Rules Committee and give it to the House. The House Judiciary Committee approved it April 1.

Opponents of the legislation have tried this year, as in years past, to stave off votes. If the Senate does not get to it until toward the close of the session, the bill may be filibustered to death.

Sen. Lyndon Johnson of Texas, the Senate Democratic leader, said today the Senate will be busy all through May considering appropriations bills.

One step was taken by the Senate Judiciary Committee when it voted to make the civil rights bill the pending business for its next session, which is expected to be next Monday.

However, Chairman Eastland (D-Miss) said that numerous items still can interrupt consideration of the measure.

These items include nominations, private immigration bills and one major piece of legislation. This latter bill would counter a Supreme Court decision holding that federal laws against sedition take precedence over any state statutes on the subject.

Eastland said McClellan, also the sponsor of the sedition bill, could move at any time to lay aside the civil rights legislation and bring up his measure.

Eastland also said other amendments would be offered, among them several types of plans to insure that jury trials be granted in contempt of court cases which might grow out of civil rights proceedings.

House Rules Committeemen Want Prolonged Talk Ended

Daily World Atlanta Ga P.1 Sun. 5-12-57

BY LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (NNPA) — Members of the powerful House Rules Committee who favor sending the civil rights bill to the House floor for debate and vote indicated last week that they want the prolonged hearings curbed and vote taken on a rule for House consideration of the measure.

The question of the type of rule the committee should adopt was brought up by Representative Kenneth B. Keating, Republican, of New York, the third witness the committee has heard since it began hearings on May 2.

Rep. Howard Smith, of Virginia, committee chairman, had remarked earlier in the hearings to Representative Emanuel Celler, of New York, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee which has approved the bill, that the New Yorker would be more liberal than he was last year and request more than two days of debate.

The House Rules Committee, in sending a bill to the House floor, recommends the amount of time that should be allotted for general debate, after which the bill is read for amendment under the 5-minute rule.

SUBTERFUGE AMENDMENT

Under that rule, each member offering an amendment, or rising in question to an amendment, is allowed to speak for five minutes—even if the amendment is only a subterfuge to strike the last word.

Mr. Keating said he had not found anyone who knew of a rule granting more than two days of debate.

Chairman Smith replied that it is very unusual for the Rules Committee to fix debate in terms of days. He said debate is always fixed in terms of hours.

Mr. Keating pointed out that if a rule on the civil rights bill is framed in terms of hours, it will result in a filibuster through numerous quorum calls and other dilatory tactics.

"It has been made abundantly clear to us," Mr. Keating said, "that the opposition will resort to any tactic it can to delay the legislation. They have in the past resorted to every device known to delay consideration."

Daily World P.8 Atlanta Ga. Sun. 5-12-57

Civil Rights Bill Seen Likely to Pass House

Star Tues. 4-30-57 P.11-a Washington D.C.

The administration's civil rights bill was given a good chance today to pass the House in May, but it still faces an uncertain fate in the Senate.

Although Representative Roosevelt, Democrat of California, started a petition in the House yesterday to force the bill out of the Rules Committee, indications are it will come out of that group in about 10 days without the discharge process.

The Rules Committee will meet tomorrow morning to fix a time for hearings on the bill, and House leaders are predicting it will get a green light from the committee and will pass the House.

But on the Senate side, the Judiciary Committee has place restrictions on consideration of a civil rights bill that could keep it in that committee until near the end of the session.

The Senate group decided yesterday to make the civil rights bill the pending business, subject to interruption by nominations, private immigration bills or a highly controversial measure to get around Supreme Court decisions which nullify State laws.

The Senate committee normally meets only once a week on Mondays, and always has a string of nominations to claim part of its time. It nearly always has some private immigration bills awaiting action.

Besides these obstacles, Senator McClellan, Democrat of Arkansas, moved yesterday to broaden the civil rights bill to protect an individual's right to work, as well as his right to vote.

The McClellan motion would authorize the Attorney General to use the injunction process to protect a person's right to work, regardless of his membership or non-membership in a union.

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SOUTHERN FORCES ALTER STRATEGY ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Times New York

Sun 4-21-57

While Using Delaying Tactics, They Also Base Arguments on Constitutional Law

By CABELL PHILLIPS

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, April 20—The civil rights bill, which has had to pick its way through a thicket of parliamentary barricades and trip wires, missed this week the first of a series of deadlines that had been tentatively set for it at the start of its journey through the Congressional maze last February. But it has registered some forward progress, too.

The deadline was the Easter recess of Congress, which began Friday. Observers had speculated, with good reason, that if the bill had not reached the stage of floor debate by that time, its prospects would suffer a setback. The reason for this is that Congress does not seriously buckle down to the year's business until after the recess. As the pressures mount, and as adjournment beckons, a threatened filibuster becomes a measurably more effective instrument of legislative leverage.

At the same time, however, the civil rights advocates have taken a little new ground, too. They have firm promises that the committee bottlenecks will be broken promptly after the recess is over.

Outlook Remains

The consensus of Capitol observers remains what it has been from the outset—that before adjournment this year Congress will enact, probably with modifications, the four-point civil rights bill that the Administration requested last February.

It is significant, however, that this view is now held with somewhat less assurance than it was a month ago. The reason for this is that the anti-civil rights strategy this year, resting chiefly in the amiable but wily generalship of North Carolina's Senator Sam J. Ervin Jr., has been surpassingly effective.

The strategy has been two-fold and manipulated in an overriding atmosphere of graciousness and sweet reasonableness—in itself, something of an innovation. The first effort has been to stall floor consideration of the measure until after the recess, which has suceeded; and, of course, to stall still further as future conditions may dictate, up to and including resort to a filibuster on the Senate floor.

Seeds of Doubt

The second effort is to sow the seeds of genuine doubt about the equity and constitutionality of certain provisions of the bill and thus to put the entire measure under a cloud. This effort as aimed at those legislators from non-Southern areas who have no emotional entanglements over the issue, but who are concerned objectively about legislative integrity.

The stalling tactics so far employed have defied all efforts of the civil rights advocates to get their measures released for floor consideration. In the House the blockade has been managed chiefly by Representative Howard W. Smith of Virginia, in his sovereign role as chairman of the Rules Committee. No bill gets to the House floor without the approval of this committee, and Mr. Smith is adamantly opposed to civil rights legislation.

This time, the chairman has been under more than usual pressure to grant a rule for the civil rights bill. It is reported from several reliable quarters that to hold out he has had to muster the help of certain powerful Republican members of his group, the quid pro quo being that he would put the brakes on an unrelated measure that they were interested in slowing down. But by an informal sort of statute of limitations, this report goes, the agreement runs out with the Easter recess, and at the first post-recess meeting of the committee there will be enough votes to spring the civil rights bill to the House floor for general debate.

Senate Tactic

The tactic on the Senate side has been for the Judiciary Committee, the chairman of which is another dedicated foe of civil rights, Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi, to decline to consider the report of its civil rights subcommittee. This latter group, headed by Senator Thomas C. Hennings Jr. of Missouri, unanimously approved a bill closely approximating that in the House, over a month ago. But it has never reached a vote in the full committee because of filibusters around the committee table and the frequent absence of a working quorum.

Chairman Eastland has stated, however, that a vote will be taken immediately after the recess. And Mr. Hennings has intimated that if this is not done he will seek a showdown through asking a discharge petition from the Senate.

'SANDMAN AGAIN'

Alexander in The Philadelphia Bulletin

Eastland Helps

Courier P.2

Dixie Bloc Stalls Civil Rights Bills

Sat. 4-20-57 Pittsburgh, Pa.

WASHINGTON — With Dixie Senators providing the beat, members of the United States Congress gleefully dragged their feet in Jim Eastland's "Mississippi mud" as proposed civil rights legislation found itself slowly starving to death from lack of attention.

• Oddly enough, it was the stubborn Senator from Missouri, Thomas C. Hennings, who stood out as the spearhead of the pro-civil rights forces as he waged a losing battle against the delaying tactics of the Northern and Southern opponents of civil rights bills.

Hennings has made three attempts to prod the Senate Judiciary Committee into action on the bills, but Senator Eastland, seated in the chairman's seat, has succeeded in delaying action.

■

ON THE OTHER hand, Eastland and his cohorts have had no trouble in having a bill introduced into both houses of Congress which would, in the words of Warren Olney III, assistant attorney general, be a "dangerously deceptive proposal" and a "clever device to nullify" civil rights legislation such as that being pushed by Senator Hennings.

• Olney said that one of the more "disastrous" effects of the Eastland-Strom Thurmond-Harry Byrd (all Democrats) bill would be the requiring of a jury trial which would give juries "the novel power to substitute their interpretation of the Federal Constitution and laws" for that of Federal judges.

"The key civil right is the right to vote," continued Olney. "Unhappily, there are areas in our country where, by one device or another, substantial segments of the population are denied an effective voice at the polls."

■

THE DIXIE campaign to completely bottle up the civil rights bills in committee, according to informed sources, is being waged with the connivance of many Northern Representatives and Senators who do not want to be placed on the "spot" by having the measures come to a vote on the floor of Congress.

• By having civil rights "die" in committee, many of these Northerners who depend upon the votes of Negroes to stay in office would be avoided the "embarrassment" of having to vote for or against the measure, as many prefer.

After expressing his "extreme disappointment," Senator Hennings told reporters, "I shall continue, at future meetings of the Judiciary Committee, to attempt to get the earliest possible date set for voting civil rights measures to the Senate. As we all know, if we are to get a satisfactory bill passed in this session, it is imperative to get the legislation out on the floor of the Senate at the earliest possible moment."

HearingsOpen On Rights Bill

Advertiser Montgomery Ala.

WASHINGTON, May 1—The House Rules Committee voted today to open hearings tomorrow on the long-stalled civil rights bill.

There were strong indications, however, that the hearings will move at a leisurely pace. Meanwhile, some proponents of the bill, are circulating discharge petitions to bring the bill more promptly to the House floor for a vote.

Chairman Howard Smith (D-Va) set no limit on the Rules Committee hearings. Chairman Celler (D-NY) of the House Judiciary Committee, which reported the bill favorably exactly a month ago, was designed the first witness.

Leaders Tell Solons Bill Would Ease Tensions And Fear

Daily World Atlanta Ga.
Wed. 4-24-57 P. 1

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (SNS) — A special message, signed by 37 top leaders of the nation was sent to Senators and Representatives, this week urging the passage of President Eisenhower's Civil Rights bills during the current Congress.

The group of leaders is headed by Dr. J. H. Jackson president of the National Baptist Convention, Inc. He is also serving as the national chairman.

In the message, the leaders said:

WORKABLE PROGRAM

"The president presented a worthy and workable program of civil rights. We urge the Eighty-Sixth Congress to adopt it.

"It is designed to offer the necessary federal assistance to states North and South by opening the ballot box to all citizens and keeping it free, sacred and secure. This is both sound, true American and right."

The leaders said the President's program is in harmony with the America's tradition of freedom. They said it will give strength and respect to "our Federal Constitution and is a direct appeal to law and order.

EASING TENSIONS

"It is a constructive measure," the message added, "easing tensions and destroying unnecessary grounds for fear."

The message referred to the program as one that will protect the rights of all citizens and takes no rights from the several states.

"The Congress of the United States," the message said," in this hour of world crisis regarding human liberty, must not be guilty of blocking any progressive measures for the growth of freedom and the strengthening of democracy.

"If passed, this program will go to the credit of both major parties, for a Republican administration presented it, but the responsibility for its passage rests with a Democratic control of Congress.'

The group told Congressional leaders that the Civil Rights program would remove much of the grounds for Communist criticism of the American way of life and would free the U. S. State Department of much embarrassment.

Co-chairmen of the group included, W. R. Mathews Michigan; E. T. Lewis, Pennsylvania; Carl Murphy, editor, Afro-American newspapers; Baltimore; C. P. Harris New Jersey; Mrs. Irene McCoy Gaines, president, National Association of Colored Women, Chicago; C. H. Hampton, California; T. S. Harten, New York; C. A. Scott, editor, Atlanta Daily World, Atlanta Ga.; E. T. Benton, Ohio and W. A. Page, Ohio.

Permission On Out-Of-Town Hearings Rejected In Senate

Daily World Atlanta Ga.

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (NNPA) — Permission was blocked in the Senate Tuesday for a Senate subcommittee to hold hearings in New York City while its five members should be in Washington working on the Eisenhower Administration's civil rights bill.

Senator William F. Knowland, of California, the Republican leader, objected to a request for unanimous consent for the Juvenile Delinquency subcommittee to hold out-of-town hearings on May 7, 8 and 9.

The group is a subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee. Senator James O. Eastland, Dixiecrat, of Mississippi, committee chair man, has announced that his full committee will probably begin considering the civil rights bill on April 29.

Fri. 4-19-57

Senator Thomas C. Hennings, of Missouri, is chairman of the Constitutional Rights subcommittee which has approved the civil rights bill. He also is co-sponsor of the bill and chairman of the Juvenile Delinquency subcommittee.

Objecting to the request for permission for the Juvenile Delinquency subcommittee to hold out-of-town hearings, Senator Knowland said there has been difficulty in having a quorum present at meetings of the Judiciary Committee and to get action on the civil rights bill which has been pending before that committee for several weeks.

Since the Senate was recessing for the Easter holidays, he said he must object to any out-of-town meetings of any Judiciary subcommittee until the full committee has acted on the civil rights bill, unless such hearings were held during the Easter recess while the Senate is not in session.

The request for permission to hold out-of-town hearings was made by Senator Mike Mansfield, of Montana, who was the Acting Majority Leader in the absence of Senator Lyndon B. Johnson, of Texas, who is vacationing on his Texas ranch.

In another civil rights development Tuesday, Senator Styles Bridges, of New Hampshire, chairman of the Republican Policy Committee, told reporters that civil rights was discussed at a meeting of that committee.

There were, he said, many expressions of disappointment that faster progress was not being made on the bill.

Knowland was asked, Bridges said, how quickly could the bill be passed after the Easter recess.

Knowland said it was impossible to give any assurance as to the time it would take to get action on the bill, according to Bridges.

The bill is pending in the Senate Judiciary Committee. To date, all efforts to have it acted upon by that committee have been blocked by the talking of Senators Eastland, Sam J. Ervin of North Carolina, John L. McClellan of Arkansas, and Olin D. Johnston of South Carolina, Democrats.

Daily World

Eastland has stated, however, that consideration of the bill by his committee will probably begin on April 29. Just how many amendments will be offered as a delaying device and when the committee will take a final vote on reporting it to the Senate, Eastland would make no prediction.

Fri. 4-19-57

Bridges said he still thinks the bill will be passed at this session of Congress.

On the House side, Representative Howard W. Smith, of Virginia, chair man of the powerful Rules Committee, has announced that his committee will hold hearings after the Easter recess and will vote at an early date on reporting the measure.

Time has begun to run out on the bill. Capitol observers are beginning to say that unless the House acts on the bill very shortly after the Easter recess, and unless the Senate Judiciary Committee reports it to the Senate before mid-May, the measure will run into a log-jam on appropriation bills.

If it does, a southern filibuster could easily defeat the bill.

Dixie, Unions And Jury Trials... No. 3—

Post Herald Sat. 5-11-57 P. 8
B'ham, Ala.

Southern Congressmen Consistent In Battling For Trial By Jury

BY MORRIS CUNNINGHAM
Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

WASHINGTON — Southern Congressmen have been consistent in fighting for the right of jury trials in contempt of court cases.

Twenty-five years ago they fought side-by-side with pro-labor Congressmen to pass the Norris-LaGuardia Act and to assure jury trials in contempt cases arising from labor disputes.

Today Dixie Congressmen are making approximately the same arguments their predecessors made a quarter century ago to obtain this same guarantee in the administration's civil rights bill.

There is a ring of familiarity in the Dixie argument of today and 25 years ago. For instance, here is what Rep. Gordon Browning (D., Tenn.), later two-time governor of Tennessee, said on the House floor in behalf of the Norris-LaGuardia bill, March 8, 1932:

"Another principle we undertake to enunciate here is not new, and that is the right of trial by jury. The insistence is made against this measure that it is robbing the people of the right to prevent a wrong, which would be better than undertaking to remunerate them for the wrong done.

"In my humble opinion that is not the principal reason for those people undertaking to hold on to this practice of the Federal courts.

"The principal reason is that they would rather undertake to convince one man, who is schooled in the thought of their economic beliefs, than to convince 12 men of their rights in a trial by jury.

Goes Far Back

"The right of trial by jury is a constitutional right. It goes back to the first declaration of English rights.

"We have a situation now by which a man may be enjoined by a Federal court without notice, and either through ignorance or intention he violates that injunction.

"He is arraigned before the court, which is not only the legislature but the grand jury, the trial judge and the prosecuting attorney; the man is sent to jail without a trial by jury, which is guaranteed to him under the Constitution; and then another court on appeal, two or three years later, may decide that the injunction was wrongfully issued."

The Congressional Record shows that at the conclusion of his remarks, Mr. Browning was applauded, presumably by pro-labor and Northern liberal Congressmen.

Yet today, when Dixie Congressmen make approximately the same arguments in behalf of jury trial of contempt charges in civil rights cases, they are greeted by rebuttals from labor union leaders, and by cries of derision from the Northern liberals.

Congress had thought that it had successfully assured jury trials in contempt cases involving labor with the passage of the Clayton Act in 1914. But a series of court decisions greatly restricted its application. Rep. Fiorello H. LaGuardia (R., N. Y.) co-author of the Norris-LaGuardia Act, charged that the courts manned by "politically-appointed" judges had "emasculated" the Clayton Act.

Reply To Bankhead

Southern support was so great that the Record shows that a good-natured dispute broke out on the House floor as to whether the South could take credit for the passage of the bill.

Rep. Charles L. Gifford (R., Mass.) took exception to a remark by Rep. William B. Bankhead (D., Ala.).

"Why, down there," the Massachusetts Republican exclaimed, "they resist efforts to organize; they say to the American Federation of Labor that they are entirely unwelcome to come into those states to help organize labor there."

"And yet," Mr. Gifford continued, "we hear the Democratic Party of the South claiming credit for this bill favoring organized labor."

Mr. Gifford couldn't understand it. But there was more to the Norris-LaGuardia Act than pro-labor legislation. It involved the constitutional right of trial by jury—a right for which Dixie congressmen are still fighting.

Monday — What Rep. Emanuel Celler (D., N. Y.), the present chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, had to say about court injunctions 25 years ago.

10 1957

Southern Senators Pledge To Block Civil Rights

Daily World Atlanta, Ga.

Sat. 5-11-57 P. 1

BY ROSE McKEE

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (INS) — Legislation to protect voting rights of Negroes and create a Presidential commission to investigate Civil Rights offenses is still in the committee stage in both House and Senate. Although Senate leaders said early in the session that the bill would come to a vote this year, this is now questionable because of the long delay.

Two Southern Senators called the administration's civil rights bill unconstitutional, drastic, indefensible and insulting today and said they will do anything to block it.

Sens. Olin D. Johnston (D) S. C. and Sam J. Ervin (D) N. C., declared in a minority report that the bill is proposed at a time "when never-ending agitation on racial subjects by both designing and incere men inpairs our national sanity."

Johnton aid at a joint new conference the two of them would "vote to put almost anything in the bill to kill it -- anything we can do to kill the bill will be a service to the country.

Ervin said he will support the right-to-work amendment, opposed by many supporters of the bill. But he said he thought the proposed legislation would be so broad that the Attorney General could bring suits under it to by-pass state laws that permit union hops.

Ervin declared that "if this bill is not unconstitutional then our constitution has become a rope of sand." Both he and Johnston declined to say when they thought it might come out of the Senate Judiciary Committee. In referring to it as "loaded legal dice", Ervin made it clear he would do nothing to hasten committee action.

In their report, the two southerners declared that the only reason advanced by supporters of the bill is "an insulting and insupportable indictment of a whole people." They accused supporters of saying that southern jurors cannot be trusted to try civil rights cases and that is the reason for the injunction provision.

The report declared that the bill is based on the "strange thesis that the best way to promote the civil rights of some Americans is to rob other Americans of civil rights equally as precious."

Ike Avoids Civil Rights Questions

Defender Sat. 4-27-57 P. 1

Chicago, Ill.

By ETHEL L. PAYNE

WASHINGTON — From all indications, President Eisenhower is avoiding any direct questions on civil rights. It's one of those nebulous things that you can't quite put your finger on; nevertheless, there are definite signs of an "agreement" of slience on the number one domestic issue of civil rights.

It has been over a year since Negro White House reporters have gotten the nod of recognition which the Chief Executive gives before you can place your question; despite the fact that time after time, they have stood on their feet murmuring "Mr. President."

It should be remembered that a presidential press conference is a tough obstacle course at best with an average of 200 reporters crowding into the tight little treaty room of the Old State Department building where the sessions take place.

Add to this the brief 30 minutes, sometimes a little less, which is alloted before Merriman Smith, the dean of the White House press corps, gives his "Thank you Mr. President" signifying the end of the questioning, and you get some idea of the difficulty of trying to get the attention of the President.

Top priority for questions goes to the wire services and the big major dailies of the country, though there are some notable exceptions. One of these is red-headed Sarah McClendon, the formidable representative of a number of Texas papers who has never been turned down by Mr. Eisenhower.

The other is redoubtable Mae Craig of the Portland, Maine press who is well known for her appearances on television press conferences.

Ever since early 1955 when the President literally blew his top over a question on civil rights, Negro reporters have gotten the cold shoulder from him.

At scattered times, some white reporters have moved into the vacuum of muteness of civil rights and fired some questions. Robert Spivack of the New York Post is one. From another angle of the issue Frank van der Linden of the Nashville Banner, pops a question clearly intended for the benefit of the section which he represents.

Defender

LITTLE INFORMATION

Other than this, there is a frustrating dearth of knowledge on the foremost topic of interest of civil rights and there is complete lack of communication with the thinking of the executive branch of government on a subject of concern to millions of Americans.

Since the press conference is a direct link of the people to the President, this cut-off is indeed a series thng.

a serious thing. The "conspiracy of ignoring" became even clearer this week when Alice Dunnigan of the Associated Negro Press was on her feet no less than 15 times during the press conference and was never recognized.

DUNNINGAN IGNORED

The President on several occasions, recognized persons to the rear of her. This was Mrs. Dunnigan's third attempt so far this year to get his attention at a conference.

Mrs. Dunnigan recalls that a couple of years back, affable White House Aide Maxwell W. Rabb, who doubles as cabinet secretary and adviser of minority affairs, suggested that she clear any questions on civil rights with his office before she asked them.

Rabb explained that many things the President had no prior knowledge of and if questions were submitted, he would have a chance to be briefed and then give an intelligent answer when they were asked at the confernce.

CALLED RABB

Mrs. Dunnigan said she called Rabb and advised hi mthat she planned to query the President on setting up an FEPC committee for the Government (this was later done) at the next conference.

She said Rabb asked her to hold the question until the following week as the matter was being worked on and a question might arouse the antagonism of the opposition.

The question never got around to being placed because the President again failed to recognize her. Both Rabb and the White House press staff later denied that any such attempt at consorship was being made.

Presumably, the President would rather not have to discuss questions of such controversial nature as civil rights, both because he dislikes controversy and secondly, because he seems to think his method of working quietly on the matter behind the scenes is more effective.

A third angle to be considered is that essentially, the President is a states righter in his thinking and he believes that the solving of civil rights should be left up to the states.

Possibly, a half dozen Negro reporters are accredited to the White House, Harry McAlpin, who formerly worked for the Chicago Defender was the first one to be cleared. This was back in the Roosevelt administration. Since that time, around eight or ten have been certified; but only two regularly attend the sessions.

Delay and more delay, civil rights strategy

Afro American Sat. 5-11-57

Baltimore, Md.

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON (NNPA) P. 1 — The powerful House Rules Committee was due to resume hearings Tuesday on the civil rights bill which southern members are seeking to keep from the House floor as long as possible.

Rep. Emanuel Celler, of New York, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, which has approved the bill, will return to the witness chair for further questioning by Rep. William Colmer, (D., Miss.).

Mr. Celler was the first witness when the hearings started Friday. After he finished making a statement, Mr. Colmer began questioning him and was still badgering the New Yorker nearly an hour later when the committee went into a closed session on other matters.

Sat. 5-11-57

THE BILL, embodying the Eisenhower Administration's civil rights program, is being sponsored by Mr. Celler. It was before the Rules Committee for a month before it was taken up.

Apparently, the strategy of southern opponents of the measure in the House is to demand that they be heard by the committee. But committee members favoring sending the bill to the House floor for debate can cut off the hearings whenever they decide. P. 2

Delay in committee action could affect any chance the bill might have of reaching the Senate floor during this session. Senator Lyndon B. Johnson, of Texas, the Democratic leader, has said the Senate will take no action on civil righs until the House acts.

* * *

SOUTHERNERS have effectively stalled the bill in the Senate Judiciary Committee where a right-to-work amendment has been offered. Adoption of such an amendment would probably kill the bill.

Mr. Celler, in his statement

Thursday, urged the Rules Committee not to hold prolonged hearings. As chairman of the Judiciary Committee, he said, he had given everybody who desired to be heard an opportunity to express his views.

Mr. Celler pointed out that Rep. James Roosevelt, (D., Calif.), has filed a petition with the clerk of the House to discharge the Rules Committee from further consideration of the bill.

* * *

MR. CELLER said he preferred that the civil rights bill come before the House in the regular way, under a rule making it the order of business. "But if there is any undue delay," he said, "I am quite sure you are going to encourage the discharge petition."

An open rule was requested. Such a rule would permit amendments to be offered from the House floor. If members want to offer right-to-work amendments, Mr. Cellers said, they should have the right to do so.

Such amendments, he said, had been "trumped up rather belatedly" and had not been mentioned during hearings before his committee on the bill.

The Judiciary Committee also denounced the so-called right-to-trial-by-jury amendment. He pointed out that there is no right to trial by jury in civil contempt cases.

"If anybody violates an order of a court, he has no inherent right to a trial by jury," Mr. Celler said, except where Congress gives that right.

* * *

AS AN ILLUSTRATION, he pointed out that a man can be ordered to pay his wife alimony and sent to jail if he fails to do so.

No opponent of the civil rights bill, Mr. Celler said, raised his voice in protest against the fine and jail sentence imposed by a certain judge on leaders of the NAACP for contempt of court without jury trial. Nor did they complain, he added, when a judge fined the NAACP $100,000 for contempt of court without a jury trial.

Both Representative Howard W. Smith, of Virginia, chairman of the Rules Committee, and Colmer, commended Celler on the fair manner in which he had conducted the hearings on the civil rights bill.

Representative Ray J. Madden, Democrat, of Indiana, said while he was in his district in Gary, Ind., he was visited by a committee that had been in the South and told hims some "hair-raising and deplorable" facts about operations of the White Citizens Council in threatening and intimidating persons who wanted to vote.

Madden asked Celler if he thought the House Un-American Activities Committee should investigate the White Citizens Council.

Celler replied that if their activities were not local, they should be investigated.

Minority Report Denounces Rights Bill As 'Autocratic'

Advertiser Sat. 5-11-57 P.1 Montgomery, Ala.

WASHINGTON, May 10 (AP) — A minotiry report by Sens. Ervin (D-NC) and Olin D. Johnston (D-SC) today denounced the administration's civil rights bill as "indefensible" and as conferring "autocratic and depostic" powers on the attorney general.

The report was filed by the two southern Senators as members of a Senate Judiciary subcommittee which approved the measure last March 19 by a 4-2 vote. The full committee has yet to act. A similar bill is before the House Rules Committee.

Ervin and Johnston, terming the bill "as drastic and indefensible" a proposal ever laid before an American legislative body, aimed their attack mainly at provisions empowering the federal government to seek injunctions against violations of voting or other civil rights.

They and other Southern opponents claim a federal judge under those provisions could issue an injunction and jail a person for contempt without a jury trial. Proponents argue southern juries have shown an unwillingness to convict in civil rights cases, hence reliance on the injunctive process is necessary.

Ervin and Johnston said the bill is "deliberately designed" to rob citizens of basic constitutional right. They added it would give the attorney general "a legal club by which he can browbeat state and local officials into submission to his will."

They argued further the measure is based on the "strange thesis that the best way to promote civil rights of some Americans is to rob other Americans of civil rights equally as precious and to reduce the supposedely soverign states to meaningless zeros on the nation's map."

They said the bill is "deliberately designed to confer upon the attorney general autocratic and despotic powers which may befit the office of commissar of justice in a totalitarian country, but which are incompatible with the office of chief law officer of a republic having a government of laws rather than a government of men"

LOUISIANA DEMOCRAT LASHES RIGHTS BILL

Commercial Appeal 8-42

Sees 'Battalion Of Lawyers' Loosed On South

Memphis Tenn.

RULES HEARING IS HELD

Thurs. 5-9-57

From The Commercial Appeal Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, May 8.—Representative Edwin E. Willis (D., La.) charged Wednesday the Administration's civil rights bill would loose "a battalion of Justice Department lawyers" in the South.

The Louisiana Democrat was the first opponent of the bill to appear at House Rules Committee hearings. A member of the House Judiciary Committee, he is one of the leaders in the fight against the bill.

He charged Justice Department lawyers would be sent from Washington to take over the functions of local United States attorneys in the South and to seek Federal court injunctions to enforce civil rights regulations.

'Planned Intent'

And he said it was the "planned intent" of the framers of the bill to make the United States a party to all injunctions as a deliberate means of denying jury trials to persons charged with violating the injunctions.

He told the Rules Committee that nothing in the bill, as now written, would prevent a Federal judge in such cases from sending people to jail in groups or in wholesale numbers without trials.

Mr. Willis said opponents of the bill agree that judges should have the right to punish a person, without a jury trial, for contemptous action within or near the court.

Jury Trials

He insisted, however, that jury trials should be guaranteed when persons are alleged to have violated injunctions and are confronted with the prospect of jail sentences.

He also noted that the bill contains no requirement that Justice Department lawyers assigned to enforce its provisions be selected on a basis of nonpartisanship.

He said the bill is full of "serious bugs" and that one of the "most vicious" is a provision that would allow state courts and administrative procedures to be bypassed.

'Ugly Assumption'

He said this "completely wipes out" states rights' and charged it was based upon "the ugly implied assumption that no state agency or court wants to correct wrongs."

More Southern congressmen will testify in opposition to the bill Thursday when the Rules Committee holds its fourth day of hearings.

Meanwhile, in a related action, the Women's Division of the American Jewish Congress called for "prompt enactment" of the civil rights bill. The organization, holding its annual convention here, also denounced any attempt to attach a "right-to-work" rider to the bill as proposed by Senator John L. McClellan (D., Ark.) and endorsed Negro Representative Adam Clayton Powell's anti-segregation amendment to the proposed school construction bill.

Editorials

Civil Rights Scuffle In New York

Courier 4-9 Pittsburgh Pa.

Charges and counter-charges have rent the welkin in New York State where the State Commission Against Discrimination and the office of the Attorney General of New York have been scuffling over a bill passed by the legislature to establish a bureau in the latter's office to prosecute violations of the state law against discrimination.

Sat. 4-20-57

SCAD, whose powers have been periodically increased, contends that it should have the power to prosecute cases of discrimination (as well as investigate and initiate them) while Attorney General Louis K. Lefkowitz (a Republican) holds that prosecution is the business of his office and in no way duplicates the work of SCAD.

The bill is now on the desk of Governor Harriman who will either sign or veto it within a few days, and in either case the political battle will be a continued one.

This hassle would seem to us to be unfortunate, and the fact that the Commerce and Industry Association of New York is opposing the special bureau proposed for the Attorney General's office appears rather singular, considering that the association has never been a lover of SCAD.

Paradoxically, the NAACP and other organizations opposing the proposed New York bureau are at the same time backing the President's civil rights bill which would give similar powers to the Department of Justice!

There are many angles to this fight into which we do not have the space to go, but it would seem that there is no basic conflict, only a struggle to monopolize the civil rights war on the part of SCAD—and fair employment is too important an issue to be made a political football.

Civil Rights: Hope Deferred

Courier 4-9 Pittsburgh Pa.

With May half gone and Congress approaching the end of its session, any hope for passage of a civil rights law must be deferred.

The plain fact of the matter is that the conservative South has won again, and there are a lot of Democrats and Republicans outside the South who are not sorry, no matter what they say.

Sat. 5-18-57

This perennial legislative routine of Demo-Repo buck-passing on civil rights is getting mighty tiresome, but the only thing likely to end it is a huge increase in Southern Negro registration.

10

10 1957

"Rights" Bill Will Pass Before June--McCormack

WASHINGTON — (ANP) — House Majority Leader John W. McCormack of Massachusetts predicted Saturday that the civil rights bill will pass the House of Representatives by a 2-to-1 vote before the end of May.

World P.1

Unless the bill is cleared in the House before the end of this month it will not reach the Senate in time for passage in this session, odded Rep. Charles Vanik of Ohio.

Wed. 5-8-57

Rep. Vanik was the third Congressman to sign the discharge petition filed by Cong. James Roosevelt The Ohio Representative said he regretted that it should be necessary to force the consideration of vital and essential legislation such as the current civil rights proposals by the use of a petition.

B'ham, Ala.

NEED CITED

He pointed out the need for this legislation although it only partially fulfills the need. Still it represents a practical approach and constructive step forward to establishing better human relations in America.

Vanik said Southern representatives should be able to find a way to accept this legislation. "It represents a delicate approach to the problem of wide magnitude."

He pointed out that so much compromise has been prefabricated into the legislation that it is hardly "enough to assure the existence of substantive freedom in America."

UNTOUCHED AREAS

He admitted that "vast areas of civil rights in America are untouched" by this proposed legislation. But, he added this remains the work for a future congress.

It has been 88 years since the 14th amendment was adopted, continued the Congressman, and "all progress in the development of civil and human rights in America since that time has been mode too slowly for our American concept of justice and equality And yet the very moderate, temperate recommendations of this legislation appear to be the full distance that this congress can go in achieving the honorable regard for civil and human rights.

He conceded that this legislation is not sufficient, yet many Congressmen are supporting it because it appears to be the best we can do at this time.

Senators Demand More Testimony From NAACP Witnesses Accused Of Making False Statements During Civil Rights Hearing

Advocate Sat. 4-6-57

Gus Coats and Beatrice Young, Whose Testimony Has Been Hit, Seen As Recall Witnesses

Washington, D. C. April 1 (DSN) —Some of the witnesses brought here to testify for the Civil Rights Bill during the recently concluded hearing conducted by the sub-committee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, are now being seen here as being responsible for the possible failure of final action on the bill during the present session of Congress.

Jackson, Miss.

The reason being that some of the NAACP witnesses are now being accused of having made false statements in their testimony during the sub-committee hearing. In fact one Senator has accused NAACP witnesses of downright "lying" in their testimony.

On Tuesday Senator McClellan of Arkansas announced that he will fight for a chance to cross-examine under oath witnesses whom he said were assigned to "slander the South" during the hearings. He was immediately joined by Sen. Ervin of North Carolina, a foe of the civil rights bill who said they may press for the new testimony when the whole civil rights issue comes up for vote in the full committee on April 15.

Sat. 4-6-57

Senator McClellan is one of the Southern members of the Judiciary Committee demanding further hearings to explore what he terms, "evidence of perjury" by two witnesses."

P.7

"I want to get those folks back that we think perjured themselves and cross-examine them under oath," Sen. McClellan told newsmen. He would not mention their names but said they are a couple of witnesses the NAACP brought in to slander the South."

Although Senator McClellan declined to name the witnesses well informed sources here indicated that the witnesses referred to were Gus Coats, a Negro man formerly of Belzoni, Mississippi, now living in Chicago, and Beatrice Young, a Negro woman from Jackson, Mississippi.

Gremillion Chided For Loose Remarks

Weekly New Orleans, La.

Sat 5-4-57

Attorney General Jack P. F. Gremillion is not improving his reputation for honesty and fair-dealing in his talks on civil rights and justice for Negroes under present Louisiana laws. This opinion was expressed here Wednesday by Clarence A. Laws, field secretary of the National Associatin for the Advancement of Colored People.

P.1

Laws pointed out that the daily press quotes the Attorney general as saying before the Young Men's Business Club here last week that "Louisiana has adequate laws to protect the rights of suffrage."

Commenting on this statement Laws remarked, "How can anyone believe this in light of the fact that there are four parishes in the State with large Negro populations but without a single Negro registered voter. These parishes are East Carroll, Madison, Tensas and West Feliciana. Moreover, in a score of other parishes there is only a token registration. And all of this results from plans to deprive Negroes of their voting privileges.

"Add to this unhappy situation the fact that during the past year thousands of Negroes were unlawfully purged from registration rolls. Early this year, State Senator W. M. Rainach boasted that 90 per cent of Negro registered voters of the state could be disqualified 'legally."

"If these evils can prevail under 'adequate' laws we shudder to think what would happen under inadequate laws," Laws continued.

Gremillion was also quoted as saying, "And, in Louisiana, the taxpayer's dollar is used without discrimination."

On this point Laws observed, "any man who can face an audience and make that statement is totally devoid of a moral conscience or is totally ignorant of the racial facts of life in Louisiana."

Laws charged that neither Negro children nor Negro teachers are receiving a fair share of the "taxpayer's dollar." He pointed out that there are 23 tax supported trade schools in the state which completely exclude Negroes. He said that trades taught in these schools were not available to Negro students even on segregated basis.

Continuing Laws said, "In 1955 the State hired 34,384 persons. But except in the field of education, Negroes are totally excluded from state jobs.

"In spite of the fact that there are approximately 10,000 men in the Louisiana National Guard, which spends more than $7,000,000 in federal funds annually, there is not a single Negro guardsman in the program.

Sat. 5-4-57

"Add to this the fact that the state has appropriated or rather misappropriated $100,000 for sole purpose of defying the Supreme Court decision, one begins to appreciate Mr. Gremillion's recklessness with the truth.

"The Attorney General points out that the number of Negroes admitted to Charity Hospital more than doubles that of white patients. If Negroes are traditionally denied the better State training and job opportunities where would he expect them to have seek hospitalization?

"If the short-sighted politicians of Louisiana spent half as much time, energy and money in a positive program for human understanding and betterment, both the State and the Nation would be better served."

Justice Reed's Record

Afro American

If any AFRO reader were asked to put down what he considered to be his fundamental rights under the Constitution, he would probably list them in this order:

1. The right to vote;
2. The right to live where he pleases; and
3. The right to attend any public school and enjoy any tax-supported facility.

Sat. 2-16-57 Baltimore, M.D. P.4 10

All of these questions came before the Supreme Court during the 19-year period in which Mr. Justice Stanley Reed was a member.

For some unexplainable reason, the belief has become widespread that Justice Reed, who leaned more to the conservative side in his later years, was unsympathetic with our aspirations to first-class citizenship.

Nothing could be further from the truth.

Here is the record on the three basic issues:

APRIL 3, 1944—(Smith vs. Allwright) —abolished the white Democratic Primary granting the right to vote to millions of our people in the South for the first time in their lives.

Mr. Reed, who wrote this unanimous opinion, wrote in stern language, "The United States is a constitutional democracy. Its organic law grants to all citizens a right to participate in the choice of elected officials. Rights would be of little value if they could be thus (by the white primary device) indirectly denied."

MAY 3, 1948—(Shelley vs. Kraemer) —pulled the teeth of racial restrictive covenants, thus granting all Americans the right to live where they please.

Justice Reed, along with Justices Jackson and Rutledge abstained from participation in the unanimous decision because of personal reasons.

MAY 17, 1954—(Brown vs. Board of Education) — which declared segregation in public schools was unlawful. Mr. Reed voted with the other eight members in the court's unanimous opinion.

He voted with the unanimous court in opening the University of Oklahoma to Lois Sipeul Fisher and on the ruling in the G. W. McLaurin case that once admitted, a colored student could not be the target of discrimination.

He agreed in the Herman Sweatt case that a separate law school established for colored students by Texas was unequal to the University of Texas school because of "immeasurable intangibles."

And his vote with other members of the court upholding the validity of the 1873 Legislative Act, ended hotel and restaurant discrimination in the nation's capital.

But on the three matters basic to the freedom and equality of all Americans, Mr. Justice Reed has the impressive record of two affirmative votes and one abstention.

CIVIL RIGHTS BILL AMENDMENT URGED

Commercial Appeal Memphis, Tenn.

Recognition Of Sovereignty By States Wanted

Wed. 5-15-57

WASHINGTON, May 14.—(AP)—Representative John Ray (R., N. Y.) suggested Tuesday that the Administration's civil rights legislation be amended to recognize "the sovereignty of the states."

P.16

Mr. Ray, a Minnesota-born lawyer who used to be general counsel of the American Telephone & Telegraph Co., made his proposal at a meeting of the House Rules Committee.

He proposed that the United States attorney general be forbidden to prosecute civil rights cases in Federal courts, if adequate and speedy remedies are available in state courts.

The Rules Committee, which is to vote next Tuesday on clearing the legislation to the House floor, also heard from Representative W. J. Bryan (D., S. C.) and from Senator Samuel Ervin (D., N. C.), who has been carrying the ball for the bill's opposition in the Senate.

The bill would authorize the attorney general to seek injunctions against alleged violations of civil rights, and those who defied the injunctions would become liable to punishment for contempt of court. The legislation is aimed primarily at alleged mistreatment of Negroes in the South.

Since a judge could sentence a man for contempt, without a jury passing on the case, Mr. Ervin said the legislation is "incompatible with the American Constitution and legal system."

Mr. Ervin said Atty. Gen. Brownell wants to by-pass trial by jury, and added:

"He asks Congress to give the (Justice) Department some loaded dice. They are afraid they will lose some civil rights . . . if they have to convince juries. The motive behind this will is a desire to avoid jury trials."

Representative Dorn told the committee he had confidence in the states and believed "they are solving this problem."

Opposition to Rights Bill Growing, Says Forrester

Constitution P.34 Atlanta, Ga. Thurs. 5-16-57

By ALBERT RILEY
Constitution Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON, May 15—Opposition to proposed civil rights legislation will increase throughout the land as the people learn more about its farreaching implications, Rep. E. L. (Tic) Forrester declared today.

"The only thing that is needed to put this bill in disrepute is for the people to understand it," he told the House Rules Committee that is considering the administration or Brownell bill.

Forrester

"Not even Atty. Gen. Brownell or the authors of the bill understand it and what it would do to the rights of all the people, particularly the right of trial by jury," the Georgia congressman said.

Commenting that many members of Congress who originally supported the bill have now recanted, Forrester predicted that more proponents of the bill would do the same thing as they understood it better.

He welcomes those converts to "the mourner's bench," said the little lawmaker from Leesburg who has led the Southern fight in the House against the civil rights bill.

Declaring that the bill would "make a shambles of our constitution, our philosophies and our traditions," Forrester said more and more people are beginning to realize this.

"Day by day, the number of people opposing this iniquitous and violently dangerous legislation is rapidly increasing," he said.

"This legislation is not as popular as it was three years ago. It is not nearly as popular as it was in January of this year. It is not as popular as it was one week ago, and it is far more popular now than it will be even two months from now."

If Congress should pass it, Forrester predicted, "in a short time the people of this country will rise up and demand that it be wiped off the books and will wonder why we did not take time out to carefully weigh it . . ."

For three years, the Georgian said, organized pressure groups have been pushing for civil rights legislation with unsupported, hearsay testimony that such rights have been violated.

But it now gradually is dawning on the people, he argued, that adequate legislation has existed on the statute books since 1875 to protect the rights of all citizens.

Forrester's contentions were in line with his oft-stated theory that time is on the side of the South in current agitation for civil rights laws and that such legislation can be blocked permanently if it is defeated at this session of Congress.

The Georgian, who had prepared a 22-page, single-spaced "brief" of argument against the bill, barely got started in today's committee meeting before the panel had to recess for a quorum call on the floor of the House.

His scheduled time today was largely taken up by preceding speakers against the bill and he will resume his testimony tomorrow.

Two Republicans, Reps. Hyde of Maryland and Poff of Virginia, and a Texas Democrat, Rep. Dowdy, preceded Forrester.

Dowdy declared the bill would deprive the people of the right of trial by jury, free speech and freedom of the press and said it was the sort of law that "a Hitler would want."

Demos Sidestep Civil Rights Fuss

Post-Herald P.1 Sat. 5-4-57 B'ham, Ala.

WASHINGTON, May 3 (AP)—The Democratic National Committee sidestepped today an open fuss over the civil rights issue but slapped down a Southern effort to clip the wings of the party's new advisory council.

And, while nobody would say so, the civil rights question which has split the party in the past hovered in the background of the vote on the council's authority.

The council went on record in San Francisco last February for congressional action on civil rights. Today the Democratic national committeeman from Georgia, Denmark Groover, pushed an attempt to write into the proposed rules of the national committee a declaration which would reserve formulation of party policy for the committee and the national executive committee alone—not the advisory council.

That was rejected, National Chairman Paul Butler announced, by a 65-26 roll call vote. With exceptions from Connecticut, Delaware, and Missouri, he said, the 26 who voted with Groover were all from the South. He said there was one Texas vote Groover lost.

The committee was considering a 31-page document which would put in writing for the first time the rules governing its operations. It got a third of the way through during the day.

Butler said the main hurdle had been hopped with action on the Groover proposition.

Answering questions, the chairman said there was "no mention of civil rights" during the debate. The principal argument against permitting the advisory council of 23 to determine policy, Butler said, was that the national committee was surrendering its powers to an outside group.

On the other side, he continued it was pointed out that the 14 committee members who comprise the national executive committee serve on the council and comprise a majority. The nine council members not on the national committee include such persons as Former President Harry S. Truman, Presidential Nominee Adlai E. Stevenson and Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt.

Butler told reporters it was pointed out, too, during the arguments that Democratic leaders in Congress had "repudiated the creation" of the advisory council. House Speaker Rayburn and Senate Democratic Leader Lyndon Johnson, both of Texas, declined to serve on it.

Post-Herald

The chairman said that Southerners who got in on the debate "just expressed their own points of view without referring to the South." He said that "no dissatisfaction or deep cleavage was created by the vote this afternoon."

P.5.

The committee opened three days of party strategy sessions, to be highlighted tomorrow night by a $100-a-plate money raising dinner featuring Truman and Stevenson as orators.

What brought on the civil rights skirmish was a letter sent to Butler by Robert R. Nathan, chairman of Americans for Democratic Action. It called on the membership to "support meaningful civil rights legislation," including the Eisenhower administration's program. The letter said some Democratic senators are obstructing such ligislation by delay and deceit.

Thus a constant sore point within the Democratic Party was prodded again. And the national committeeman from Alabama, Charles W. McKay, jumped to his feet with a motion that the entire letter be stricken from the record of the meeting. Another Southerner, B. Everett Jordan, of North Carolina, seconded the motion.

The members jockeyed through several substitute proposals but finally voted unanimously for one offered by Edgar A. Brown of South Carolina that the letter be received as information and placed on file.

From the party treasurer, Mathew McCloskey, came a report that the party is in a sort of sad financial plight—the deficit has jumped from $470,000 last February to $660,000 now.

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Wilkins raps Dixie contempt of court jury trial pleas

Afro-American Baltimore, Md. Sat. 5-4-57

WASHINGTON

"Senator Ervin (D., N.C.) is eloquent in his demand for a jury trial for voting registrars who may be found to have disobeyed a court order under the terms of the pending civil rights bill (in contempt of court).

"He urges this despite the fact that while a member of the North Carolina Supreme Court he concurred on several occasions in affirming punishment for disobedience to injunctions."

Thus spoke Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, as he lashed out at Congressmen seeking the right to jury trials for persons accused of contempt under Federal court orders.

Mr. Wilkins was speaking Saturday evening at the banquet of the American Veterans Committee in Willard Hotel here.

He continued:

"The NAACP and other organizations and individuals are willing to take their chances under the centuries-old concept of civil action. The proponents of the "jury trial" argument would alter these concepts in order to assist in the perpetuation of the denial of the right of citizens to vote.

* * *

"JUST AS AT HOME they have tailored the law in accordance with local mores, so now in Washington they seek enactment of a tailormade law which will enable the home folks to continue to by-pass the Constitution.

"And, without the batting of an eye or even a tiny blush of shame they confuse and deceive the American people with the assertion that a constitutional right is about to be snatched away.

"The relationship of the colored citizen to his government is illustrated dramatically in the civil rights bill debate. He is disfranchised in numbers substantial enough to constitute a scandal in a society pretending to democratic political principles.

"And the very men who have come to power by reason of that disfranchisement are working, consciously or subconsciously, to prolong—after 90-odd years—the colored second class citizenship.

"IT IS A CERTAINTY that the colored voters, in the light of the trend in the election last November, will be watching with more than the usual alertness and understanding the performance of the Congress on the civil rights bill.

"If a "jury trial" amendment is included they will know that their interests have been betrayed.

"The delays engineered thus far by southern Democrats in committees of the House and Senate have brought home to them the very persuasive argument of the last campaign, namely, that southern Democrats in committee chairmanships constitute a roadblock to civil rights legislation.

"They are not unaware of the collusion of certain Republicans in this procedure and they are sure to weigh the whole as they approach the 1958 and 1960 elections.

Church plays vital role in extension of civil rights

Afro-American Baltimore, Md. Sat. 5-4-57

WASHINGTON (ANP)—"The churches of America have their greatest opportunity and their greatest challenge in extending and preserving the civil rights of all Americans," Congressman Henry S. Reuss (D. Wis.) told the Wesley Foundation in a speech at Rankin Memorial Chapel, Howard University, last week.

Speaking on the general topic of "The Implications of Politics for the Christian," Reuss declared that the increasing participation in civic and political life by religiously-minded citizens was one of the most encouraging developments in recent years for those who believe in human rights.

"I do not think there is any social institution with greater potential for improving race relations than the church," Reuss asserted.

"This is true of both the so-called 'white' churches and the 'colored' churches, and particularly in the South where the church has been a focal point in the lives of both white and colored citizens."

* * *

"STUDIES HAVE shown that the prejudiced American is more responsive to appeals based on the principles of Christian brotherhood than to arguments deprived from abstract political philosophy or based on loyalty to the 'American way of life.'"

Referring specifically to the colored church, Reuss said that he felt it would lose its influence if it did not take the lead in working for equal rights.

He praised the Rev. Martin Luther King and his ministerial colleagues in Montgomery, Ala., for their leadership in the campaign to end bus segregation.

Reuss said the churches have a big internal job to do so that eleven o'clock Sunday morning no longer will be "the most segregated hour in America."

He suggested to his student audience that political activity, by broadening horizons and making new contacts, would help break down this racial separateness among churches.

Church members can make their convictions about equality most quickly felt by political action, Reuss said.

He predicted a "better-than-even chance" that Congress would pass civil rights legislation this year, largely because the recent election had shown the power of voting by citizens who are concerned about equality.

RIGHTS BILL HEADS FOR SENATE TRAP AFTER HOUSE GAIN

Times P.1 Weds. 4-31-57 New York, N.Y.

Faces Maneuvers Designed to Split Backers—Drive on Budget Renewed

By C. P. TRUSSELL

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, April 29—The Administration's civil rights program fell into a Congressional trap today.

After having apparently gained ground in the Senate and the House of Representatives, it ran into parliamentary maneuvers that threatened to block passage.

Congress returned from its Easter recess with little major business ready for floor action.

Returning Senators however, showed increased determination to make substantial cuts in the President's $71,800,000,000 budget.

President Eisenhower planned, meanwhile, to return tomorrow from Augusta, Ga., ending his spring vacation. Today the President submitted to Congress a reorganization plan that would abolish the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. He also offered a revision of a tax treaty with Japan and nine nominations.

Trap Is in the Senate

Good news on civil rights legislation came from the House sides to proponents. The Rules Committee, the traffic director for bills, indicated that it would permit a floor showdown within two weeks.

Representative John W. McCormack of Massachusetts, the majority leader, predicted that the House would pass a civil rights bill by the end of May, as it has done before.

But the real obstacles are in the Senate.

That is where the traps developed today. All could lead to endless debate in committee and filibusters—the talking of a bill to death—on the floor.

Sponsors of civil rights legislation were encouraged at first when the Senate Judiciary Committee, headed by Senator James O. Eastland, Democrat of Mississippi, decided to make that legislation "the pending business." But amendments had been designed to divide civil rights proponents.

The Right-to-Work Plans

Some, it appeared, would pit a Senator's sympathy for labor against his desire for a civil rights bill. Others would upset a Supreme Court decision that exonerated a Communist leader convicted under a state anti-sedition law.

These moves were under consideration or waiting for committee test:

¶A so-called right-to-work amendment. This was sponsored by Chairman Eastland. Labor experts believed this would outlaw union and closed shops. It would make the "right to work" a Federally secured right, whether a man belonged to a union or not. This, it was assured, would be fought by organized labor and Senators favorable of labor.

¶A movement by opponents of the rights program to make "the right to work" a recognized civil right equal to that of being permitted to vote for Federal office.

¶An amendment by Senator John L. McClellan, Democrat of Arkansas, to impose penalties up to $1,000 in fines and a year in jail to those who exerted pressures to make workers join unions. It would give equal protection to union members coerced into abandoning their union.

These and other amendment proposals would make for long debates before a bill could be reported. Further, the agreement to take up the civil rights measure allowed for displacing it at any time to permit studies of nominations or private immigration bills, of which the committee has many.

In addition, civil rights could be displaced by a successful motion considering a bill to give absolute legality to any state's anti-sedition law.

This harked back to the exoneration of Steve Nelson, a Communist leader convicted of sedition under Pennsylvania law but who was exonerated by the Supreme Court last year on the ground that Federal law had precedence in the field.

Although the House Rules Committee decided to meet on Wednesday to set a date for hearings on the Administration's rights measure, Representative James Roosevelt, Democrat of California, filed a petition designed to force the legislation from the committee control and send it to the floor.

The Roosevelt petition would require the signatures of 218 members of the House, a majority. It was doubted that the required number would be supplied. Representative Howard H. Smith, the chairman of the Rules Committee, said before the Easter recess that he viewed the situation realistically. Although a foe of civil rights bills, the Virginia Democrat said he realized that a two-thirds majority of the committee favored civil rights programs.

So the committee hearings, he indicated, would be only to hear members of the Judiciary Committee and some Southerners who wanted to testify, after which the release for floor action would be a formality.

House Unit To Revise Rights Bill

Post + Times Herald P.2-A Thurs. 3-21-57 Washington D.C.

United Press

The House Judiciary Committee decided yesterday to revise the form of the civil rights bill it approved Monday, a move which will prolong clearance of the measure for House action.

The Committee agreed to submit a "clean" bill to the House Rules Committee instead of the marked-up version. It also will send along a report on the measure including minority views.

Knowland Pledges Filibuster Fight

Advertiser Tues. 4-30-57

By Congressional Quarterly

Montgomery Ala. WASHINGTON.

P. 4-a

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THE top lobbyist for civil rights legislation has been assured by congressional leaders they will back a major effort to pass the stalled bill right after the Easter recess.

Senate Republican Leader William F. Knowland of California will lead the fight against any attempt by Southerners to defeat the legislation through a Senate filibuster, the chief hurdle the bill must clear.

CONGRESSIONAL CQ QUARTERLY

This emerged in an interview with Clarence Mitchell, chief lobbyist for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Mitchell said Knowland promised the NAACP he himself would lead the fight, if necessary, to break a filibuster on the legislation to guarantee such civil rights as voting.

Knowland confirmed the promise. He also said he would move to call up the civil rights bill for floor consideration in the Senate if the Democratic leadership did not do so within a reasonable time.

Asked if he would seek to invoke cloture to shut off the filibuster, Knowland said, "Not necessarily cloture. There are other parliamentary maneuvers." He did not elaborate.

It takes the vote of 64 of the 96 senators to invoke cloture. It is questionable if the pro-civil righters could round up that many votes on the civil rights measure.

But Mitchel said he was optimistic about the bills clearing both committees by mid-May. There are four anti-civil righters o nthe 15-member Senate Jurighters on the 15-member Senate Juable," Mitchell said, "that four men can thwart the will of the 11 others once those 11 make up their minds to get the bill out of committee."

As for the House Rules Committee, Mitchell said Rep. Leo E. Allen (R-Ill), the committee's ranking Republican, promised him the rights bill would clear there May 10. In addition Rep. James Roosevelt (D-Calif) will file a discharge petition April 29 in case it is needed to blast the bill out of the Rules Committee.

The Rules Committee is the gateway most bills must go through to get to the House floor. A discharge petition signed by 218 representatives can push a bill through the Rules Committee, regardless of the chairman's wishes.

AN OBSTACLE to the rights bill outside the parliamentary ones concerns proposed federal authority to force the hand of local voting registrars. Under the bill, for example, the federal government could get a civil court order demanding that a registrar allow someone to vote. If the registrar refused, he could be tried in federal court for contempt without benefit of an indictment or jury trial. Some senators and representatives contend this authority poses a threat to individual and states rights.

Mitchell termed the jury issue a

The "clean" bill incorporates Committee amendments to President Eisenhower's 4-point civil rights program. The action makes no change in the bill's provisions but it will delay getting it before the Rules Committee for clearance to the House floor.

Rules Committee Chairman Howard W. Smith (D-Va.) has indicated his group will hear congressional opponents before acting.

The Senate Constitutional Rights Subcommittee Tuesday approved the 4-point civil rights program and sent it to the parent Senate Judiciary Committee. But the measure faces a tough uphill Senate fight from Southern Democrats.

The bill provides for establishment of a bi-partisan commission to investigate civil rights violations; a civil rights division in the Justice Department headed by an assistant attorney general; greater protection for voting rights of Negroes; and authority for the Justice Department to bring civil suits in Federal courts to prevent civil rights violations.

Other parliamentary maneuvers sometimes used to fight filibusters are around-the-clock sessions and strict adherence to rules requiring a member to stand, while speaking, without so much as touching his desk. The around-the-clock sessions are designed to exhaust the filibusterers.

Mitchell sees the Senate filibuster as the biggest single obstacle to getting a civil rights bill passed this year. But because of Knowland's pledge for help and other assurances on the House side, Mitchell termed the prospects for passage "very good."

In the House, Mitchell said he has received promises of action on the rights bill right after Congress' Easter recess from both Majority Leader John W. McCormack (D-Mass) and Minority Leader Joseph W. Martin Jr. (R-Mass). Last year the House passed a civil rights bill by a 279-126 vote, but the legislation never got past the Senate Judiciary Committee.

CONGRESS went home for Easter with civil rights bills stalled in the Judiciary Committee of the Senate and Rules Committee of the House. Both committees are chaired by arch foes of civil rights legislation—Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss) and Rep. Howard W. Smith (D-Va).

"phony," adding that the NAACP never could accept opposition against the rights bill on that ground as legitimate.

The NAACP has lobbied extensively for the bill, both on Capitol Hill and back home. It also has been urging greater activity on the part of the Administration. Asked how he regarded President Eisenhower's support of civil rights, Mitchell said, "Well, we appreciate what he has done but we wish he would go a little further."

Special stress on Capitol Hill has been put on getting friendly members of civil rights committees to attend all hearings, even to the point of often routing absent members from their offices. The NAACP is joined in its efforts on behalf of the rights bill by such organizations as the AFL-CIO, Americans for Democratic Action, American Civil Liberties Union, American Veterans Committee and the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League.

His lobbying job, Mitchell said, was made a lot easier by the 1956 election statistics. "The Democrats," he explained, "learned they must do something to make up for their anti-Negro Southern committee chairmen, while the Republicans found out they could win Negroes away from the Democrats."

Restrictive Legislation Scored By B'nai B'rith

Herald Sat. 5-11-57 B'ham, Ala. P. 4

NEW YORK — Judge David A. Rose of Boston, chairman of the Civil Rights Committee of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, scored "restrictive legislation and administrative measures" adopted in several Southern states because of the desegregation issue which he declared "threatened the existence of all voluntary organizations concerned with public affairs."

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In a report to the National Executive Committee of the League, he said that the state actions in the first instance aimed against the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People creates "a dangerous precedent which in the future might be used against organizations of other racial and religious groups."

Some state legislatures have authorized investigations designed to force the NAACP to disclose its membership and those who financially support it, Judge Rose said. Other states have utilized existing laws against lobbying activities and laws dealing with out-of-state corporations to subject NAACP to the requirement of registration. Judge Rose noted that "in Louisiana, ironically, a law enacted originally against the Ku Klux Klan has been the basis for action by which the NAACP was enjoined from operating in the state unless it filed its membership list."

In some states, he added, laws were passed prohibiting school teachers from being members of NAACP. The Texas House of Representatives approved a bill barring NAACP from all public employment in the state.

Acting on Judge Rose's report, the League adopted a resolution affirming its opposition to such measures "that tend to inhibit the rights of any organization to take action in the furtherance of its program in conformity with the U. S. Constitution for the defense and expansion of civil rights."

10 1957

Rights Action Delayed Amid North's Warning

Post-Times Herald Tues. 4-16-57

Washington D.C.

By Robert C. Albright
Staff Reporter

Senate Judiciary Committee action on the Administration's civil rights bill was postponed until after Easter yesterday amid warnings by some Northern Democrats that time may be running out on the measure.

Sen. Paul H. Douglas (D-Ill.) said that unless legislation is reported to the Senate floor by May 1 the probability of enacting a civil rights program this year will considerably diminish.

The Illinois Democrat hinted at a possible move by civil rights advocates to discharge the Senate Judiciary Committee, headed by Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss.), if a report on the bill is long delayed.

Gives Praise to Hearings

Douglas praised Sen. Thomas C. Hennings Jr. (D-Mo.), chairman of the Constitutional Rights Subcommittee, for his "fine fight" to shake the civil rights bill loose, but warned:

"If we do not get a bill reported promptly, it may be necessary for us to move to discharge the Judiciary Committee, in order to bring out a bill."

Sen. Matthew M. Neely (D-W. Va.) similarly suggested that a discharge motion may be the only way to get early senate action. Neely said the way the Committee is proceeding it will never bring out a bill.

"You are going to get judgment on judgment day," Neely said.

Hennings, whose Subcommittee recommended the civil rights program, meanwhile sought a showdown for the fourth straight week in the Judiciary Committee.

Motion Countered

But Hennings' motion to proceed to a vote by May 6, was promptly countered by a Southern substitute motion to postpone action, offered by Sen. Sam J. Ervin Jr. (D-N. C.) Ervin argued the Committee should have more time to study the civil rights hearings.

The Committee adjourned at noon, without acting on either motion, but Chairman Eastland said it probably will begin considering the bill at its next meeting, April 29. Asked when the Committee would vote, Eastland said that depended on its ability to maintain a quorum, and the time consumed on amendments.

Hennings withheld any commitment on proposals to discharge the Committee, a course rarely taken in the Senate. He said he will continue to fight to bring the bill to a Committee vote, however.

Although the Judiciary Committee took no vote on the civil rights bill, or on any civil rights motion, it did approve, by an 8-to-5 vote, a bill to hold up further sales by the Government of General Analine and Film Corp. and other alien properties seized in this country during World War II.

Pattern is Familiar

On this vote Republicans present, with one exception, lined up with Southern Democrats for the alien property bill in a familiar coalition pattern.

It was this pattern of voting in the House that recently gave rise to reports of a GOP-Dixie "deal" to delay action on the civil-rights bill. The "deal" stories started up after 38 Democrats, mostly from the South, voted with House Republicans to defeat the so-called Patman resolution for a House Banking Committee inquiry into fiscal and monetary policies. Top Republicans in the House and Senate have denied there is any "deal."

The bill reported yesterday would suspend Government sales of the seized alien properties "pending a final determination by Congress of national policy with respect to payment" for General Analine and other property. The bill was jointly sponsored by Sens. Everett M. Dirksen (R-Ill.) and Olin D. Johnston (D-S. C.). Johnston moved to report it out, and Dirksen seconded.

Civil Rights Bill Back In Spotlight

Post-Herald P.1 B'ham, Ala. Mon. 4-29-57

WASHINGTON, April 28 (AP)—With the return of Congress tomorrow from a 10-day Easter vacation, President Eisenhower is expected to reinforce efforts of his Senate and House leaders to get action on his lagging legislative program.

On tap immediately is another meeting of the Senate Judiciary Committee on the administration's civil rights bill. The measure has languished since it was approved by a 4-2 subcommittee vote last March 19.

Chairman Eastland (D., Miss.) has said that "in all probability" the committee will begin consideration of the measure at tomorrow's meeting, but he declined any prediction on how long it might take to reach a showdown vote.

Time is of the essence since Southern foes of the bill have vowed to try to filibuster it to death as they have done other civil rights measures in the past, if it is reported out of committee and brought up for action in the Senate.

Even before the Easter recess, Senate Republican Leader Knowland of California served notice of increased pressure to shake the bill loose from the Judiciary Committee where it died last year after being passed by the House shortly before adjournment.

Knowland said he would object to any Judiciary Committee members conducting hearings away from Washington until after the committee acts on the civil rights bill.

Close associates of Eisenhower said that, with his return from Augusta, Ga. Tuesday, he can be expected to take a hand in efforts to push along not only the civil rights bill but other key parts of his program, such as foreign aid, federal aid for school construction and increased immigration of refugees.

With four months of the present session already gone, no hearings have been held on Eisenhower's refugee proposals in either the House or the Senate. A House education subcommittee has approved a school aid bill, but no action has been taken in the Senate.

The President's $4,400,000,000 foreign aid program has run up against a budget cutting drive.

The civil rights bill has been approved by the House Judiciary Committee, but before it can be brought up in the House for action it must win clearance from the Rules Committee.

House passage of the civil rights bill is generally expected, however, once again making the Senate the decisive battleground.

The Southerners' filibuster weapon becomes increasingly effective as adjournment approaches because appropriation bills and other measures begin to pile up. So far the Senate has not passed any of the regular money bills for the new fiscal year starting July 1, although several have cleared the House.

GOP Denies Rights 'Deal' With South

Advertiser Wed. 4-10-57 Montgomery, Ala. P.1

Reports That Issue May Be Kept Alive Until '58 Squashed

WASHINGTON, April 9 (AP)—Republican congressional leaders said today they have no "deal" with Southern Democrats to delay action on civil rights legislation for another year. Sen. Eastland (D-Miss) agreed there is no such arrangement.

Senate GOP Leader Knowland (Calif) and House Republican Chief Martin (Mass) were asked about this after their regular weekly meeting at the White House with President Eisenhower.

They told newsmen there was nothing to such reports — that, in fact, they look for early action in both the Senate and House on Eisenhower's civil rights program.

Rep. Bolling (D-Mo) had said he suspects a "deal" may have been arranged.

REPORTS LACED

Reports of such an arrangement have been laced with speculation that Republicans might be willing to keep the civil rights issue alive until 1958 in order to plague the Democrats and split North and South on the question in an election year.

Eastland, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee which is considering the administration bill, was asked if he had any agreement with Republican members to stall the program which he opposes.

"No, sir," he replied, then added with a quick grin, "I wish I had."

Chairman Bridges (NH) of the Senate GOP Policy Committee, a supporter of the administration bill, also said he knew of no "deal."

Southern opponents have sought to stall the measure's progress at every turn, and have succeeded up to now in delaying final committee votes in both branches of Congress.

EASTER RECESS

But Martin said he expects a bill will clear the House Rules Committee soon after Congress returns from an Easter recess which is scheduled to start April 18.

Chairman Smith (D-Va) of the rules group said yesterday his committee will hold hearings on the proposal after the recess. He conceded the committee will approve a bill and aid the hearings "won't be too long."

Knowland said the Senate Republican leadership is doing its best to get early action. The Senate Judiciary Committee now is considering the legislation but couldn't take any action on it at a meeting yesterday because a quorum before April 29.

Southerners are certain to filibuster any attempt to bring a civil rights bill to a vote on the Senate floor.

KNOWLAND PLEDGES FILIBUSTER BATTLE

Commercial Appeal P.32

Capitol Leaders Promise Rights Bill Backing

Memphis Tenn.

MANEUVERING IS SEEN

Thurs. 4-25-57

Special to The Commercial Appeal

WASHINGTON, April 24.—The top lobbyists for civil rights legislation has been assured by Congressional leaders they will back a major effort to pass the stalled bill right after the Easter recess.

Senate Republican Leader William F. Knowland of California will lead the fight against any attempt by southerners to defeat the legislation through a Senate filibuster, the chief hurdle the bill must clear.

This emerged in a Congressional Quarterly interview with Clarence Mitchell, chief lobbyist for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Mitchell said Senator Knowland promised the NAACP he himself would lead the fight, if necessary, to break a filibuster on the legislation to guarantee such civil rights as voting.

Senator Knowland confirmed the promise when questioned by

Congressional Quarterly. He also said he would move to call up the civil rights bill for floor consideration in the Senate if the Democratic leadership did not do so within a reasonable time.

Cloture

Asked if he would seek to invoke cloture to shut off the filibuster, the senator said, "Not necessarily cloture. There are other parliamentary maneuvers." He did not elaborate.

It takes the vote of 64 of the 96 senators to invoke cloture. It is questionable if the pro-civil righters could round up that many votes on the civil rights measure.

Other parliamentary maneuvers sometimes used to fight filibusters are around-the-clock sessions and strict adherence to rules requiring a member to stand, while speaking, without so much as touching his desk. The around-the-clock sessions are designed to exhaust the filibusterers.

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Rights Bill Stalled

Congress went home for Easter with civil rights bills stalled in the Judiciary Committee of the Senate and Rules Committee of the House. Both committees are chaired by arch foes of civil rights legislation — Senator James O. Eastland (D., Miss.) and Representative Howard W. Smith (D., Va.).

But Mitchell said he was optimistic about the bills clearing both committees by mid-May. There are four anti-civil righters on the 15-member Senate Judiciary Committee. "It is just inconceivable," Mitchell said, "that four men can thwart the will of the 11 others once those 11 make up their minds to get the bill out of Committee."

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The Rules Committee is the gateway most bills must go through to get to the House floor. A discharge petition signed by 218 representatives can push a bill through the Rules Committee, regardless of the chairman's wishes.

Obstacle

An obstacle to the rights bill outside the parliamentary ones concerns proposed Federal authority to force the hand of local voting registrars. Under the bill, for example, the Federal Government could get a civil court order demanding that a registrar allow someone to vote. If the registrar refused, he could be tried in Federal court for contempt without benefit of an indictment or jury trial. Some senators and representatives contend this authority poses a threat to individual and states rights.

Mitchell termed the jury issue a "phony," adding that the NAACP never could accept opposition against the rights bill on that ground as legitimate.

The NAACP has lobbied extensively for the bill, both on Capitol Hill and back home. It also has been urging greater activity on the part of the Administration. Asked how he regarded President Eisenhower's support of civil rights, Mitchell said, "Well, we appreciate what he has done but we wish he would go a little farther."

Attorney General Says Civil Rights Law Legal

Call Fri. 4-5-57 P.4

Kansas City, Mo.

In an informal opinion, the attorney general of the state of Missouri has ruled that the City Council of Kansas City DOES have the authority to enact a civil rights ordinance.

Several years ago when the NAACP, the Women's Civil Rights committee and other organizations were pressing for passage of a civil rights ordinance, an opinion was issued by the late David Proctor, then city counselor, to the effect that the City Council did not have the right to enact such a law.

Many lawyers took exception to the Proctor viewpoint but members of the City Council were guided by his ruling.

The opinion recently issued by Attorney General John M. Dalton says that the City council has the power to issue a civil rights ordinance under article 1, section 1, subsection 61 of the city charter.

This is known as the "general welfare clause" of the charter and grants the council the power to enact all needful ordinances for "preserving order, promoting the public health, safety, convenience, comfort, morals, prosperity and general interest and welfare" and for "insuring good government of the city."

In his opinion, Dalton said:

"Certain other subsections of article 1, section I, such as subsections 29 and 44, for example, authorize the city to prohibit or regulate acts, or practices considered detrimental to the general welfare, and subsection 57 authorizes the regulation of business and callings.

"Article I, Section 2, says that the enumeration of any particular power shall not be construed to limit any general grant of power in the charter.

"Consequently, in my opinion, the city has the authority under the enumerated grants of power to enact so-called "civil rights" ordinance if it is determined that such is "needful" for "preserving order" or for the promotion of "the public safety, convenience, comfort, morals, or for the promotion of the "general interest and welfare" or for "insuring good government of the city" etc.

"Very likely the city could enact a so-called "civil rights" ordinance defining certain acts or practices of private individuals or business to be "detrimental to the general welfare," and likely such ordinance would stand if it could be proven that such are injurious or detrimental. Kansas City already has an ordinance, No. 39,020, that forbids anonymous literature which exposes any person or group to hatred, contempt or ridicule, etc.

"The need gives rights to the power to enact the ordinance normally. Whether or not a need exists must obviously be determined from the existing facts."

The attorney general issued his informal opinion in this matter at the request of Rep. J. McKinley Neal, member of the state legislature from the fourth legislative district. Neal said that he sought the opinion for one of his constituents.

Dalton issued the opinion informally, explaining that it could not be an official opinion inasmuch as "it is not within our (the attorney general's) province to furnish advice or opinions either to private individuals or to cities. Therefore, our opinions can be only our personal opinion and nothing more."

Many civic groups over a period of years have sought passage of a law which would prohibit places of public accommodation from denying service to persons because of their race, creed or color. The attorney general's informal opinion probably will revive attempts to get such an ordinance introduced in the council.

An ordinance of this kind was mentioned several times at the public hearing held on Saturday, March [illegible] at the City Hall on restaurant discrimination. Several of the 51 [illegible] who spoke said that their organizations favored passage of a civil rights ordinance. The hearing was held by the Kansas City Commission on Human Relations.

Say Riders May Kill Rights Bill

Defender Sat. 4-27-57 P.5

Chicago, Ill.

WASHINGTON — (INS) — Sen. Karl Mundt (R) S. D., said Sunday that "it is a reasonably good bet that if civil rights legislation gets to the senate floor, liberals will wind up voting against it."

He said he expects amendments to be nailed to the legislation which will make it impossible for those "who are talking the most in favor of it, to vote for it in the end."

However, Mundt told an interviewer that there are so many difficulties ahead for the bill it may never be brought up this year. It is now bottled up in the senate judiciary committee.

Mundt said: "You may find the bill so laden down with amendments affecting various rights and covering such a wide area that southern Democrats will decide they can live with the legislation and you will have the 'liberals' voting against it."

He said he felt pretty sure that an amendment will be approved, perhaps in committee, to guarantee a jury trial for those accused of ignoring a government injunction obtained to prevent Civil Rights offenses.

Such an amendment has been introduced by Sens. Harry F. Byrd (D) Va., Strom Thurmond (D) S. C., and Sen. James Eastland (D) Miss.

Mundt said the tip-off on what likely will happen on this issue came when Sen. Joseph C. O'Mahoney (D) Wyo., lined up in the subcommittee with southern opponents against the provisions which he felt would place in jeopardy the right to trial by jury.

O'Mahoney, considered a senate liberal, voted to send the bill to the full committee although opposed to some provisions.

But Mundt said that if lawmakers like O'Mahoney desert the "ardent civil righters on this issue, it is pretty clear a jury trial guarantee will go in the bill."

BROWNELL RECITES CIVIL RIGHTS STAND

Commercial Appeal P. 7

Says He Still Is In Favor Of Administration Bill

Memphis Tenn

'INCIDENTS' RECALLED

Thurs 4-25-57

From The Commercial Appeal Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, April 24. — Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell declared Wednesday that after considering recent arguments against the Administration's controversial civil rights bill he is still convinced it is "desirable, sound, and appropriate."

'Should Have Powers'

He said he has reconsidered the measure "in the light of congressional and other criticism and suggestions, and is of the view previously expressed to the Congress that this legislation is desirable, sound, and appropriate."

"Events may make more urgent the need for passage of the legislation," he said, "but whether the need for passage of the legislation increases or decreases, the Department of Justice should have the more flexible civil powers provided by the bill."

He said the bill's injunctive provisions are needed so the department will not be restricted to the "cumbersome and often harsh criminal proceedings" available under present Federal laws.

The attorney general's views, which apparently covered recent objections to the bill's failure to guarantee jury trials in contempt cases, were outlined in his annual report to Congress on Justice Department activities during the past year.

Continuing, he said:

"During the year several shocking incidents attracted nationwide attention and were the cause of a great amount of pressure on the department of intervene or investigate, despite the lack of Federal jurisdiction.

"These were the killing of Rev. George W. Lee, the shooting of Gus Courts, both NAACP leaders in Mississippi, and the kidnaping and murder of Emmett Louis Till.

'Thousands Of Letters'

"Many thousands of letters were received with demands from all over the country for intervention by the department. No prosecutive action was taken, however, because in each instance investigation showed that the facts and circumstances amounted only to violations of state law."

10 1957

House Passes 'Rights' Bill; Another Perfected

Call Kansas City, Missouri — Fri. 4-19-57 — P. 20

JEFFERSON CITY, Mo. — With Rep. J. McKinley Neal of Kansas City and Rep. James P. Troupe of St. Louis piloting them through, the House of Representatives this week passed one civil rights bill and perfected another for passage right after the Easter recess.

By vote of 82 to 17, the House Tuesday, April 9, passed House bill No. 164 which prohibits discrimination in employment by any state agency. The bill now goes to the Senate. The bill was handled on the floor by Representatives Neal and Troupe.

On Wednesday, with Rep. Neal serving as floor leader, the House perfected House bill No. 125 which creates a State Commission on Human Rights. The bill was perfected and advanced on the calendar for final passage after a bitter fight on the floor led by Mrs. Clara Aiken Speer, Republican member of the House from the eighth district of Jackson county.

Mrs. Speer wanted to remove from the bill the commission's power to subpoena witnesses and to administer oaths, but the House voted to perfect the bill by voice vote, overriding the objections of Mrs. Speer and other opponents.

Mrs. Speer said on the floor that Negroes are "doing pretty well" the bill, Neal succeeded in convincing a majority of the House members that House bill No. 125 should be passed without changes.

The bill creates a commission of 11 members to be appointed by the governor, one from each congressional district. They would and should be satisfied with the progress they are making.

Makes Vigorous Speeck

In a vigorous speech in favor of serve without compensation.

The commission would have the power to receive and investigate complaints and initiate its own investigations of a racial, religious, ethnic prejudice, intolerance, bigotry and disorder occasioned thereby;

(b) discrimination against any person, group of persons, organization or corporation, whether practiced by private persons, associations, corporations or other organizations or by state officials or state agencies.

The commission would have the further power to hold both public and private hearings, to compel the attendance of witnesses, administer oaths, take the testimony of any person under oath and in connection therewith to require the production of any evidence relating to any matter under investigation or in question before the commission.

The bill has the backing of Governor James T. Blair Jr.

Believes 164 Will Pass

House bill 164 prevents any state government agency from refusing to employ persons because of their race, color or creed.

All of the Democratic representatives from Jackson county voted for the bill except Rep. Harry Keller and Rep. Cornelius Costello who did not vote on the matter. Rep. Dwight Beals, Republican, voted "present." Mrs. Speer voted against the bill.

Voting in favor of House bill 164 were Representatives Frank C. Mazzuca, Joseph M. Tanner, M. E. Bauer, J. McKinley Neal, Ansucker, Floyd L. Snyder Sr., and thony D. Pickrell, James R. Hun-Ross Nichols.

Rep. Neal, a member of the legislature for 10 years from the fourth district of Jackson county, feels certain that House bill 164 will be passed by the senate. He also predicts passage of House bill 125.

"We will end this session of the legislature with three out of five bills definitely enacted into law," Neal believes. He referred to House bills 125, 164 and 163 which amends the school enumeration law so that color is not a basis of the count and removes the provision for separate schools from the state statutes. This bill already has passed the House and is before the Senate.

The two other civil rights bills which probably will pass the House but will have rough sledding in the Senate, Neal said, are Nos. 162, the public accommodations bill, and 161, FEPC bill.

J. MCKINLEY NEAL

Civil Rights Bill Again Put Off

Post Herald Tues. 4-16-57 B'ham, Ala. P. 1

Eastland Won't Set Voting Date

WASHINGTON, April 15 (AP)—The Senate Judiciary Committee put off action on the civil rights issue again today, but Chairman Eastland (D., Miss.) said it probably would begin considering the legislation April 29.

Eastland wouldn't predict when the committee might take a vote, but Sen. Neely (D., W. Va.) offered an estimate that it never would.

Neely, who supports the proposed legislation, said that if action depends on what the committee does, "you are going to get judgment on Judgment Day."

Two motion were reported to have been made at today's closed session, with neither of them coming to a vote. Sen. Hennings (D., Mo.) offered a motion to take a vote on May 6 and Sen Ervin (D., N. C.) offered one to postpone consideration.

Eastland said the two motions were discussed, but the committee adjourned at noon without action and probably will not meet again until April 29. That is when the Easter recess will end.

"At that time," Eastland told reporters, "in all probability, we will begin consideration of the bill."

The principal legislation being considered is a bill offered by the Eisenhower administration and aimed primarily at the protection of Negroes' civil rights in the South.

Plans Showdown Fight On Civil Rights Bill

Defender Sat. 4-27-57 Chicago, Ill. P. 6

By ETHEL L. PAYNE

WASHINGTON — Congressman James Roosevelt (D. Cal.) said Wednesday he would file a discharge petition for the Celler bill on civil rights on Tuesday, April 30.

The bill is currently bottled up in the Rules Committee of the House, headed by Rep. Howard Smith (D. Va.)

A discharge petition, which has the effect of moving out a piece of legislation for action on the floor when it becomes stuck in committee, requires the signatures of a majority of the House.

EXPRESSES HOPE

Roosevelt said he was confident that he could get a majority to back his petition. So far, the opposition has succeeded in stalling any action until after the Easter recess.

The same thing has occurred in the Senate where the bill is bottled up in the Judiciary committee.

There are persistent reports that Lester Granger will head a fusion ticket to run against Hulan Jack for the presidency of the borough of Manhattan in November of this year. Granger is being backed by a powerful group of wealthy industrialists and the Metropolitan club of New York.

NAME SUPPORTERS

His supporters are said to include John Roosevelt, son of late President, Nelson Rockefeller, Elizabeth Firestone Willis and her husband Charles Willis.

The announcement may come this week.

At the same time, the Defender learned that the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., is seriously considering an offer from the Union Baptist church of New York to become its pastor. The church, which was formerly one of the largest in New York, has lost membership in recent years.

King's father, the Rev. Martin Luther King, Sr., pastor of a church in Atlanta, is said to be strongly opposed to the idea, along with Rev. William Holmes Borders, pastor of the Wheat Street Baptist church and other leading ministers in the resistance movement.

Efforts to reach Rev. King for comment on the report were unsuccessful; but sources close to him say the young minister feels he is now riding the crest of a wave of popularity which may subside and leave him to oblivion.

On the other hand, his backers are trying to persuade him that his place is on the firing in the South, giving the same kind of effective spiritual leadership to the freedom movement which has brought it world wide fame.

CIVIL RIGHTS SEEN AT CRUCIAL POINT

Commercial Appeal P. 66 Memphis, Tenn. Thurs. 4-11-57

Judiciary Group Meeting May Have Bearing

WASHINGTON, April 10.—(AP)—Senator Thomas C. Hennings (Dem., Mo.) said Kednesday the next meeting of the Senate Judiciary Committee, scheduled next Monday, will have a "crucial" bearing on the fate of civil rights legislation at this session of Congress.

Senator Hennings is chairman of a Judiciary Subcommittee which, on March 19, approved by a 4-2 vote a bill to carry out the civil rights program recommended by President Eisenhower.

He said he has been trying ever since to get the full committee to set a date for acting on the measure but that, so far, "I have not been given adequate support by a sufficient number" of other committee members.

He said he will ask for a roll-call vote next Monday on a motion ot set a definite date, "as soon as possible," for voting on the legislation.

At the weekly meeting of the committee scheduled last Monday, only seven of the 15 members showed up. After waiting for an hour for a majority to appear, Chairman James O. Eastland (Dem., Miss.) called the session off.

Action Is Urged on Civil Rights

Times Picayune Tues. 4-16-57 New Orleans, La. P. 47

NEW YORK, April 15 (AP) — The American Jewish Committee, completing its five-day 50th anniversary observance, has urged support of President Eisenhower's civil rights program and an end to "dilatory tactics" by Congress.

After a debate by the Resolutions Committee, attended by most of the 1,000 delegates from 600 communities in the United States, the committee challenged "extended congressional deliberations which frustrate the passage of federal civil rights legislation."

In particular, the committee urged Congress to set up a bipartisan commission on civil rights, to be appointed by the President, to investigate violations of civil rights and to study the laws and policies of the federal government in this field.

The committee also urged enactment of legislation to provide an additional assistant attorney general to supervise a civil rights division in the Justice Department.

The committee also voiced support for federal legislation to provide new civil violations and to provide the means of further securing and protecting the right to vote.

RIGHTS BILL

Ward

Sen. Eastland In Command As Bill Gets Run-around

Wed. 4-24-57 B'ham, Ala. P.1

BY ALICE A. DUNNIGAN

WASHINGTON (ANP)—The weekly progress report on the status of civil rights bills has begun to sound like a broken record. Every Monday the Eastland Judiciary Committee goes behind closed doors and each day at noon Senator Hennings emerges with the same old story.

Last week marked the fourth try by the Missouri Senator to get some action on the measure but once again his efforts were stalled. This time he moved to set May 6 as the specific date to vote on the measure which has already been approved by the Hannings subcommittee on Constitutional Rights.

Senator Sam Ervin (D., N. C.) offered a substitute motion to postpone the vote until the minority has had an opportunity to examine the report of the subcommittee hearings.

SAME TECHNIQUE

The committee adjourned at noon without taking action on either motion. This was the same same technique which was used in the first two executive meetings. The chairman refused to recognize Hennings until near time for adjournment. At the third meeting last week, Hannings could not offer his motion because of the lack of a quorum.

Congress adjourned for the Easter recess and will not resume until April 29. Chairman Eastland announced that in all probability the committee will begin consideration of civil rights on that date.

DISCHARGE ACTION

Sen. Matthew Neely (D., W. Va.) a proponent of the bill has been unable to take an active part in committee proceedings because of illness. Upon his return to the post of duty he has already observed that civil rights measures will never get out of the Eastland committee unless Senate takes it out by a discharge petition.

Senator Hennings the chief supporter of the measure, said he had not come to that conclusion yet.

With all the important appropriation bills coming up in the Senate after the Easter recess, observers on Capitol Hill, believed that the committee will be able to keep civil rights bottled up until mid May. If it desen't reach the floor before that time it will be hard to break a Senate fillibuster in time to pass in this session.

Pass Civil Rights Bill, Brownell Report Urges

Post & Times Herald P.2-A
Afro. 4-25-57

Attorney General Herbert Brownell Jr. said yesterday the Justice Department came under "great pressure" in the past year to intervene in "shocking" civil rights cases. But he said the Department lacked the legal authority to act.

Washington, D.C.

He called on Congress in his annual report to pass the Administration's four-point civil bill to give his Department "more flexible" powers in civil rights cases.

Among the cases cited by Brownell were the murder of the Rev. George W. Lee and the shooting of Gus Courts, both officials of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Mississippi. He also mentioned the Emmett Till case.

"Many thousands of letters were received with demands from all over the country for intervention by the Department," he said. But he said no action was possible "because in each instance, investigation showed" the incidents involved violations only of state laws.

In the field of labor racketeering, Brownell said his Department has carried on a "concerted drive" against the "hoodlums and racketeers" who have infiltrated the labor movement.

Other features of Brownell's report:

- The U. S. Communist Party has suffered such heavy losses in membership and influence that it is in a critical condition.
- A total of $60 million was recovered for the Treasury in taxpayers' refund suits concluded last year.
- A total of 67 antitrust cases was concluded last year, the largest number in 10 years.

ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Afro-American

'Act Now,' Baptists Urge U.S. Congress

Baltimore, Md. P.5
Sat. 4-27-57

CHICAGO—Millions of Baptists throughout the country this week joined other Christians and citizens from all sections of the United States in an Urge-Congress Movement.

Taking account of the lack of speed in enacting civil rights legislation, Dr. Joseph H. Jackson, president, National Baptist Convention, Inc., said Saturday he is enlisting a committee of leaders throughout the country to formulate resolutions.

The resolutions will urge prompt enactment of civil rights measures which were introduced at the opening of Congress in January but are still stymied in committees.

* * *

THE RESOLUTIONS which will stress ten points are expected to be ready for presentation to Congress at the end of the month.

Significant among the points to be stressed is that "The Congress of the United States in this hour, a world crisis regarding human liberty, must not be guilty of blocking any progressive measures for the growth of freedom and democracy."

Civil rights legislation currently is bogged down in committees both in the Senate and the House.

* * *

IN THE SENATE, the civil rights bill has been approved by the Senate judiciary subcommittee, headed by Senator Thomas C. Hennings (Dem., Mo.), but has been stymied in the full judiciary committee, headed by Senator James E. Eastland (Dem., Miss.).

In the House; the legislation has gained the approval of the House judiciary committee, Rep. Manuel Cellers (Dem., N.Y.), chairman, but has gained little ground in the House rules committee, Rep. Howard Smith (Dem., Va.), chairman.

Civil rights report termed as 'slur'

Afro-American Sat. 4-27-57
Baltimore, Md. P.5

WASHINGTON (NNPA) — The American Veterans Committee Tuesday charged that the eight members of the House Judiciary Committee, who signed the minority report on civil rights, misused the name of veterans in an attempt to defeat the bill.

A statement issued by Kenneth M. Birkhead, AVC director, said it was absurd to suggest that while citizen-soldiers were fighting, "Leftwingers" were demanding enactment of civil rights legislation.

This charge is made in the minority report on civil rights, signed by Rep. Edwin E. Willis, Louisiana; James B. Frazier, Tennessee; E. L. (Tic) Forrester, Georgia; William M. Tuck, Virginia; Robert T. Ashmore, South Carolina, and John Dowdy, Texas, Democrats; and Richard H. Poff, Virginia, and William C. Cramer, Florida, Republicans.

* * *

THE ALLEGATION was termed by AVC as "a slur upon all veterans and nonveterans alike." It pointed out that America's No. 1 veteran, President Eisenhower, is the sponsor of the pending civil rights bill.

Mr. Birkhead also noted that many Congressmen are veterans, including sponsors and supporters of the legislation such as Sen. Paul Douglas, (D., Ill.) who long past the draft age entered the Marine Corps as a private and came out a captain.

He also pointed to Rep. Richard Bolling (D., Mo.) who became a colonel on the staff of Gen. Douglas McArthur.

* * *

EX-PRESIDENT TRUMAN, who served in World War I in France, the statement also noted, proposed the 1948 civil rights program.

"AVC has doubt that the millions of ex-servicemen who fought side by side with colored servicemen equally support this legislation" along with the millions of colored veterans, the statement said, adding:

"To suggest that those urging enactment of civil rights legislation are only those who did not serve in the armed services and that they sought to bring about 'agitation, dissention and strife,' is to impugn the loyalty of the millions of our citizens who supported their country during war."

10 1957

Trial By Jury For Contempt

Advertiser

Whether 12 Men Or One Should Rule In Civil Rights Contempt Cases Is Debated; Southerners Favor Jury Action, NAACP And Others Oppose

Montgomery Ala.

Sat. 4-27-57

FROM A CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION MEMORANDUM

¶ Osmond K. Fraenkel, a member of the Due Process Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union, proposed in a memorandum to the committee that the right of trial by jury be granted in contempt proceedings growing out of civil rights cases. This view is held by many Southerners.

Fraenkel advanced the argument that even though Southern juries might be reluctant to convict fellow Southerners for contempt of civil rights injunctions, "a few convictions after jury trial would be worth much more than convictions by judges alone in reconciling communities to carrying out the law." He said the Civil Liberties Union is "interested as much in due process of law as in the enforcement of civil rights."

The Due Process Committee rejected Fraenkel's proposal but recommended that the conflicting views be discussed by the board of directors so that the Union could take a position for or against the jury trial proposal. The following is extracted from an ACLU memorandum on the subject.—Ed.

QUESTION: Whether the American Civil Liberties Union should support or oppose proposals to add a jury trial requirement to pending bills which would amend one of the Civil Rights statutes (Revised Statues Sec. 1980, 42 U.S.C. 1985) by adding a paragraph giving the United States a right to sue in its own name for redress or injunction on behalf of an individual deprived of any of the civil rights protection given by the statute. The House bill has passed the Judiciary Committee without any provision for a jury trial in actions by the United States.

Sen. Sam J. Ervin Jr. of North Carolina and others have urged the addition of the jury trial requirement. The NAACP and other organizations favoring the legislation oppose the jury trial requirement asserting that one of its purposes is to thwart enforcement of the statute. The ACLU, which has an interest not only in the civil rights legislation but also in any question involving the extension or restriction of trial by jury, should examine and seek a position on this important question.

PRESENT STATUTES

THE proposed amendments, giving the United States the right to sue in its own name for injunction or other relief on behalf of an individual deprived of the civil rights set should be examined against the background of the provisions of the present statutes.

Revised Statutes, Sec. 1977 (42 U.S.C. 1981) provides simply that all persons should have full and equal benefit of all laws for security of person and property as is enjoyed by white persons. Section 1978 provides that all citizens shall have the same right in every state as is enjoyed by white citizens to hold real and personal property. Section 1979 provides that every person who under color of any state statute or usage subjects any person to the deprivation of any rights, privileges or immunities secured by the Constitution shall be liable at law or equity or other proper proceeding for redress.

Section 1980, the civil rights statute being considered for amendment, provides an action for damages against any conspirator who (1) conspires to prevent by force or threat anyone from holding any office under the United States (2) conspires to intimidate any party, witness, or juror in any court of the United States or conspires to obstruct the due course of justice with intent to deny any citizen equal protection or to injure him for enforcing the right of any person to equal protection of the laws, or (3) conspires to deprive any person of equal protection or equal privileges and immunities; or to hinder the authorities of any state from giving all persons equal protection; or to intimidate any citizen lawfully entitled to vote from giving his support or advocacy in favor of any qualified person as elector for president, vice president or member of Congress; or to injure any citizen on account of such support.

THE PROPOSED AMENDMENTS

THE Senate and House amendments would add a fourth paragraph to the above three paragraphs to provide that when any persons have engaged or are about to engage in acts which would give rise to a cause of action under any of the first three paragraphs the United States may institute in its name for the benefit of the real party in interest a civil action for redress or injunction. The proposed amendment also adds a provision that whenever any person has engaged or is about to engage in an act which would deprive any person of any right or privilege secured by the statute providing that all citizens shall be entitled and allowed to vote without distinction of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, the United States may institute in its own name for the benefit of the real party in interest a civil action for redress or injunction.

In addition to the substantive civil rights statutes summarized above which the Senate and House bills propose to amend, the following procedural statutes are involved in the enforcement of any injunctions to protect these civil rights:

18 U.S.C. Sec. 3691 provides that whenever a contempt charged consists consists in wilful disobedience of an order of a court of the United States "and the act or thing done or omitted also constitutes a criminal offense under any act of Congress, or under the laws of any state in which it was done or omitted" the accused upon demand shall have a jury trial. This section, however, expressly is not applicable to contempts in the presence of the court or so near as to obstruct the administration of justice, nor to contempts of any court order "in any suit or action brought or prosecuted in the name of, or on behalf of, the United States."

18 U.S.C. Sec. 3692, which is not applicable to enforcement of civil rights but is of interest, provides that in all contempt cases under federal laws governing injunctions and growing out of a labor dispute the accused shall have the right of a jury trial. This section, however, expressly is not applicable to contempts in the presence of the court or so near as to interfere directly with the administration of justice, nor to misbehavior of any officer of the court. There is no exception for actions brought by the United States.

THE CASE AGAINST JURY TRIAL

AN UNDERLYING reason for opposition to the addition of a jury trial requirement, expressed by the NAACP and other organizations favoring the present Senate and House bills, is a fear that the jury trial is proposed as a means of defeating enforcement of federal court injunctions obtained at the request of the United States by in effect giving local juries the right to nullify the injunctions by refusing to find guilty persons accused of violating the injunctions.

The function of the jury is to determine issues of disputed facts, as where credibility of witnesses is involved, and in criminal cases such tangled human issues as motive or justification for criminal acts which it is thought better to leave to the community conscience working through the jury. But it is likely that the United States will bring in its name the test cases which involve general issues where a whole class in a community is deprived of civil rights such as cases where a school board refuses to desegregate in obedience to the Supreme Court decisions.

If the United States obtains an injunction directing the members of the school board to desegregate, or prohibiting them from continuing segregation, their acts or omissions to act in obedience to the injunction will normally present an entirely clear factual situation and will not present disputed issues of fact, involving credibility of witnesses and the like, which it is normal for a jury to decide. The cases of resistance to desegregation, and the orders of the district courts enforcing desegregation, present no serious factual disputes but at the most questionable legal defenses to the court orders which are for the courts, and not for juries, to decide.

Even the violations of the injunction in the Clinton, Tenn., case by persons not parties to the injunction present legal questions of the legality of the broad terms of the injunction barring opposition to the injunction by speech and picketing. There is no serious factual question raised that the injunction was not deliberately violated. If a jury is to be permitted to excuse a school board or others from obedience to the federal court's injunction not on the ground that they did not in fact wilfully disobey the injunction, but rather on the ground that the community from which the jury is drawn does not approve of the Supreme Court decisions holding segregation in the public schools unconstitutional, then the effect will be not to have the jury determine a disputed issue of fact but to have the jury give persons in contempt an immunity from punishment for refusing to obey the law of the land as finally established by the Supreme Court.

THE CLAYTON ACT

PRIOR to the 1914 Clayton Act, R.S. 385 provided that the courts had power to punish for contempt of their authority including disobedience to any order. A jury trial was not required by the Constitution and was not given by Congress. The Clayton Act, however, which exempted unions from the Sherman Act and injunctions thereunder, proceeded to regulate trial for contempt by giving jury trials for criminal contempts if the United States was not a party to the action in which the disobeyed court order was obtained.

And even if the United States were a party a jury trial would be available if the injunction was in a labor dispute. In other words, Congress has limited the court's power to hold in contempt without a jury (1) where the contempt is committed in the course of a

labor dispute, or (2) is a criminal offense and the United States is not a party to the injunction. In the absence of an examination of the legislative history of the Clayton Act it is not clear why this exception to a jury trial in favor of the United States was made by Congress.

Another consideration against extending jury trials to civil rights contempt cases instituted by the United States is that these cases insofar as they involve school boards, election boards or other state officials are in effect contests between the federal and state governments concerning the enforcement of federal rights. A jury drawn from a local community is not as good an arbiter as a federal judge who recognizes responsibility to the nation as well as to the local community.

EXCEPTIONS UNJUSTIFIED

ANOTHER consideration is that if contempt of orders obtained in actions by the United States are to be tried by juries this should be accomplished by changing the general statute and not by grafting an additional jury trial requirement on the civil rights bill. There is no special reason for giving persons who violate civil rights injunctions jury trial where persons who violate other injunctions obtained by the United States do not have jury trials.

Sen. Ervin, in a dispatch to the United Press on March 15, urging a jury trial, points out that a judge may consider a violation of his own injunction as a personal affront or as an appointed federal official he may feel some responsibility to further the policies of the federal government.

CONCLUSION

THE ACLU is interested in further protection of civil rights by the proposed legislation but is also interested in the appropriate preservation of the jury trial as a constitutional protection, and even where not required by the Constitution, as a shield between the state and the individual.

It is settled that there is no constitutional right to a jury trial for violation of a federal court's injunction. But where Congress has seen fit to give that right, where the violation is also a criminal offense under federal or state law, it is fit for the union to inquire why Congress in giving the right has withheld it where the United States obtained the injunction.

If the question presented was an amendment of the general law extending jury trials to all cases even where the United States was a party, the Union might very well favor such an amendment. But where no general amendment is proposed but a special provision requiring jury trials for violators of civil rights injunctions obtained by the United States and not injunctions obtained by the United States generally, it appears, balancing the considerations involved in seeking new machinery for the enforcement of civil rights, that it is the better course for the Union not to urge affirmatively that this right to a jury trial be grafted upon the pending legislation.

Roscoe Drummond

Constitution P.t

Foes of Civil Rights Fear Right To Vote

Sat. 4-27-57

Atlanta, Ga.

WASHINGTON—It is only frank to state that much of the opposition to the civil rights bill, now before Congress, is based on the fear that if enacted they will be successful in protecting the right to vote. In other words most of the maneuvering going on in committee over these administration measures has as its purpose to defeat or so weaken them that they would not be useful. It would be mis-stating the facts to say otherwise.

Some opponents of the proposed legislation argue that it would short circuit trial by jury.

Here is the crux of the problem: The right to vote for federal officials is guaranteed by the Constitution. The only way the federal government now can protect that right is to undertake criminal prosecution of state and local officials suspected of administering voting regulations in a discriminatory manner.

Such prosecution can only come after the suspected denial of right to register or vote has taken place — and thus does little good in preventing such discrimination.

The administration program would change this procedure at two points. It would authorize the attorney general to bring civil, instead of criminal, suits in order to protect federally guaranteed civil rights. It would also enable the Justice Department to act preventively in case of threatening violation of voting rights.

The key provision of the administration bill is that the court must have the authority to require a state or local official to obey a court order enjoining him against certain practices or to punish him for refusal to obey.

What would be the rights of the the defendant—the local registrar? He could be represented by counsel, could bring witnesses; he could cross - examine witnesses. He would be presumed innocent; his guilt would have to be proved beyond reasonable doubt; he could not be compelled to testify against himself.

The advocates of the administration bill contend that the federal courts in these cases must have sufficient power to enforce the decrees which they enter.

The opponents of the administration bill propose to take from the federal courts the authority to enforce their injunctions against voting discrimination and place that authority in the hands of juries.

The use of civil suits, as proposed in the civil rights legislation, to make possible preventive relief in enforcing federal law is not new. The Department of Justice has used such proceedings in anti - trust cases since 1890 and has similar powers to enforce the Atomic Energy Act, the Fair Labor Standards Act, the Securities Act and others. Jury trial is not involved.

It is increasingly clear that the foundation stone of all civil rights is the right to vote. When this right is secured and practiced, other civil rights can better be protected; when this right is violated and neglected, the loss of other civil rights follows easily.

This is why the supporters of the civil rights program believe it should be passed as written.

CIVIL RIGHTS ON THE MOVE

In his annual report, which has just been released, though it covers the fiscal year ended last June, the Attorney General reiterates his recommendation that pending civil rights legislation be enacted "to insure the free exercise by all citizens of the civil rights guaranteed by the Constitution."

Montgomery, Ala.

The four-part proposal now in the Rules Committee of the House and the Judiciary Committee of the Senate would greatly enlarge the Federal Government's power to insure freedom of the ballot. It is essentially moderate legislation, but its passage could have profound effects in extending a real equality of citizenship to the Negro in many parts of the country where equality does not now exist.

However, the pending bills would have no direct effect on such "shocking incidents" mentioned in the Attorney General's report as the infamous Till kidnaping and murder case in Mississippi or the shooting of a leader of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in the same state. The department says that despite great public pressure it was unable to take prosecutive action in these cases because "the facts and circumstances amounted only to violations of state law." The situation would be the same under the proposed legislation.

The Administration bills would, however, represent a notable advance in the extension of civil rights and the enforcement of justice. The chances for their passage seem brighter at this session of Congress than ever before. But they are still none too bright. Hearings in both House and Senate are due to start very soon; but the intense Southern opposition to any form of civil rights legislation will undoubtedly lead to efforts to sabotage the program through filibuster or more subtle devices. As we have noted before, the utmost effort on the part of political leaders of both parties, beginning with the White House, will be necessary to accomplish this important forward step.

Cites Obligations

Norfolk, Va.

George E. C. Hayes, outstanding civil rights attorney, professor of law, and chairman of the Public Utilities Commission of the District of Columbia, told a Norfolk audience Sunday that the obligation to better conduct and habits goes hand-in-hand with the acquisition of more rights. He was principal speaker at a service honoring the complainants in the Seashore State Park segregation case.

Must Be Fit For Our Rights Says Speaker

Journal & Guide

Norfolk, Va.

Sat. 4-20-57

A top-rung leader in the legal battle for civil rights told a Norfolk audience Sunday that the victories so far won should be a challenge to "those of us who have had advantages" to see to it that Negroes are "prepared to enjoy the things we are asking for without making excuses for our conduct."

The speaker was George E. C. Hayes, prominent Washington attorney and Howard University law professor. He is also chairman of the District of Columbia Utilities Commission, having been appointed to that position by President Eisenhower.

* * *

MR. HAYES said that there was yet work to be done to improve the conduct and habits of less fortunate members of the Negro race so as to remove the causes for objection to their presence.

The prominent lawyer was speaker at a public meeting honoring the four complainants in the Seashore States Park case, Mrs. Lavinia G. Tate, Samuel E. Robinson (deceased), Leon A. Woodhouse and Otis B. Watts.

* * *

THE PROGRAM, sponsored by the Norfolk Alumni chapter of Kappa Alpha Psi fraternity, was held at the Norfolk Division, Virginia State College auditorium.

Mr. Hayes was associated with James M. Nabrit, secretary of Howard University, as legal counsel for the District of Columbia school children in one of the five cases decided by the Supreme Court on May 17, 1954.

* * *

MR. HAYES paid tribute to the late Charles H. Houston who devoted his life and jeopardized his legal career to help gain first-class citizenship for Negroes.

Mr. Houston started with segregated housing, according to the speaker who said that as a result Negroes now live in every section of the District of Columbia.

10 1957

IN LEGISLATIVE PROGRESS

Rights Bill Reaches Crucial Point

By JOHN CHADWICK

WASHINGTON, March 31 (AP) — The Eisenhower administration's civil rights bill, chugging along in Congress, is now at a crucial point in its legislative progress.

So far it has moved along faster than civil rights bills in the past, bearing out the apprehensions expressed by Southern foes at the start of the session.

The House Judiciary Committee already has approved a bill substantially conforming to the administration's recommendations, but Rules Committee clearance is still needed. The House voted for the program last year in the final week of the session, and is expected to pass the bill again this year.

But the decisive battleground is in the Senate. There the administration's bill was approved without change March 19 by a Judiciary subcommittee, and it now awaits action by the full Judiciary Committee. This group buried it last year without a vote.

What the full committee does with the bill, and how quickly, may prove the key to the legislation's fate at this session of Congress.

Supporters of the measure are confident they have the votes to get it out of committee, but they are well aware that Sen. Eastland (D-Miss), the chairman, and other Southern senators on the committee are in a position to force delays.

The longer the bill is delayed in getting before the Senate, the better the chances of Southern opponents to filibuster it to death.

But wholly aside from any attempts to smother the bill in parliamentary red tape, Southerners have been waging a vigorous fight against the administration measure this year on its content.

They contend that far from being the "middle-of-the-road program" described by Atty. Gen. Brownell and other administration spokesmen, it is a "drastic" measure invading states' rights and undermining the Constitution.

Here is a rundown on just what the bill provides, and the arguments for and against it:

Part one provides for the creation of an executive branch commission on civil rights, composed of six members appointed by the President and approved by the Senate. Not more than half the members could be from the same political party.

DELETION ASKED

The commission would be directed to:

1. "Investigate allegations in writing that certain citizens of the United States are being deprived of their rights to vote or . . . are voting illegally or are being subjected to unwarranted economic pressures by reason of their sex, color, race, religious, or national origin."

Brownell recommended deletion of the reference to sex. The bill approved by the House Judiciary Committee does so. This version also omits any reference to "unwarranted economic pressures."

2. "Study and collect information concerning economic, social, and legal developments constituting a denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution."

3. "Appraise the laws and policies of the federal government with respect to equal protection of the laws under the Constitution."

FINAL REPORT

The commission would be required to submit a final report not later than two years after its creation. In those two years it would be empowered to subpoena witnesses and records. And it or any subcommittees it authorizes could hold public hearings to take sworn testimony "at such times and places" as might be deemed advisable.

The administration argument for the commission is that there now is inadequate information about the problems involved in civil rights violations and that no executive agency has authority to make a general investigation and study of the subject.

Brownell testified the administration hopes and expects that "a full-scale public study" by such a commission would "tend to unite responsible people of good will in common effort to solve these problems.

Opponents have protested that it would stir up racial strife, with federal investigators swarming over the country requiring citizens to answer to all sorts of vague charges. Some opponents have charged the bill would create a federal "Gestapo."

PART OF BILL

Part of the bill provides for one additional assistant attorney general in the Justice Department. He, like the other assistants, would be appointed by the President subject to Senate confirmation.

While the bill doesn't say so specifically, the purpose is to set up a civil rights division in the Justice Department under an assistant attorney general.

The department now has a civil rights section which handles criminal prosecutions of civil rights violations, but Brownell said the department's activities in this field have been expanding into noncriminal cases, such as litigation growing out of the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision.

And, he said, if the department is given the new enforcement powers proposed in another part of the bill, its civil rights activities will "increase even more rapidly than in the past."

Opponents have centered relatively little fire on this part of the bill, although making clear they regard it as unnecessary and undesirable.

LAST TWO PARTS

The last two parts of the administration bill, parts three and four, are the most complex legally and also the most controversial. From them stem the opposition charges f "government by injunction" and denial of jury trials.

Part three amends existing civil rights statues and part four a section of the U. S. Code dealing with voting rights, to provide the government with a new method for their enforcement.

The Civil Rights Filibuster Has Already Started

BACK IN JANUARY, the *Associated Press* reported, some top Southern Democrats were glumly convinced that Congress would pass a moderate civil-rights program this year. One big reason, STEWART ALSOP explained, was that a majority in both parties favored the program — because Democrats and Republicans alike had read the 1956 election returns from the areas with heavy Negro voting populations, "the former with dismay, the latter with delight."

A majority in both parties still apparently favor some kind of civil rights legislation. But January's estimates have been upset by a new kind of filibuster-in-committee that may yet enable resistant Southern Democrats to postpone action to the point of futility—just as the EISENHOWER Administration last year, with a calculating eye on the November elections, amiably withheld its proposals so long that the calendar alone, with but the slightest assist from the grateful Southerners, could insure a one-year internment.

The Administration moved faster this year. And Democrats in both houses, particularly Missouri's Senator HENNINGS, pushed mightily to speed toward a floor vote a bill that would create a bipartisan civil rights commission to investigate violations of voting rights, set up a civil rights division in the Justice Department, and authorize the federal government to seek injunctions or other court action to prevent violations.

How to Stop the Clock

But in neither house is the "package" program yet out of committee. The HENNINGS subcommittee in the Senate took favorable action on March 19, but Judiciary Committee Chairman EASTLAND of Mississippi and his allies have all but stopped the clock by two ingenious devices—extending hearings almost *ad infinitum* (notably by deciding that a couple of earlier witnesses might have been guilty of perjury and hence must needs be called again), and having enough Southerners absent on occasion to deprive the committee of a quorum. West Virginia's NEELY, an ally of HENNINGS, has already conceded that the full committee will probably never act this year and that there probably aren't enough votes in the Senate to spring the bill from committee.

House Rules Committee Chairman HOWARD W. SMITH of Virginia has been almost as effective in the tactics of delay, though he says frankly that two-thirds of his committee favors the bill. And he thinks the House might pass it by mid-May, though his committee has just agreed not to resume hearings until after the Easter recess, on April 29.

Any Republican connivance with these tactics of delay is hotly denied, as usual, of course. Ohio's CLARENCE J. BROWN says such talk is "a lot of hot air." Hot air in committee, at any rate, has slowed up the battle for a civil-rights bill to an hour even later than Attorney General BROWNELL's tardy implementation of the EISENHOWER promise did last year. Southern Democrats who were glum in January must be cheerful enough now, for experience last year and many a year before bolsters their hopes that this late in the session they are once more within filibuster-distance of insuring inaction.

The G.O.P.'s vote-getters, we'd say, have no reason at all to be displeased.

Tom Hennings, Civil Rights Ball Carrier

By ETHEL L. PAYNE

EDITOR'S NOTE: This is another in a series of personalities on Capitol Hill. This week we present Sen. Thomas C. Hennings Jr. (D. Mo.) who heads the sub-committee on Constitutional Rights of the Senate Judiciary Committee of which Sen. James O. Eastland (D. Miss.) is the full chairman. He has the complex job of trying to head off delaying tactics, an indirect filibuster to keep the bills bogged down in committee as long as possible.

Tall, ruddy-faced, blue-gray eyed Thomas Hennings is one of the best looking as well as likable and hardworking Senators on Capitol Hill.

He enlisted in World War II, even though he was over draft age and stayed on in the Navy seeing combat service in the Pacific and Caribbean theatres.

Not until he got a physical disability in active service did he take a discharge and return to his law practice in St. Louis, Mo.

Hennings is serving his second term in Congress. He was first elected in 1950. A sensitive serious person, Hennings has been somewhat overshadowed by his colleague, Democrat Stuart Symington who was once Secretary of the Air Force and was more in the public eye.

Nevertheless, Hennings has plugged away so hard at his job and built a reputation as a liberal who could be counted on in close quarters that newsmen and photographers are voluntarily taking a second look-see at the "gentleman from Missouri."

Hennings was born in St. Louis in 1903. He had to support himself through college and law school.

After graduation, there began a career of public office holding that took him from assistant circuit attorney to the House of Representatives where he was the first Democrat elected from the 11th district in 22 years.

Actually, he got his feet first wet in politics when he served as a page boy at the convention in St. Louis that nominated Woodrow Wilson for president. He was 13 at the time.

A constitutional lawyer by training and choice, Hennings led the debate in 1953 that resulted in the defeat of the Bricker Amendment which would have limited the treaty making powers of the presidency as well as his handling of foreign affairs.

He was named to the sub-committee on Constitutional Rights in 1955 which was empowered to make a full-scale inquiry into alleged erosion of individual freedoms guaranteeing the Bill of Rights.

COMMITTEE ENLARGED

The committee was small, only three persons, Hennings, Sen. William Langer (R., N.D.) and Joseph O'Mahoney (D.Wyo.)

After Hennings began relentlessly pursuing inquiries into abuses of civil rights and holding hearings on bills and began getting attention in the press, the chairman of the full Judiciary Committee thought it best to enlarge the committee. He added two Southerners, Sens. Sam Ervin (D. N.C.) and Olin Johnston (D. S. C.)

This was an indication of just how alarmed the reactionaries were becoming that Hennings would be able to put through his hearings this session and head off or at least weaken the chances of a filibuster.

Twice recently, he was blocked in efforts to put a limit on the time for hearings; but the 54 year old Missourian is undaunted.

Said he, "Although my motion to limit hearings to a specific period of time was narrowly defeated, (3-4), I believe I am reporting the sentiment of the majority of members correctly to say that they will not tolerate long drawn out inconclusive hearings . . . I am convinced that there is a demand from the country that a Civil Rights bill be enacted promptly."

SPONSORS LEGISLATION

Hennings introduced an omnibus package of civil rights bills at the opening of Congress. He tried to get the committee to report these out, but this was also defeated.

His aides say he is not at all discouraged; and that the chances are good for early action. One reasoning is that after his committee has held hearings, the full Judiciary Committee attempts to hold long drawn out hearings, going over and over the same ground, the majority members will not tolerate this hamstringing and the full committee will be made to look very ridiculous.

He is a close friend of Majority Leader, Sen. Lyndon Johnson and some think he may be influenced by him on the final outcome on civil rights action; but others say he is a man of his word and can be depended upon to follow through.

As he himself has said, "The country wants action." Tom Hennings will be a man to watch on Capitol Hill.

SEN. THOMAS HENNINGS

Congress Puts Twin Setback On Rights Bill

WASHINGTON, April 8 (AP)—Civil rights legislation ran into a double setback in Congress today, but it appeared likely the House might reach a vote next month.

The House Rules Committee met and adjourned without acting on a motion designed to bring the legislation to a vote on the House floor.

Chairman Smith (D-Va) announced later the committee would consider a civil rights bill immediately after the Easter recess, which is to end April 29. He predicted the committee would approve it, saying two-thirds of the committee favor it.

OPPOSES BILL

Smith opposes the bill but he said he recognizes "the facts of life."

Rep. Bolling (D-Mo), who is striving for a vote, had said earlier he could see no practical way to force committee action before the recess.

If the committee approves the bill, it would be cleared for House action.

In the Senate, the Judiciary Committee gathered with civil rights proposals on its schedule. Not enough members showed up to do business, however, and this meant another week's delay here as the committee adjourned, for lack of a quorum until, next Monday.

The delays amounted to another victory for Southern members of Congress who are fighting the proposals. Their last-ditch weapon would be a Senate filibuster, and a filibuster grows in effectiveness as the time nears for adjournment of Congress.

Sen. Hennings (D-Mo) said in a statement he was "extremely disappointed" but would try again to get action in the Senate committee.

The House Judiciary Committee has approved a bill patterned after Eisenhower administration recommendations. The bill is aimed primarily at alleged violations of Negroes' civil rights, including voting rights, in the South.

Under the bill, the attorney general could go into federal District Court to seek injunctions against alleged violators of civil rights. Contempt cases arising from injunctions would not carry the right of a jury trial for the accused, and the Southern critics have stressed this point.

PREDICTS FAILURE

Sen. Ervin (D-Nc) told reporters today "I predict it will never pass in this form."

Only seven member of the 15-man Senate committee showed up today. Chairman Eastland (D-Miss) and the other six present sat around for nearly an hour waiting for others to appear.

Reporters counted these present today: Eastland, Ervin, McHruska (R-Neb), Butler (R-Md) and Dirksen (R-Ill). Other members are Kefauver (D-Tenn), Johnston (D-SC), O'Mahoney (D-Wyo), Neely (D-WVa), Wiley (R-Wis), Langer (R-ND), Jenner (R-Ind), and Watkins (R-Utah).

Civil Rights Legislation Hits Snag

House Committee Adjourns Without Acting On Motion

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Senator Hennings (D., Mo.) said in a statement he was "extremely disappointed" but would try again to get action in the Senate committee.

"As we all know," he said, "if we are to get a satisfactory bill passed in this session, it is imperative to get the legislation out on the floor of the Senate at the earliest possible moment."

The House Judiciary Committee has approved a bill patterned after Eisenhower administration recommendations. The bill is aimed primarily at alleged violations of Negroes' civil right, including voting rights, in the South.

Under the bill, the attorney general could go into federal district courts to seek injunctions against alleged violators of civil rights. Contempt cases arising from injunctions would not carry the right of a jury trial for the accused, and the Southern critics have stressed this point.

Senator Ervin (D., N. C.) told reporters today "I predict it will never pass in this form."

The administration bill, he said, "is designed to deprive people of the right to trial by jury, and equally indefensible is a provision that the aggrieved would not have to show that they had exhausted administrative remedies" before going to court.

10 1957

Rights Bill Threatens Jury Trials, Foes Say

Constitution Wed 4-3-57
Atlanta, Ga. P.1

By ALBERT RILEY
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, April 2—A minority report charging that the administration's civil rights bill would undermine jury trial and permit the federal government to "gradually take over state and local governments" has been filed by the eight Southern members of the House Judiciary Committee.

The bill was approved by the full judiciary committee by a slender margin of 17 to 15 two weeks ago when the Southerners got Northern members to vote with them.

However, none of the Northerners joined in the minority report which now has been filed with House Rules Committee along with the favorably reported bill itself.

The next step in the controversial bill's path toward House floor action is approval by the Rules Committee.

Written by Rep. E. L. (Tic) Forrester of Leesburg, Ga., the 51 page minority report sets forth again all the arguments Southerners filed against the so-called Brownell bill when it was before the Judiciary Committee.

If the bill is enacted into law, it would be disastrous to state and local governments, the Southerners contended, because it would permit an assistant attorney-general by injunctive processes to make the federal government a party to civil rights cases and deny defendants the right of trial by jury.

The bill, Dixie lawmakers declared, would virtually destroy the processes and authority of state, county and city boards of education and boards of voter registrars on every level.

Joining Forrester were his Democratic colleagues, Reps. Edwin Willis of Louisiana, James B. Frazier, Tennessee; William M. Tuck, Virginia; Robert T. Ashmore, South Carolina, and John Dowdy, Texas. The Republicans were Richard H. Poff, Virginia, and William Cramer, Florida.

Because of the Southern delaying tactics, most observers do not believe there is now a chance for the House to get the civil rights bill until after the Easter recess.

Would Be End For States As Units Of Government, Declares Senator

Commercial

By MORRIS CUNNINGHAM
From The Commercial Appeal Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, Feb. 15.—Senator John Stennis (D., Miss.) said Friday that passage of the Administration's civil rights program "would be the final knockout blow of states as units of government."

The Mississippian told a Senate Judiciary Subcommittee the states would be reduced to "building roads and streets" and performing other minor functions.

Memphis, Tenn.

Senator Stennis was one of a series of witnesses who testified Friday as hearings on civil rights legislation continued.

Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell Jr., chief Administration proponent, was recalled and questioned for another two hours and a half, mostly by Senator Sam J. Ervin Jr. (D., N. C.), a member of the subcommittee.

Sat. 2-16-57

Says Program Needed

He said the program is needed to prevent a "mass disenfranchisement of Negro voters." Senator Ervin challenged the statement and argued that voting irregularities are too few in number to justify the broad measures sought by Mr. Brownell.

The attorney general, who is to be recalled later, promised to supply the subcommittee with a list of hundreds of recent court cases to back up his charge of mass disenfranchisement.

He contended these cases could have been handled better through civil actions which he would be empowered to bring if the Administration's civil rights program is enacted.

Senator Stennis said such powers would give the attorney general "the most powerful legal weapon known to the law—the injunctive process of a Federal Court."

And he said the Federal Government would handle the cases of complainants, supplying attorneys and defraying court costs.

Outlines Evils

"In actual practice," the Mississippian said, "this will mean that litigants to bring suits would be rounded up by agitators and outside groups and encouraged to enter into litigation concerning the alleged violation of some civil rights."

He said it would impose upon a defendant "the burden of opposing the Department of Justice, including the FBI, and a special Federal attorney, as well as any pressure and adverse publicity that outside groups care to muster against him."

"The attorney general, with commendable frankness," Senator Stennis said, "says the legislation will apply in enforcing the school integration decision. Thus we have a direct answer to the question of how the Supreme Court expects to implement a decision that it can announce but cannot enforce.

"It is a sad day for any nation and the children of that nation, of whatever color, when the public schools are handled by courts and politicians in such a fashion that they have to be operated through injunctions and criminal statutes.

"A public educational system should be grounded on the needs and the feelings of the people rather than on the modern trend for basing it on criminal statutes and injunctive processes."

Would Be Servants

He declared the Administration proposals cause local school board and election officials to be brought under the "surveillance of whatever individuals are chosen to administer the law."

And he declared that all of the Federal enforcement agents would be clothed "with complete power to bypass the state courts and state and Federal administrative bodies."

Senator Stennis said the legislation would "tend to make the people servants of rather than the masters of their governments."

But, concluding his testimony, he warned:

"You can persuade the people of the South to do more and drive them to do less than any other people in America."

'Day-To-Day Battle' By Big Three

Journal & Guide
Sat. 4-6-57
Norfolk, Va.

Byrd, Eastland And Thurmond Have New Amendment

P. 10

By ROSE MCKEE

WASHINGTON — (INS) — Sen. Harry F. Byrd (D) Va., said last week southern Democrats are fighting a "day-to-day battle" against current civil rights legislation.

The influential Virginian declined t opredict the outcome but he pointed out that his side always has won in the past in preventing passage of measures to ban racial discrimination.

* * *

BYRD IS ONE of three authors of a new amendment to guarantee a jury trial for persons accused of ignoring federal injunctions against civil rights offenses. The amendment is sponssored also by Sens. James O. Eastland (D) Miss., and Strom Thurmond (D) S. C.

Advocates of civil rights legislation plan to take the Senate floor soon for a series of speeches to charge that the jury-trial amendment is only a "smokescreen."

* * *

ATTORNEY GENERAL Herbert Brownell, Jr., was reported preparing a memoran dum summing up his arguments that the injunction provision of the administration's bill does not deprive citizens of any right they now have.

A staff stucy by the Hennings Senate Subcommittee, which approved the administration's civil rights bill, points out that there is no right to trial by jury for contempt of an injunction in cases where the government is a party, except in some labor cases.

THE INJUNCTION provision was put in the administration bill because of the contention that southern juries are loathe to return a "guilty" verdict against local election officials or other prominent persons who might be accused of civil rights offenses.

But Byrd told an interviewer: "I think southern juries are just as good as juries anywhere. I cannot accept this premise."

THE BILL is on the agenda of the full Senate Judiciary Committee. The committee holds its regular meeting day on Mondays.

Civil Rights Bureau Upheld

Times P. 32

Its Creation Deemed a Support for Anti-Bias Commission

New York

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

In the interest of factual accuracy I cannot permit to go unanswered the letter from Chairman Charles Abrams of the State Commission Against Discrimination which appeared in The New York Times of March 15.

Tues. 3-26-57

New York's anti-discrimination laws were born in the wisdom of lawmakers of different political faiths. Their continued effectiveness and expansion can be brought about only through sober thinking divorced from all thoughts of partisan gain or personal advantage.

The proposal to appropriate funds for a Civil Rights Bureau in the office of the Attorney General is not an alternative to the suggestion that the commission be given an added power to seek out individual instances of discrimination and to proceed to act as complainant, prosecutor and judge. Each is a separate proposal and must be considered in the light of whether it will increase

Deal To Block Civil Rights Is Rumored

Post-Herald
B'ham, Ala.
Mon. 4-8-57

Backer Plans Test Of Opposition Talk Set Today

P. 2

WASHINGTON, April 7 (U.P.)—Rep. Richard Bolling (D., Mo.) said today he has heard rumors that a "deal" has been made to block passage of President Eisenhower's civil rights bill this year.

Bolling, a leading backer of the bill, said he would put the rumors to a test tomorrow at a meeting of the House Rules Committee. He said he will move to call up the controversial measure for immediate hearings and clearance to the House floor.

"There have been a lot of rumors that a deal has been made to delay it," Bolling told a reporter. "We will try to find out about that Monday."

The object of the reported "deal," Bolling said, is to delay House passage of the bill so long that the Senate would postpone action until next year.

Parties to the arrangement, if such exists, presumably would be Republicans and Southern Democrats, Bolling indicated.

The Southerners don't want the bill passed. Republicans, according to Bolling's theory, would like to see Senate Democrats spread their civil rights differences on the record in the 1958 election year.

An informed Republican source said he knew of no such agreement.

Another key Republican, Rep. Kenneth B. Keating (N. Y.), said he would "vigorously oppose" any further delay on the measure.

or jeopardize continued progress in the battle against prejudice.

Agency's Present Powers

The proponents of the measure to increase the power of the commission seek to frame their bill in a picture of an agency so hobbled by lack of enforcement power as to preclude anything more than lip-service to ideals. The actual fact is to the contrary.

Indeed, the present chairman of the commission has pointed out that a decade of experience in the administration of the law "has graphically demonstrated its effectiveness" and "has made it possible for our people to find new ways to bring about better understanding and cooperation between all groups." The commission seeks unwise and unnecessary procedural changes which well may tend to alienate public support, the most vital factor in the successful administration of the law.

The existing statute gives the commission broad power to act upon complaints. It may subpoena witnesses and require production of records. But it was never intended that the commission should have these sweeping powers to hunt out incidents of discrimination where no complaint had been made.

This would repel the public support which, as the chairman recently noted, "has provided the impetus for [the law's] forward sweep." And it would offend the inherent American repugnance to combine in any individual or group the power to seek out grounds for complaint, to prosecute and to judge.

Filing Complaints

The commission's power to act is not limited to complaints from the public. Both the Industrial Commissioner and the Attorney General presently are empowered to file complaints with the commission. And, if evidence of discrimination comes to the attention of the commission, without a specific complaint, the matter can be referred to these state officials who, after investigation, may themselves file the complaint.

The Attorney General's power exists in the present statute. The pending proposal simply appropriates funds essential for effective action. The Civil Rights Bureau would not take over any function now performed by the commission. Indeed, as a demonstration that the Legislature desires the commission to perform vigorously, it is being given a record appropriation of more than $600,000; included in this amount is $114,000 for twenty-six new positions.

The objection to combining in one agency the power to be investigator, complainant, prosecutor and judge cannot, as the chairman's letter would do, be brushed aside as "the stock argument of fifty years ago raised against all regulatory agencies." Indeed, it is only in recent years that steps have been taken, particularly on the Federal level, to eliminate this evil.

Unlike Regulatory Agencies

An agency dealing with so sensitive an area of human relationships as the Commission Against Discrimination cannot in any sense be likened to licensing and regulatory agencies such as the Banking and Insurance Departments and the Public Service Commission, which must keep a watchful eye on licensees and holders of franchises.

Much more comparable is the field of labor relations. Here both the national and the state labor relations acts—the former since the original Wagner Act of 1935—make it a jurisdictional prerequisite that a charge be filed with the board before its enforcement machinery can be set in motion.

Under our Fair Education Practices Act the Commissioner of Education may initiate an investigation. But this is simply repetitive of existing powers, since educational institutions are under the jurisdiction of the Department of Education, which licenses and has rights of visitation.

Broadening the procedural operations of the commission to the point where it can use sweeping investigative and subpoena powers to seek out incidents of discrimination, and then to prosecute and judge, can result but in jeopardizing the future of our battle against intolerance. A Civil Rights Bureau in the Attorney General's office will not, and cannot, hinder the commission's operations. It can only help.

LOUIS J. LEFKOWITZ,
Attorney General, State of New York.

New York, March 22, 1957.

Civil Rights Bill Still Embroiled In Committee

Journal & Guide Sat. 4-13-57 Norfolk, Va.

By ROSE McKEE

WASHINGTON — (INS) — Sen. John L. McClellan (D) Ark., charged this week that witnesses at a Senate hearing on civil rights lied on the stand and should be recalled for questioning about perjury.

He made the statement to newsmen as the Senate Judiciary Committee failed again Monday to make any progress on civil rights legislation.

CHAIRMAN James O. Eastland (D) Miss., an opponent, said that Sen. Thomas C. Hennings (D) Mo., moved that the committee vote on the bill April 15. Eastland said that Henning's proposal touched off considerable discussion but no action was taken on the motion.

Sen. Matthew M. Neely (D) W. Va., who left the committee before it broke up its closed session, said: "There is as much of a chance that they will get to a vote on the bill today as there is that this building will crumble to dust as we talk. Frankly, I don't think this committee will ever get a bill out."

* * *

McCLELLAN said that the witnesses he accused of prejury should be brought back under a subpoena. He declined to disclose their identity.

Southerners opposed to civil rights legislation have said they will demand that the full committee hold further hearings. McClellan's perjury charge added fuel to the demand for additional hearings.

* * *

EASTLAND smiled broadly and replied, "I just don't know," when asked when he thought a civil rights bill would be acted upon by his committee. Advocates of the legislation claim they have the votes to approve a bill if they can bring it to a showdown.

Earlier, Sen. Everett Dirksen, of Illinois, assistant Senate GOP leader, said in an interview that the administration's civil rights program is "heading for favorable action."

HE DENIED A contention that the bill cannot pass because there is not enough time to introduce it and break expected filibuster.

Dirksen said: "The calendar doesn't mean anything. We don't have to go by that. The bill has 37 Republicans behind it — they are firmly behind it. When you count the supporters on the other side, you can see we have the votes to pass it."

Civil-Rights Accommodation

Newsweek New York Mon. 4-8-57

The chances are that the upcoming battle over civil-rights legislation will be less bitter and divisive than had been anticipated.

A Southern filibuster is certain. But it probably will be ended by a compromise.

The probable deal: Northerners would give up their fight for a civil-rights commission. Also they would endorse trial by jury in contempt cases stemming from voting abuses, as the Southerners have demanded.

In return, the Southerners would filibuster only long enough to impress their constituents. They could then tell voters back home of the concessions they had won.

Note: Although they will not say so publicly, because it would be political suicide, a growing number of Southerners would like to see civil-rights legislation passed and done with.

Rights Bill Stalled In Senate, House

Constitution Tues. 4-9-57 Atlanta, Ga.

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VICTORY FOR SOUTH

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10 1957

Dixie Party Seen If Rights Bill Wins

Advertiser P. 6-a

WASHINGTON, Feb. 14 (AP) — Rep. Whitten (D-Miss) said today "you'll have a third party in the South" if Congress enacts civil rights legislation now pending. Fri. 2-15-57.

Montgomery, Ala.

Whitten, appearing before a House Judiciary subcommittee, assailed the proposed bills on the grounds they would override local authority. This was the issue, he said, which led to the states' rights or "Dixiecrat" movement, as it was sometimes called, in the South in 1948.

The Mississippi congressman said the way in which Tom C. Clark, then attorney general and later Supreme Court justice, intervened in a Smith County, Miss., racial disturbance in 1946 was "the origin of the Dixiecrat party in the South."

Whitten said the shooting affray was "a terrible thing, of course," but that Mississippi authorities were doing all they could when Clark "on the eve of an election" ansounced in the newspapers he was sending in the FBI.

"Mississippi officials were simply brushed asided as though they were doing nothing," Whitten said. "The attorney general didn't even speak to the governor before making his announcement. The treatment of Gov. Fielding Wright got resulted is a feeling by him which led to the Dixiecrat ticket two years later."

Wright ran for vice president on this ticket, which carried four Southern sttes.

Referring to the acquittal last year of two white men charged with killing Eugene Till, Negro youth, in Mississippi, Whitten said it generally was agreed "however you or I might think we would have voted on the jury" that the local officials did their full duty in prosecuting the case, and that there was evidence which could have led to reasonable doubt in jurymen's minds.

He said that several years ago in adjoining Yalobusha County a white jury convicted a white man of killing a Negro and the man was sentenced to death, though the sentence later was commuted to life imprisonment, after questions had been raised as the prisoner's sanity.

Mississippian Warns Of Civil Rights Peril

Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 26 (AP)—Rep. Abernethy (D-Miss.), contended today enforcement methods proposed in the civil rights legislation would put all citizens at the mercy of federal spies "and rob them of their liberties and freedom of choice for all time to come."

Wed 2-27-57
P. 6

NAACP Group Told Of Civil Rights Hearings

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga
Sat. 3-2-57

BY THADDEUS T. STOKES

Southern Negroes are attempting to open a "Pandora Box" to entrap all of the "foul anti-Negro" legislation flowing in the south said Clarence Mitchell, director of the NAACP Washington, D. C. Bureau.

"Southern senators would say just the opposite. They contend that a "Pandora Box" would be opened and all manner of evil would escape if the Negro was given full civil rights, continued Mitchell when he was addressing nearly 200 persons, attending the fifth annual Freedom Awards dinner of the Southeastern Regional Conference of the NAACP held at the Waluhaje Apartments Friday evening.

Mitchell told the audience, about the testimony given by several southern Negro leaders before the Senate subcommittee on civil rights legislation.

"Crosses may burn and laws might be passed, but not 1,000 Atty. Gen. Eugene Cooks can spoil the broth of liberty."

Meritorious awards were presented to three organizations and certificates were presented to about 50 NAACP individual volunteer workers.

The most outstanding award, the Harry T. Moore award went to the Tennessee NAACP State conference for the greatest percentage of membership increase in 1956.

Membership was increased by 61 percent. Rev. J. F. Grimmett received the award, presented by C. R. Darden of Mississippi.

A "Freedom" award was presented to Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Montgomery Improvement Association; and to Rev. C. K. Steele and the Tallahassee Inter-Civic council for "outstanding work under great duress."

The certificates went to workers in Knoxville, Tenn., DeKalb county, Ga., and Atlanta and others.

Master of ceremony was John H. Calhoun, president of the Atlanta Branch NAACP. Mrs. Ruby Hurley is director of the Southeastern Regional Council.

Earlier in the afternoon during two panels at Wheat Street Baptist church, Charles A. McLean, ofNAACP field secretary from Winston-Salem, N. C. suggested that persons who are afraid to contribute toward a membership in the NAACP could donate money to the organization in the name of "John Doe" or contribute money to the memory of a deceased relative or friend or even donate for a membership to a relative who is residing in a state which does not have the NAACP "under fire."

He said that the NAACP needed numerical strength as well as finance. He pointed out that North Carolina legislatures have not made any definite move toward outlawing the NAACP.

Representing Mississippi was Medgar Evers of Jackson, who acted as moderator for the first session of the panel.

A representative from Alabama where the NAACP has been outlawed appearing at the meeting as an observer said," the state has outlawd the NAACP but the thrust toward integration certainly has not been outlawed. However intimidation is still very prevelant."

The topic of the first panel was "Legal and Other Defensive Tactics." The second panel was concerned with "Legal and Other Offensive Tactics."

Panelists were: Donald L. Hollowell; Atty. S. S. Robinson, both of Atlanta, representing Georgia, Gloster B. Current, an executive of NAACP's New York office; Atty. John H. Wrighten of Charleston, S. C. and Atty. R. J. Brown of Vicksburg, Miss.

Atty. Hollowell said it is difficult to assume how far Georgia lawmakers will go in an attempt to outlaw the NAACP. However he advised members and other favorable organizations to present official petitions before the state legislators whenever undemocratic bills are proposed, which would outlaw the NAACP. "Undemocratic bills should be beat down before they become laws, he said

The attorney also urged members to seek means of communicating with groups who are also interested in solving racial segregation problems.

Atty. Robinson offered a five point plan as "offensive tactics." He listed them as (1) Seek to use all public facilities (2) Educate the public and yourselves that men are men regardless to color. Do it by public forums, churches, clubs and other practical means. (3) Attack laws which prohibit integration on trains in terminals and public eating places in places of public transportation. (4.) Petition legislative assemblies for a declaration of the state's policy of "equal treatment." (5) Branch NAACP's should answer untrue charges by releases to the press and radio.

P. 5

Current said that the NAACP has nothing to hide about its operations. He explained that it has been conducting business since 1909 and has always publicized the amount of money collected. He said some southern states are attempting to "investigate us right out of business."

He said the NAACP is divided into three separate organizations independent of each other. He listed them as NAACP, NAACP Legal Defense Fund and Education, Inc., and the Crisis.

Current anvised the members to fight for integration without fear.

Atty. Wrighten explained that the constitutionality of various state laws shoulld be tested. He advised every Negr to read and reread the 14th Amendment and the Fifth until he is familiar with them. He said South Carolina, like some other southern states is pass- "childish laws" to prevent integration.

Atty. Brown explained the difference between the NAACP, a client who is a member of the NAACP and a lawyer, who is an NAACP member.

Moderator of the panel Rev. J F. Grimmett of Tennessee.

Challenge Civil Rights Testimony

Defender
Chicago, Ill.
Sat. 3-2-57

By KENNETH WEISS

WASHINGTON — (INS) — The Justice Department Monday challenged as "misleading" some of the testimony given by Louisiana Atty. Gen. Jack P. F. Gremillion before a House civil rights subcommittee.

P. 2

Assistant Atty. Gen. Warren Olney, in charge of the department's criminal division, made the assertion in a letter to Rep. Emanuel Celler (D) N. Y., chairman of the House group.

Olney said: "Certain facts which the Department of Justice has in its files suggest that Mr. Gremillion's testimony might have left a misleading impression in a number of respects."

5 PHASES

He cited five phases of Gremillion's testimony which he said were "inconsistent" with evidence turned up in FBI investigations.

The Assistant Attorney General sent a copy of his letter to the state official who had not previously been provided with the results of the FBI investigation into alleged violations of Negro voting rights in 10 Louisiana Parishes (counties) during elections last year. Gremillion testified on the matter before the Celler subcommittee on Feb. 13.

Meanwhile, Rep. Kenneth Keating (R) N. Y., top ranking GOP member of the House Civil Rights subcommittee, said Southern documentation of Northern racial disturbances demonstrates the need for a national federal civil rights law.

In an exchange with Rep. James C. Davis (D) Ga., who was testi-

fying against the Administration measure introduced by Keating, the New Yorker said Davis' listing of numerous cases of racial unrest in the North made a "very good case" for the legislation.

He said it would "cure an even worse evil than I have realized."

However, Davis retorted that there was danger in "undertaking force and this legislation would force integration of people when they don't want to do it."

Need For A National Civil Rights Law Greets Davis

Daily World Atlanta, Ga. Tues. 2-26-57 P.1

By KENNETH WEISS

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Congress Plans Assault On Civil Case Backlog

Post & Times Herald Wed. 2-27-57

Washington, D.C. *P.16-a*

Congress will try this year to break a Federal Court jam of 63,526 backlogged cases with a three-pronged attack, the Congressional Quarterly reported yesterday.

The news background publication said the outlook for reducing the long delay in Federal Court civil cases is promising, at the very least.

There is no major delay so far as criminal cases are concerned, with the docket in most courts reasonably current.

The three-way assault on the civil case backlog is in the form of proposed bills backed not only by congressional leaders, but also by the Executive and Judiciary as well.

37 More Judges

One of the measures would create two additional judgeships for the United States Courts of Appeals and 35 more District Court judgeships. This bill has the support of the Judicial Conference of the United States, a special Justice Department committee working on the chronic court delay, and congressional leaders.

A second bill would relieve the Chief judge of a Federal District or Circuit Court of his administrative duties when he becomes 70 years old.

The third proposal would apply to disabled judges who refuse to retire although eligible for retirement. A majority vote of the Federal appellate judges in the circuit would decide whether a judge was too mentally or physically disabled to handle his duties. A new judge would be appointed to aid the disabled jurist and when the latter finally retired or died he would not be replaced.

Disposed Of 67,700

Congressional Quarterly pointed out that District Courts received 62,394 new civil cases in fiscal 1956 and disposed of 67,700. Despite this favorable balance, however, the fiscal year ended with a backlog of 63,526 cases.

The median time between the filing of a case and disposing of it by trial was 15.4 months in fiscal 1956. In fiscal 1955, the median time was 14.6 months.

At the beginning of the District of Columbia Federal Court's term last October, there was a 22-month delay between the time a civil jury case was ready for trial and when it actually went on trial. In October, 1955, there was a 27-month delay.

During fiscal 1956, the Federal District Court for Maryland registered a 13-month delay from the time a civil case was filed until it was disposed of by trial. The same delay existed during fiscal 1955.

18-Month Delay

The Federal Court for the Eastern District of Virginia (which sits in Alexandria, Richmond, Norfolk and Newport News) had a 12-month delay during fiscal 1956 between filing and disposition of civil case. In fiscal 1955 there was a 13-month delay.

The Western District of Virginia (which sits at Abingdon, Big Stone Gap, Charlottesville, Danville, Harrisonburg, Lynchburg and Roanoke) has not had sufficient trials in recent years to get meaningful figures, Congressional Quarterly said.

According to the publication, Rep. Emanuel Celler (D.-N.Y.), chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, said all three proposed bills will clear his Committee this year. Sen. James O. Eastland (D.-Miss.), chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, is reported favoring the additional judges and studying the other two measures.

House Unit OKs Civil Rights Bill

Advertiser P.1 Thurs. 2-28-57 Montgomery, Ala.

Ie's Program Expected To Run Into Filibuster

WASHINGTON, Feb. 27 (AP) — A House Judiciary subcommittee, taking quick advantage of its first opportunity, today approved President Eisenhower's civil rights program.

The subcommittee, headed by Rep. Celler (D-NY) finished its hearings yesterday and drafted its bill today in two hours of fast work behind closed doors.

However, the question of whether Congress will pass civil rights legislation at this session remained, as usual, up to the Senate. A Southern filibuster — unlimited debate — is considered a certainty if a bill ever reaches the Senate floor.

The full House Judiciary Committee is to act on the legislation next week. The House Rules Committee would then be called on to give it clearance to the House floor. Southern opposition may be expected in the Rules Committee.

CLEARANCE EXPECTED

However, predictions were that the Rules Committee would give it clearance eventually. Rep. Joseph W. Martin (R-Mass), House minority leader, predicted yesterday that the House could take up the bill about March 15 and pass it in two days.

This would put the legislation more than four months ahead of its schedule last year. In 1956 the House passed a bill July 23, but Congress adjourned four days later without the Senate taking action.

A Senate Judiciary subcommittee is to wind up hearings on civil rights legislation March 5. Approval would sent it to the full Judiciary Committee, which is headed by Sen. Eastland (D-Miss), an opponent of such legislation.

Sen. Knowland (R-Calif), the Senate minority leader, said yesterday the Senate would pass civil rights legislation this session and said he hoped for a vote before the Easter recess beginning April 18. Others were not so sure.

FOUR MAIN POINTS

The Eisenhower program, presented by Atty. Gen. Brownell who said it was needed to protect civil rights of many Negroes in the South, has four main parts:

1. Creation of a federal commission to investigate and consider reported violations of civil rights.
2. Establishment of a civil rights division in the Justice Department.
3. New laws to protect voting rights and permit the federal government to use court injunctions to prevent violations.
4. Provision for civil damage suits where civil rights have been adjudged to have been violated.

Southern critics have assailed it as a politically motivated invasion of states rights and a threat to prosecute individuals without trial by jury.

Senator Says President Ignorant On Rights Bill

Post-Herald B'ham, Ala. Mon. 4-1-57 P.2

WASHINGTON, March 31 (U.P.) —Sen. Sam J. Ervin Jr. (D., N. C.) said today President Eisenhower would oppose his own civil rights bill "if he knew what was in it."

Ervin, a member of the Senate Judiciary Committee which has jurisdiction over the measure said the bill "cannot possibly pass" the Senate in its present form if all senators understand its ramifications.

The measure would set up a presidential commission on civil rights, establish a civil rights division in the Justice Department, authorize government court suits to protect civil rights, and provide greater protections for the voting rights of minorities.

Ervin, a foe of the legislation, said on a television program, that the President at his news conferences invariably refers questions about the legal aspects of the bill to Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell Jr.

"I believe the President would not be for this bill if he knew what was in it," Ervin said.

He reiterated his charge that the legislation, if enacted, would "take away from all Americans civil rights far more important" than those it seeks to protect.

Ervin said the measure "would rob Americans of their right to trial by jury", and give the attorney general "despotic power" in the enforcement of laws.

10 1957

President mum on 'teeth' for his civil rights bills

WASHINGTON (ANP) — President Eisenhower has declined to comment on proposed amendments to the administration's civil rights bill now pending in congressional committee.

The question was raised at the White House press conference Thursday when a reporter asked the President if he would favor an amendment to his civil rights bills which would guarantee a "trial by jury."

Mr. Eisenhower replied that this was a legal question which should be addressed to the attorney general. He said he did not like to get into legal technicalities which he knows nothing about.

HE WAS THEN informed that the attorney general had said that under the present proposed legislation, persons charged with criminal offenses would receive a trial by jury but such trial could not be guaranteed for civil cases.

The President replied that he did not know whether the issue was important enough to be included in the bill.

The administration bill, introduced in the House by Rep. Keating of New York and in the Senate by Senator Dirksen proposes to give the attorney general authority to sue for injunction or restraining order against persons interfering or attempting to interfere with the right of any person to vote.

MAY DEBATE IS SEEN ON CIVIL RIGHTS BILL

Northern Democrats Move To Prevent Stalling

ASK DATE TO BE FIXED

From The Commercial Appeal Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, March 21. — Northern Democrats conceded Thursday they probably will not be able to pry the Administration's civil rights bill from the Southern-led House Rules Committee before May.

They made the concession as they moved to prevent the committee from "stalling in May."

They asked Chairman Howard W. Smith (D., Va.) to call a special meeting to set a date for hearings on a resolution to clear the bill for House action.

Representative Richard Bolling (D., Mo.) said the "unusual request" was made "to prevent stalling in May." He said there is little chance the House will consider the bill before its Easter recess April 18-29.

One-Day Debate Asked

The resolution calls for one-day House debate on the bill, with an open rule permitting amendments to be offered on the floor.

Mr. Bolilng said if the resolution is approved the bill could be brought up in the House for a vote immediately after the recess.

The 12-member House Rules Committee is composed of four Northern Democrats, four Southern Democrats, and four Republicans.

The civil rights bill, already approved by the House Judiciary Committee, is slated to be placed before the Rules Committee next week.

Under House rules, Mr. Bolling said, if Chairman Smith does not within three days call a special meeting to be held within a week, a majority of the committee may call one. In that event, he said the Northern Democrats will seek three votes from the Republican members to make up a majority of seven.

No Commitment

Mr. Bolling said Mr. Smith made no commitment on a date for considering the civil rights bill at Thursday's closed committee session.

Mr. Smith and the other Southerners on the committee, including Representatives William M. Colmer (D., Miss.) and James W. Trimble (D., Ark.), are expected to hold the bill in the Rules Committee as long as possible.

The Senate is not expected to consider the bill until after he has cleared the House. And a Senate filibuster is more effective in the closing days of a session.

On the Senate side, the bill is before the Senate Judiciary Committee headed by Senator James O. Eastland (D., Miss.).

Opposition Amendments Are Beaten

Rules Group Asked To Send Measure To Floor For Ballot

WASHINGTON, March 18 (AP)—Overriding the unrelenting opposition of Southern legislators, the House Judiciary Committee today approved a civil rights bill that conforms closely to what President Eisenhower asked.

Chairman Celler (R., N.Y.), said about 15 amendments were offered and nearly all were defeated in the committee's closed door session.

Today's approval came after hearings prolonged many weeks of Southerners trying to delay action on civil rights legislation. The measure now goes to the rules committee, where the opponents are expected to make another stand.

Saying he was applying to the rules committee for an order sending the legislation to the House floor for a vote, Celler told reporters:

"I expect to get it. The Democratic leadership wants it—it is very anxious to have this bill passed in the House."

Celler and Rep. Keating of New York, senior Republican on the judiciary committee—who introduced the administration's proposals—said "we have a good bill." They predicted quick clearance by the rules committee and overwhelming passage by the House.

Separate hearings on civil rights legislation have been going on before the Senate judiciary subcommittee. The group's chairman, Sen. Hennings (D.-Mo.), called a meeting for 2 p.m. tomorrow to try to whip into shape a bill for the Senate.

The measure also would set up a new division in the Justice Department to look into civil rights and would authorize the attorney general to bring injunction suits in federal courts on behalf of persons who contend their civil rights are being violated or when there is reasonable ground to think these rights would be violated.

The bill specifically would forbid anyone to intimidate, threaten or coerce another's or interfere with his right to vote for any federal officer at a general or primary election. In such cases, the attorney general would be empowered to seek an injunction in federal courts.

Southern members won committee agreement today to removing from the bill a provision under which the attorney general, acting in the name of a person who contended his civil rights were violated, might bring suit for damages against the person accused of the violation.

However, the amendment leaves the attorney general with authority to sue for an injunction in such cases.

The committee rejected by a narrow margin a hotly debated Southern-sponsored amendment to guarantee trials by jury to persons accused of violating injunctions which federal courts might issue in supporting civil rights under the bill.

Vote Stalled At Least for One Week

WASHINGTON, March 25 (UP)—Southern members of the Senate Judiciary Committee succeeded today in delaying action on President Eisenhower's civil rights bill for at least a week.

The committee wound up its regular Monday meeting without a vote despite a motion by Sen. Thomas E. Hennings Jr. (D-Mo) that the legislation be considered immediately.

The senators had discussed the motion for about 30 minutes when the Senate convened at noon, forcing the committee to recess. Under Senate rules, committees must have special permission to meet while the Senate is in session.

ERVIN AND JOHNSTON

Hennings said Sens. Sam J. Ervin Jr. (D-NC) and Olin D. Johnston (D-SC), both outspoken foes of the legislation, did most of the talking on the motion.

Hennings said he will try again to force action on the bill at the committee's next scheduled meeting next Monday.

Hennings' Constitutional Rights subcommittee, an arm of the Judiciary Committee, approved the President's bill last week. But it faces one of its stiffest tests in the full committee. It pigeonholed Eisenhower's program last year after it had won House approval.

EASTLAND ARCH FOE

Committee Chairman James O. Eastland (D-Miss) is an arch foe of civil rights legislation which faces strong opposition from several other committee members. It was approved by Hennings' subcommittee by a 4-to-2 vote.

The bill would set up a bipartisan commission to investigate violations of voting rights and "economic pressures" on Negroes; create a new civil rights division in the Justice Department; provide greater protection for Negro voting rights; and permit the federal government to seek advance court action to prevent threatened violations of civil rights.

A modified version of the program has been approved by the House Judiciary Committee and is awaiting House Rules Committee clearance. But rules chairman Howard W. Smith (D-Va), a foe of the measure, has indicated he is in no hurry to let the House vote.

Ervin in a speech prepared for the Senate assailed the whole idea of denial by trial by jury which he said is involved in the civil rights issue.

CIVIL RIGHTS ACTION GAINS IN THE HOUSE

WASHINGTON, March 12 (UP)—The House Judiciary Committee rejected today what Emanuel Celler called a number of Southern Democratic attempts to "weaken" the Administration's civil rights bill.

The committee acted at a closed-door session on a number of amendments to the bill's provision setting up a Presidentially-appointed commission to investigate charges of racial discrimination. Details were not disclosed.

Mr. Celler, Democrat of Brooklyn and chairman of the committee, said he would "make every effort" to complete action on the bill tomorrow.

The committee approved one minor amendment. It would increase from $8 to $12 a day the expense allowance granted out-of-town witnesses appearing before the proposed civil rights commission.

An amendment to restore the Commission's authority to investigate religious discrimination, is sponsored by Representative Lester Holtzman, Democrat of Queens.

Representative Kenneth B. Keating, Republican of upstate New York, said Mr. Holtzman's amendment would be submitted at the committee session tomorrow.

Today in National Affairs

Herald Tribune p.19 New York Mon. 3-4-57

Justice Dept. Seen Denying Trial by Jury in Bias Case

By DAVID LAWRENCE

WASHINGTON, Mar. 3.—Maybe there is no need for "civil rights" legislation after all. Congress will certainly be interested to discover how the Department of Justice just a few days ago, in a move that has gone unnoticed generally, simply substituted the words "the United States" for the name of a local school board as a party to a law suit in Federal court. By that device the eighteen defendants arrested for allegedly hindering the Federal injunction at Clinton, Tenn., can be deprived of a trial by jury and put in jail as unfairly as if they were living in some totalitarian country.

Lawrence

While the laws of the land under the Constitution of the United States do permit Federal judges to punish for contempt certain offenses committed in a courtroom, or even outside, when the principals to a controversy refuse to obey a court order, a jury trial can usually be obtained on request. But it is something novel when a lawsuit has been started by private parties to find the Department of Justice petitioning the Federal court to amend the original petition and substitute the words "United States" for those of the complainant. This automatically bars a jury trial.

If the Federal judge in Knoxville, Tenn., approves this request and it is sustained on appeal by the courts, it will not be necessary for the Congress to legislate on "civil rights." All that will be needed is for the Department of Justice to write out the orders and the courts will uphold them.

This is a flagrant abuse of power—much worse than any cited in the recent hearings before the House Judiciary Committee by the critics of the proposed "civil rights" legislation.

It is ironical that the American Civil Liberties Union—which on Feb. 26 made a commendable statement criticizing the Federal court injunction issued at Clinton, Tenn., as being too broad—didn't know that on Feb. 25 the same Federal judge was being asked by the Department of Justice to deprive citizens of a chance for jury trial. The Civil Liberties Union statement had rightly criticized the injunction as too broad and had said that "to the extent that it enjoins speech in opposition to or advocating ignoring of the order, or peaceful picketing for these purposes, it is invalid."

In that same statement, moreover, the right to jury trial was vigorously upheld by the A. C. L. U. even for those defendants who had been charged with actually "hindering" or "obstructing" the operations of a court order. The A. C. L. U. said:

"Under the Federal law a person in contempt of a Federal court order enjoining acts which are also in violation of the Federal or state law is entitled, if he requests it, to a trial by jury. This protection of individual rights was originally written into the law to guard against possible biased judicial decisions in labor injunction cases and now covers all contempt issues. . . .

Jury Trial Restricted

"Similarly, as the acts charged against the sixteen persons now facing trial allege violations of Federal and state laws, these defendants can ask for a jury trial. Therefore no civil liberties issue is raised unless the jury trial is denied, which is unlikely in view of the clear instruction of the law."

But what the A. C. L. U. didn't know when it issued that statement and what most people throughout the United States didn't know because it wasn't reported in the press generally, was that the Department of Justice had resorted to a stratagem by seeking to make the "United States" a party to the suit, which—according to a law of Congress governing contempt cases—eliminates trial by jury.

Some critics not long ago pointed to the case of John L. Lewis as a precedent because he was once fined for contempt by a judge and was not given a jury trial. But those same critics failed to notice that the United States itself was a party to the suit. This was because the government, acting in accordance with a war-time statute, had seized the coal mines and hence any action taken by a union or its leaders to defy a court order was a defiance of the United States government itself.

There is no such parallel here. The school board officials at Clinton, Tenn., were wholeheartedly complying with the desegregation order of the Federal court when they found certain persons in the town were "organizing a movement" to discourage attendance at an integrated school. Hence these school officials asked the court to enjoin anyone attempting to "interfere" with the school board's operations. But a local school board is not a part of the government of the United States, and it is difficult to imagine any Federal court judge consenting to the substitution of the "United States" for a local school board.

Even, however, if this strange petition does not win the approval of the court, the amazing thing is that anyone in the Department of Justice would try such a trick of circumvention in the very week when prominent lawyers from various states were warning Congress that to pass the "civil rights" legislation now being proposed would lead to grave abuses of power.

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Warns Efforts To Protect Minority Groups At Stake

Daily World Atlanta Ga.

Tues. 2-5-57 BY KENNETH WEISS P. 1

WASHINGTON — (INS) — The Eisenhower administration presented its Civil Rights program to Congress Monday with a warning that success of Federal efforts to protect minority groups depends upon its enactment.

Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., outlined the four-point program in testimony before the House Judiciary committee and immediately aroused Southern opposition to Federal intervention in the Civil Rights field.

The program calls for a bipartisan commission to examine Civil Rights cases and policies, creation of a new Civil Rights division in the Justice Department, new laws to protect voting rights, and Civil Court remedies.

It is identical with the administration's proposals last year, which were approved by the House but died in a Senate committee when Congress adjourned.

Brownell said that "the turbulent events and unfortunate incidents" that have occurred in the past year "have not demonstrated any need for revision, but have underscored the need for early enactment of this program."

He told the House members that the proposals "would not enlarge or in any way clash with the constitutional limitation on the Federal government to act in this field."

The cabinet member conceded that extremists would not be satisfied with the program, but said that it would "go far to make a living reality of the pledges of equality under law which are embodied in the Constitution."

Rep. Kenneth Keating (R) N. Y., sponsor of the administration's bill, said that the program is "realistic" and "hard headed" and any "attempt to go further or faster means another dead end."

The southern opposition was sparked by Rep. Edwin E. Willis (D) La., who questioned Brownell sharply about the historic right of the states to deal with election procedures.

Brownell agreed that there are state laws guaranteeing voting rights and principles but he said that "history shows quite clearly that action has not been vigorous enough in that area."

He declared that "the time has come to make these laws meaningful", and said that the Federal Government must have authority to protect voting rights "if the Federal Government is to exist as such."

Willis contended that the elective procedure "historically" has been up to the states.

Brownell's testimony opened four days of hearings on the administration's program. Other witnesses will include Congressional authors of Civil Rights and Southern opponents.

Albert Riley

Constitution

Rights Fight Odds Are Against South

Thurs. 3-21-57 P. 4

Atlanta, Ga.

WASHINGTON—The Congress of the United States bears at least one striking—and unfortunate—similarity to the Georgia General Assembly. That is the obvious determination at times to pass unwise and unnecessary legislation because of political motives and emotional considera-tion.

Congress seems just as hell-bent on passing a civil rights bill as the Georgia Legislature was in adopting its ill-advised resolution to impeach U.S. Supreme Court justices.

Southern spokesmen were hurt, not helped, by the resolution of the Georgia Legislature.

Citizens everywhere may lose some of their freedoms, rather than gain, by passage of the politically inspired civil rights bills.

But so it goes. The Georgia legislators must let the folks back home know they are for continued segregation. The congressmen from the North must let their balance-of-power minority voters back home know they are for "equal rights" for all.

The South is the convenient whipping boy in this struggle between Northern Democrats and Republicans in their bid for the big-city racial minority vote two years from now.

This is a disturbing trend to a Southern observer of the Washington scene, trying hard to be objective. It is more than disturbing to see committees of the Congress treat spokesmen for the politically powerful NAACP with great deference and then fire hostile questions at congressmen and citizens trying to present the Southern point of view.

tle Georgian, Rep. E. L. (Tic) Forrester of Leesburg.

10 1957

Politics Delays Rights Bills

Journal & Guide Sat. 3-2-57 Norfolk, Va.

P. 9

By THOMAS STOKES
In The Chalotte Observer

WASHINGTON—A political poker game over civil rights legislation is going on in Congress. At this early stage Attorney General Herbert Brownell Jr., who is sitting in for the Eisenhower Administration and the Republican Party, seems to hold the best cards.

As the play goes on across committee tables at the Capitol, the principals and almost everybody else are conscious of the political stakes, though no one, of course, mentions them out loud.

In fact, at times the political stakes claim more attention that the deeper issue involved which is the protection of citizens, human beings, in exercise of their rights, including the right to vote.

It is the Democrats who find themselves in a dilemma that could damage their party seriously. The evidence is plain for all to read in the swing of Negro votes in the last election to President Eisenhower, not only in the North but also in the South; and in the latter to become a factor in helping the Republicans to break the once Solid South twice in a row.

THE REASON for the shift also is plain—the blocking of civil rights legislation in the Democratic - controlled Senate last year toward the close of Congress and on the eve of the political campaign.

ATTORNEY General Brownell, who was a very skillful political operator before he became the nation's chief law officer, did not miss the lesson for his party in that shift of Negro votes.

So, while a year ago he delayed submission of a civil rights program to Congress until late in the session and could properly be assigned some of the responsibility for its failure, this time he came in quite early with his program. It is a moderate one and currently the subject of public hearings in House and Senate.

Against that program Southern Democrats are ready to raise all possible barriers. They are frank about that.

Before the House Judiciary Committee there was a long parade of witnesses from southern states, even though the Brownell program was the subject of extended hearings by the same committee last year, and after that it passed the House. But Chairman Cellar (D., N. Y.), of the House Judiciary Committee, has set a deadline for the end of hearings on Feb. 26, and the bill is expected to pass the House again at a not too distant date.

The problem again is the Senate, as it was last year.

There Senator Hennings (D., Mo.), Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Constitutional Rights Subcommittee, tried to avoid hearings again by his group, which held extensive hearings last year also, or at least to curtail this year's hearings.

But Senator Eastland (D., Miss.), Judiciary Committee Chairman, added a couple of southern Democrats to the subcommittee who helped to forestall any hasty procedure. The progress of the public hearings which began last week might be described as leisurely. This was due largely to the deliberate pace set by one of the southerners — Senator Sam Ervin (D., N. C.), who used to be a State Supreme Court justice.

SENATOR ERVIN adopted rather the manner of the southern country lawyer in his cross-examination of Attorney General Brownell, spinning it out in such detail about legal technicalities that the Attorney General had to return twice after his initial appearance.

The North Carolina Senator affected the familiar southern mock, humility—I-may-not-know-very-much-about-these-things and constantly reverted to colloquialisms which he demurely branded as such.

He found a match in the Attorney General, who knows a few tricks himself, as well as considerable law, and is apt and quick at repartee. Mr. Brownell knew what was going on and, while never using the words dilatory or filibuster, said very pointedly when he expressed his readiness to return for a Saturday session, that he would be willing also to give up his Sundays as well as his nights to examination by the subcommittee.

He is aware that the Eisenhower Administration is likely to gain, whatever happens. Dilatory tactics by southern Democrats will react unfavorably for that party among Negro voters, while adoption of the program will help the Administration and the Republican Party.

* * *

THE HEART of the Brownell program is a bill to permit the Attorney General to move in with injunctions to protect the right to vote. The political importance of that measure was made plain to his hearers when he ventured that many more Negroes in the South could have voted in the last election if this bill had been law.

Senator Lyndon Johnson (Texas), Senate Democratic leader, is acutely aware of the political dangers to his party if it fails to meet the civil rights issue. It is his intention to work with northern Democrats to break a filibuster, both in committee and on the floor itself, in the effort to get a moderate program passed by the Senate during this session to clear the part as far as possible on the civil rights issues.

He has cut out quite a chore for himself, since the southern barricade in the Senate on a civil rights bill has never been penetrated in modern times.

Official Declares Ikes' Civil Rights Program 'Gestapo'

Times-Picayune Thurs. 2-21-57 New Orleans, La.

NAACP Held Aggressive Pressure Group

P. 8

By FRANK CORMIER

WASHINGTON, Feb. 20 (AP) — Georgia's attorney general today pictured President Eisenhower's civil rights program as leading to "a federal gestapo" that would cater to Negro pressure groups "inspired by the Communistic ideologies of the police state."

Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook said enactment of the bills would lead to intimidation of a majority of Americans "to appease the vociferous minorities" which have "now apparently wrested control of our government from the people."

Cook, in a 24-page brief filed at a public hearing of a Senate Judiciary subcommittee, didn't say just what "politically powerful minority pressure groups" he was accusing of police state leanings. But he indicated that one group he had in mind was the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People.

NAACP Cited

"Save only the Communist party," he said, "the most aggressive proponent of these civil rights measures is the NAACP."

Cook said the Eisenhower program would "inevitably destroy the states" and lead to the stirring up of civil rights litigation to justify the cost of a "new board of bureaucrats" which would oversee the program.

The Georgia official couldn't appear personally at the hearing on civil rights legislation. Confined to a hospital by a virus infection, he assigned an aide of Sen. Talmadge (D-Ga) to file his brief.

On Behalf of People

Charles J. Bloch of Macon, Ga., a past president of the Georgia Bar Assn., testified in opposition to the bills. He said he appeared "on behalf of the great majority of the people of Georgia, at the request of our governor."

Bloch expressed hope Congress would "cooperate with us in securing a reversal" of the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision. The lawmakers should do that, he said, instead of pressing for "unconstitutional, unwise" civil rights legislation.

The Eisenhower bills call for creation of a special commission to investigate civil rights problems, the establishment of a civil rights division in the Justice Department, and authority for the federal government to seek federal court remedies to protect voting rights and other civil rights.

'Would Create Gestapo'

Cook said the proposed commission "would result in the creation of a federal gestapo which would hold needless investigations, pry into the affairs of the states and their citizens, and intimidate a majority of our citizens."

He said the commission would have such a free hand in spending its funds it presumably might contribute to the Communist party "if it determined that such would promote the cause of racial amalgamation."

Attacking the idea of a civil rights division in the Justice Department, Cook declared that Atty. Gen Brownell has said civil rights complaints are at an all-time low.

'Will Encourage Meddling'

"This very fact," Cook said, "will encourage meddling and baseless suits by the new board of bureaucrats who will surely perceive that they must stir up litigation to justify the expense of their existence."

He said the government would apparently take on additional personnel, because "the police state must have an adequate supply of storm troopers."

Cook also complained the legislation would permit the attorney general to bring court action in civil rights cases without regard to whether state administrative remedies had been exhausted.

This is contrary to practices firmly established in federal law, he said, and would produce a situation which "will inevitably destroy the states."

Almond Calls Rights Bill Frankenstein Monster

Post + Times Herald
Wed. 2-27-57
Washington D.C.
P. 2-a

By Betty Pryor
United Press

Republican leaders predicted yesterday that Congress will approve civil rights legislation before Easter despite solid opposition from the strong Southern Bloc.

They made the forecast to reporters following their weekly legislative huddle with President Eisenhower who is seeking approval of a four-point civil rights program.

However, Southerners trying to head off such legislation charged that the President's plan could lead to Federal tyranny.

State Attorney General J. Lindsay Almond Jr. of Virginia accused the Administration of preaching "one course of action and basic philosophy" on states' rights while practicing the opposite.

House Hearings End

He and Sen. Strom Thurmond (D- S. C.) appeared before a House Judiciary Subcommittee which ended hearings on the program yesterday. The group plans to start drafting a bill today.

House Republican Leader Joseph W. Martin Jr. said it would take the House only about two days to pass the legislation once it gets to the floor.

Senate GOP Leader William F. Knowland (Calif.) said he expected the Senate Judiciary Committee to complete action around March 5. He said he hoped for Senate passage before the Easter recess.

Thurmond told the House Subcommittee he opposed the legislation because he did not want to see tyranny "foisted on the American people under the alias of civil rights."

He said it would enable the Government "to send Federal detectives snooping throughout the land. Federal police could be sent into the home of any citizen charged with violating the civil rights laws."

Almond said the proposed Civil Rights Commission would amount to a "Frankenstein Monster" with powers so broad "it would constitute a board of inquisition."

Appalling and Incredible'

He termed it "appalling and incredible" that Mr. Eisenhower and Attorney General Herbert Brownell Jr. would urge Congress to establish such a commission.

The Administration program also would provide a civil rights division in the Justice Department, strengthen protection of voting rights and authorize civil suits to prevent civil rights violations.

Rep. Edward J. Robeson Jr. (D-Va.) said the well-being of Negroes in the South depends to a great extent "upon the good will of the white citizens who presently are their friends and neighbors." He said it will be "impossible to continue" these relationships if the proposed civil rights legislation is passed.

Meanwhile, Rep. James C. Davis (D-Ga.) commended the Georgia legislature for denouncing "this pattern of usurpation of legislative functions" by the Supreme Court.

But Davis said "it would be a mistake" to file impeachment proceedings against six justices, as recommended by the legislature. He said the resolution would certainly be defeated "with the present personnel of congress."

The Georgia delegation to Congress agreed Monday it would be useless to press the resolution.

Civil Rights Pass First Hurdle

Daily World P. 4
Atlanta, Ga.
Sat 3-2-57

President Eisenhower's four-point Civil Rights program has won approval by a House Sub-Committee following eight days of hearings. It was approved by a vote of 6-0 and is expected to be before the full committee next Tuesday. House passage appears a foregone conclusion.

Sen. Knowland will lead the fight for passage in the Senate. Administration leaders, with an eye to the tidal wave of violence in the South, where churches and homes have been bombed and individuals terrorized, predict Senate approval before Easter.

Several minor amendments have been attached to the measure as approved in the House but it would be a flagrant lack of concern for the nation's largest minority not to get some type of law which will curb the excesses to which the Negro has been exposed to in recent months.

Few would question that there is need for immediate legislation to investigate complaints that "citizens are being deprived of their right to vote or subjected to unwarranted pressures because of color, race or national origin."

The bill approved by the House subcommittee would:

1. SET UP A six-member bipartisan commission to investigate allegations that citizens are being deprived of the right to vote or are being subjected to "unwarranted economic pressures" because of color, race or national origin.

2. CREATE a civil rights division, headed by an assistant attorney general, in the Justice Department.

3. STRENGTHEN laws protecting the right to vote by prohibiting individuals, as well as officials, from interfering with this right.

4. AUTHORIZE the government to bring civil court suits for injunctions or other relief to prevent civil rights violations.

Progress Listed On Civil Rights

Post + Times Herald P. 8-A
Washington, D.C.
Mon. 3-25-57

By Jack Eisen
Staff Reporter

The American Civil Liberties Union, drawing up a balance sheet for 1956, concluded that the growing force of public opinion and the decisions of Federal courts and agencies were responsible for strengthened civil rights.

In its 96-page annual report, it expressed a feeling of "comfort and encouragement" over progress made in three areas—equality before the law, fair procedures and freedom of inquiry and communications.

ACLU branded the "cutting off of knowledge" through censorship as the "worst evil," and one that must be firmly opposed.

While the press has little trouble with overt censorship, the report asserted, newspapers continue "to be deeply concerned about the censorship which is inherent in suppression of news by Government authorities."

The report, prepared and released in New York, said civil liberties generally are at stake in the fight for Negro rights in the South. It was in this fight, ACLU said, that many of the encouraging Federal Court decisions were handed down.

ACLU said precensorship of books, magazines and motion pictures "is rapidly disappearing," but criticized boycotts "whereby religious and other groups not only exercise their right to guard their memberships from material believed objectionable, but also may keep other people from exercising their own judgment . . ."

The report said the Roman Catholic Church was one of the religious groups that had moved in that direction.

ACLU restated support for the controversial antisegregation amendment to proposed school aid legislation introduced by Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D-N. Y.).

The report also:

- Found that courts had become more lenient with religious conscientious objectors to military service. It pointed to a case where the University of Maryland "has refused to excuse from ROTC duty a student conscientious objector" who has entered the training under protest.
- Noted that the District of Columbia Board of Commissioners had "announced that it will enforce the 75-year-old antidiscrimination laws with respect to all places of public accommodation covered by this legislation. It included this item under the heading, "Big Gains Without Drama."
- Took note of a view by an affiliate, the Washington State ACLU, that "civil liberties were not well served" by following the automatic seniority rule in choosing Sen. James Eastland (D-Miss.) as Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee.

To Counteract NAACP—

Patterson Asks Role In Civil Rights Study

Post-Herald P. 1
B'ham, Ala.
Sat. 2-2-57

MONTGOMERY, Feb. 1 (UP)—Atty. Gen. John Patterson today wired Speaker Sam Rayburn (D., Tex.) for permission to appear before a House civil rights study committee in Washington Feb. 4.

The committee will study civil rights legislation pending in Congress.

Patterson said he wanted to be sure the "State of Alabama was defended against certain members of the NAACP from Alabama who are going up there to criticize our people and our law enforcement agencies."

The attorney general said he had been informed "from unimpeachable sources" that a delegation of Alabama members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People are planning to attend the hearing, which will last for several days.

Patterson asked that he and his assistant, MacDonald Gallion, be allowed to testify before the Judiciary Committee. He sent wires to Rayburn and Congressman Emanuel Celler of New York, who is chairman of the committee.

"The purpose of some of these civil rights bills is to ram integration down the throats of the people of the South. This would be unjust and would cause strife such as we've never known before," Patterson said.

Montgomery has been the scene of bombings and shootings since the Supreme Court decision struck down segregation in public transportation. Violence has also been reported in other parts of the state.

Six persons have been charged here with the bombings and one of the shootings.

Patterson said the NAACP Negroes "were probably sorry the police are solving the case, because it takes a lot of steam out of their talk."

The attorney general said the police are handling racial disorder here "with impartiality toward both races."

"It burns me up to hear them say our law enforcement agencies are unfair," he said.

Patterson said attorney generals from Georgia, Virginia South Carolina and other Southern states have also requested permission to testify before the committee.

10 1957

Foes of Rights Bill Plan Attack Through Riders

Star Wed. 2-13-57 P.2-A
Washington, D.C.

By ROBERT K. WALSH

Instead of relying mainly on a frontal attack against any and all Federal civil rights legislation, Southern foes of such bills indicated today they would try to undermine them by also urging major revisions or riders.

The House Judiciary subcommittee, resuming open hearings it held the first four days of last week, scheduled a dozen witnesses. These included State officials and House members from Tennessee, Louisiana, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina.

Far from conceding that they might lose their fight to prevent congressional enactment of a civil rights bill for the first time in 80 years, those prospective witnesses show no signs of compromising on any of the 45 civil rights measures, including the Eisenhower administration's program being considered by the subcommittee.

Attorney General to institute such civil suits even without the consent of the person who believed his voting rights were threatened or denied.

Principal witnesses scheduled for today are Attorney General George McCanless of Tennessee, Attorney General J. P. F. Gremillon of Louisiana, and Democratic Representatives Davis of Tennessee, Dorn of South Carolina, Selden and Andrews of Alabama, Forrester of Georgia, Long of Louisiana and Whitten of Mississippi.

To Give Advice

But some of the opponents dropped hints in advance of today's hearing that they intend to "advise" the subcommittee on more practical and constitutional ways of improving civil rights as well as the economic opportunities of citizens in all parts of the country.

One such suggestion reportedly planned for submission to the subcommittee is that the administration's civil rights bill, if enacted, be amended to include far flung housing and resettlement programs for Negroes in the South.

Another proposal likely to be offered is that the administration bill's provision for a Civil Rights Commission, if adopted at all, should not empower the commission to subpoena witnesses, State or local officials, or public records.

Seek Injunction Changes

Still another change believed likely to be urged would affect the proposed provision allowing the Attorney General to obtain civil remedies such as injunctions in Federal courts in complaints of violations of voting or other civil rights.

Virtually all opposition witnesses thus far have attacked the entire provision. But a particular point of attack is expected to center increasingly on the section that would permit the

Civil Rights Foes Rapped

Courier P. 5
Pittsburgh, Pa.

WASHINGTON (ANP)—Two Negro Congressmen last week joined the group of other liberals in a cross-fire with some Southern Congressmen and state officials over the passage of civil rights legislation.

Sat. 2-23-57

Appearing before the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee, Congressmen William L. Dawson of Illinois and Adam Clayton Powell of New York pointed out the need for legislation which will assure the protection of the civil rights of all citizens.

Counter testimony was offered by the Governor and the Attorney General from Mississippi, two Congressmen from South Carolina, one from Georgia and a Republican from Illinois.

Securing Civil Rights

Post & Times Herald P. 4-A

Senator Ives seems to have good reason for his restrained optimism in predicting that the Administration's moderate civil rights program will pass the Senate this year. Many members of Congress, with precinct returns on Negro voting still fresh in their memory, are showing a laudable if often belated concern for the rights of minorities. For the first time in years, a clear majority in both houses appears ready to meet the issue.

Washington, D.C.

In fairness, more than mere pragmatism is involved in this shift of tide. Since backers of both civil rights and aid to schools hope to keep these issues separate by pressing for a civil rights bill first. The feeling is that this approach will offset the mischief of a Powell amendment which would deny funds to schools which had not yet been desegregated. The prospects of enacting both sorely-needed measures will be enormously improved if the issues can be kept separate. P. 4-F

As in the past, the difficulty will be in getting the civil rights bill on the floor early enough. It is estimated that success depends upon bringing the bills to the House floor by March 15 and on the Senate floor by Easter. If this timetable is not met civil rights may be lost in the crush of priority legislation, hopelessly tangled with the school issue, or stifled in the Senate by filibuster.

Sun. 2-17-57

This is the reason why some Southern opponents are practicing every artifice of delay in their formidable bag of parliamentary tricks. Southerners have already won a 12-day extension of House Judiciary Committee hearings. Most of the testimony has been repititious and some of it merely abusive; one hostile witness referred to civil rights proposals as a "bunch of garbage." In the Senate, hearings have been delayed by relentless grilling of the Attorney General and by the blocking of efforts to hold hearings while the Senate was in session.

There are signs, however, that for once these tactics may fail; indeed, some of the noise may represent more a *pro forma* protest than deep-end opposition. There is hardly anything radical in the Administration program. It calls for formation of a bipartisan commission on civil rights and establishment of a civil rights division in the Justice Department. More important, it would give the Attorney General the power to protect the right to vote by seeking an injunction against any persons attempting to thwart that right. It would also permit the Attorney General to take civil action in behalf of individuals deprived of Constitutional rights. This is essentially a modest proposal; Mr. Brownell's testimony on the outrageous methods used in some states to prevent Negro voting is an eloquent argument for the powers he seeks.

In terms of strategy, the civil rights bloc is wisely seeking passage in the House first. Then, it is thought, the Senate Judiciary Committee will introduce an identical measure—thus checking the dangers of delay in conference caused by differing bills. To be sure, this means that the Senate Judiciary Committee, headed by the ineffable Senator Eastland, must approve the bill. But it seems clear that the Committee majority will vote approval if it has the chance. Here the premium will be on Senate pressure against any maneuver to bottle up the bill. If the bill gets to the floor soon enough, there will be time to wear out any filibuster.

Of course, there is a strong flavor of politics in the conversion of some statesmen to the cause of civil rights. But whatever the underlying motives, the net result can be to make political capital pay interest in morality. Questions of principle are often intermingled with the politics of compromise. In this case, despite the short-run taint of opportunism, the long-term goal is justice itself.

The Civil Rights Fight

Advertiser P. 4-A

SOUTHERN Democrats in the Senate yesterday made it plain they would throw up all the obstacles in the parliamentary arsenal against Senate action on the President's civil rights proposals in this session. The proposals include creation of a special civil rights commisison and a civil rights division in the Justice Department, and other major extensions of federal authority.

Montgomery, Ala.
Sat. 2-16-57

Senate Minority Leader William F. Knowland predicts the Senate will be ready to debate the proposals, now in committee, about Easter. However, if his predictions don't hold, if the civil rights legislation is not on the floor of the House by March 15 and the Senate floor by Easter, chances for passage will be slim, according to an analysis of Southern strategy by *Congressional Quarterly.*

If the legislation isn't before the Senate by the midway point of the session, Southern senators feel the threat of the "ultimate weapon," the filibuster, will prevent action this year.

To be effective, the filibuster must come late in the session, when congressmen are anxious to have done with pressing business and flee Washington's summer heat. Thus the anouncement yesterday that all delaying tactics

would be used to set the stage for the filibuster threat later on. Conversely, proponents of the legislation will be fighting to expedite the progress of the measures to the floor.

In the House, *CQ* says, approval of the President's program by the judiciary committee is a foregone conclusion and opponents see little chance of blocking it in the rules committee, but the rules chairman, Howard W. Smith, is a Virginian and will doubtless attempt a holding action.

In the Senate, the judiciary committee has not reported a civil rights bill since 1949. The chairman, and the only man who can summon the committee to meet, is Mississippi's Eastland, whose views are hardly secret. Last year, civil rights legislation reached Eastland's committee on March 2, the senator called the first hearing for May 16 and opposition testimony stretched the hearings into July. On July 9, the next scheduled date, the committee couldn't meet because Eastland was inspecting a new irrigation system for his farm in Doddsville, or so he said later.

Eastland also has a formidable bargaining power in the fact that two nominees to the Supreme Court must go through his committee (Brennan and the successor to Justice Reed, still to be named).

All of which is a wasteful way to occupy the valuable time of the Senate, to be sure. But Southerners, convinced that strife, racial tension and endless litigation will result from passage of the President's program, feel it better to fight it out in Washington over the period of a few weeks than in their home states for perhaps years, diverting the energies of the people and creating discord.

The South today is faced with monumental problems in poverty, public welfare, education — problems which will affect the destinies of both races for generations to come. To enact laws likely to create further race trouble and unrest at such a period in history could freeze the progress of the whole region, as demagogues move to the fore, legislators devote their time and talent to measures to defeat Washington and ordinary citizens turn their attention from real problems to unlearned discussions of anthropology.

Democrat Group Asks Rights Laws

By LEO RABIDAN

SAN FRANCISCO — (INS) — The National Democratic Advisory council, composed mainly of liberal leaders of the party, called Sunday for quick enactment of civil rights legislation by Congress, denounced the Eisenhower administration's foreign policy and urged swift action on statehood for Alaska and Hawaii.

A resolution on civil rights adopted at the closing session of the council's meeting in San Francisco said:

"The Democratic members of the United States Senate and House of Representatives are hereby urged to proceed, during the first session of the 85th Congress, to enact pending legislation introduced by Democratic members in their unflagging efforts to eliminate discrimination of all kinds in relation to the right to vote and to engage in gainful occupations; and the other specific discriminations mentioned in the planks on civil rights embodied in the Democratic platforms."

Chairman Paul Butler of the Democratic National Committee, who is also chairman of the advisory council, said only one vote was cast against the resolution — that of Mrs. Lennard Thomas, an alternate member from Alabama. He said she voiced opposition to issuance of a statement of any kind on civil rights.

Butler said that Camille Gravel, Jr., of Louisiana, chairman of the Southern Conference of Democratic National committeemen, voted in favor of the resolution.

The national chairman said the resolution does not go beyond the 1956 Democratic national platform plank on civil rights and asserted it was not intended to "prod" Democratic members of Congress, but was designed to "inform all Democrats of the party's policy."

Specific mention of the "right to vote" in the resolution was in line with views of former U. S. Senator Herbert Lehman of New York and Rep. James Roosevelt of Los Angeles, who were co-chairmen of a human resources panel at the San Francisco meeting.

Both had asserted that all other rights would follow easily if Negroes in the South were protected in the right to vote.

Dixie Solons Slow Civil Rights Bill

BY OSE McKEE

WASHINGTON, — (INS) — Southern Democratic Senators acted today to slow down consideration of civil rights legislation at the same time Northern Democrats in the House were asking for a speedy vote.

The tug-of-war at opposite ends of the capitol developed as Sen J. Strom Thurmond (D) S. C., asked the Senate Judiciary committee to hold further hearings on civil rights and four northern members of the House Rules Committee asked for a special committee hearing to clear the measure for the floor.

Thurmond made his request in a letter to chairman James O. Eastland (D) Miss., who like the South Carolinian opposes legislation to outlaw racial discrimination.

The bill following closely President Eisenhower's civil rights proposals, was approved earlier in the week by a 4 to 2 vote in a subcommittee, which held hearings on it.

The question now is how soon it will be called up for consideration and a vote in the full committee. Advocates of civil rights legislation fear that delay in getting the bill to the floor will dampen chances of killing an expected filibuster against it.

On the House side, sponsors of the request for a special rules committee hearing conceded that there is virtually no chance of bringing the bill to the House floor until late April or early May.

Rep. Richard Bolling (D) Mo., one of those signing the request, said the action was taken to prevent "a stall" which would delay consideration of the bill, already passed by the House Judiciary Committee.

Similar tactics were used successfully last year. The House finally passed a civil rights measure, but it died in a Senate Committee. Others signing the House request were Democrats James J. Delaney, N. Y., Ray J. Madden, Ind., and Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., Mass.

They asked chairman Howard W. Smith (D) Va., to call a rules committee meeting by next Thursday to determine when hearings can be held on procedures to bring the measure to the House floor.

Thurmond in his letter to Eastland said there are many provisions of the bill that "are objectionable and obnoxious" but he said that one of them alone "warrants a hearing by the full committee."

He referred to the provision which opponents claimed would deny a trial by jury to citizens in cases where a suit was brought by the attorney general substituting for the person discriminated against. Meanwhile, Sen. Thomas C. Hennings (D) Mo., the subcommittee chairman, and Sen. Everett Dirksen (R) Ill., joined in introducing in the Senate the civil rights bill approved by the House Judiciary Committee.

The Missouri Democrat said that he will ask consideration of civil rights legislation at the next regularly scheduled meeting of the full committee "which I presume will be on next Monday, March 25 at 10:30 a. [illegible]."

Sober Spokesman

The Mobile Press

It is noteworthy that a House subcommittee conducting hearings on civil rights legislation applauded a Georgia attorney following his recent appearance before the committee.

Chairman Emanuel Celler of New York suspended the rule against applause and Attorney Charles Bloch received an ovation from members of the committee, most of whom are believed to be solidly behind President Eisenhower's proposal to establish a federal commission as the guardian angel of civil rights.

What impressed the committee was that Bloch refrained from emotionalism over the race issue. Rather, he chose to argue against the commission on points of law only and left the race-baiting to others.

Ill. Lawmaker Introduces 5 'Rights' Bills

WASHINGTON. — (ANP) — Congressman Barrett O'Hara (D., Ill.) has introduced five civil rights bills in the House of Representatives.

Heading the list is a bill outlawing the poll tax as a requirement for voting. Five states still have the poll tax, the Chicago Democrat pointed out. As a result, hundreds of thousands of voters are being disenfranchised.

"In these five states," said O'Hara "nearly 11-million people could have qualified to vote in 1954 —less than three million actually went to the polls."

In addition to the anti-poll tax measure, O'Hara introduced a "right-to-vote bill" which would protect the right of all citizens to political participation. This bill would make it a criminal offense to "intimidate, threaten, or coerce any other person for the purpose of interfering with the right of such other person to vote."

A third bill would further strengthen this guarantee. This measure declares that "the right to vote is America's most treasured possession. We must see to it that it is not denied to anyone because of race, color or creed," stressed the congressman.

O'Hara also siresesd the urgency of passing federal anti-lynching legislation this year. His proposed bill would penalize not only those actually committing mob violence, but also any government official or employe who condones such action.

"We had three lynchings in "1955," O'Hara pointed out "after several years in which none at all had occurred. This indication of an increase in mob violence requires immediate action by Congress.

His final bill would provide legal relief for anyone discriminated against in interstate transportation.

O'Hara is currently serving his fourth term as representative from the Second Illinois Congressional district.

10 1957

DESPITE EXPECTED FILIBUSTER

Advertiser Wed. 2-27-57

Civil Rights Bill Passage By Easter, Knowland Forecast

Montgomery, Ala. P.1

WASHINGTON, Feb. 26 (AP)—Sen. Knowland (R-Calif) expressed confidence today the Senate will vote for civil rights legislation, perhaps before the Easter recess.

He made the prediction, at the White House, in face of the certainty of a Southern filibuster due to begin whenever such legislation should hit the Senate floor.

Knowland, minority leader in the Senate, and Rep. Joseph W. Martin, (R-Mass), minority leader in the House, both discussed the civil rights situation with reporters after their weekly legislative conference with President Eisenhower.

Martin said the legislation should be ready for the House about March 15 and "we'll pass it—it will take about two days." As he spoke, a House Judiciary subcommittee was holding its last scheduled day of civil rights hearings, taking another round of opposition testimony from Southern witnesses.

Knowland expressed hope the Senate would vote before Congress recesses for Easter, Thursday, April 18.

A Senate Judiciary subcommittee has voted to end its hearings on the legislation March 5. However, Sen. Ervin (D-NC) has announced he will press for further hearings before the full committee, headed by Sen. Eastland (D-Miss).

Southern critics of the proposed new laws are trying to delay a Senate vote; backers are trying to speed one up. Last year the House passed a bill patterned after Eisenhower administration proposals, but so late in the session that the Senate didn't act.

This year, the backers started their efforts much earlier and are in a better position to weaken the filibuster weapon.

Those pressing for the legislation contend that many Southern Negroes are being deprived of their rights and the federal government must act. Those fighting it call it unnecessary and an intrusion on the rights of states to govern themselves.

Advertiser P.2-a

NEW DIVISION

The Eisenhower program calls for a federal commission to investigate civil rights complaints, a new division in the Justice Department to handle civil rights matters, authority for the attorney general to get court injunctions to prevent violations, and provisions for civil rights damage suits.

In today's House subcommittee hearings, Sen. Thurmond (D-S.C.)

"In other countries, tyranny has taken the forms of fascism, communism and absolute monarchy. I do not want to see it foisted on the American people under the alias of civil rights."

VIRGINIAN SPEAKS

J. Lindsay Almond, Virginia's attorney general, said of the civil rights plan:

"It was not conceived in response to the demands of the national interest, but engendered in hate and motivated by political expediency."

Almond said the proposed federal commission would inflict on some citizens the same "unwarranted economic pressure" which he said the legislation is supposed to protect others from.

Another witness, Rep. Robeson (D-Va) said there is "an almost unbelievable minimum of difficulty" between the races in Virginia, and the legislation would be an justified invasion of states' rights.

EDITOR WARNS

Still another Virginian, editor Virginius Dabney of the Richmond Times - Dispatch, discussed the legislation in a speech for a meeting of the National Assn. of Secondary School Principals.

"A majority of Congress seems to be so bemused by the phrase 'civil rights' that it is reluctant to vote against anything which bears that label, no matter how dangerous its potentialities."

Rights Hearings Are Extended at South's Request

Star P.1 Mon. 2-25-57 Washington, D.C.

Opponents of Bills From Three States Slated to Testify

Southern opponents of pending civil rights bills called officials of three States today for a special two-day extension of House Judiciary subcommittee hearings.

Gov. Orval Faubus of Arkansas, Senator Talmadge, Democrat of Georgia, and a representative of Gov. Price Daniel of Texas were among the witnesses scheduled by the subcommittee today.

Representative Celler, Democrat of New York, chairman of both the subcommittee and the full committee and a strong advocate of civil rights legislation, yielded to insistent Southern demands for the current hearings.

It was the third extension of the time he originally allotted for considering the legislation. But he said testimony positively will close tomorrow and the full committee is expected to act next week.

Mr. Celler's strategy is to work for House passage as soon as possible to lessen the effectiveness of an expected Southern filibuster in the Senate.

Gov. Daniel's views were to be given the subcommittee by Assistant Attorney General Davis Grant of Texas.

Witnesses scheduled for tomorrow include Attorney General J. Lindsay Almond of Virginia and Senator Thurmond, Democrat of South Carolina, one-time candidate for President on the States Rights Democratic ticket.

In a statement filed with the subcommittee, Representative Herlong, Democrat of Florida, took issue with what he said was a statement that Florida officials had done nothing about a 1951 bombing in which a Negro leader was killed in Mims, Fla.

Mr. Herlong attached a letter in which Florida Attorney General Richard W. Ervin said "I know that the State and local authorities did zealously work on this case and that the FBI was invited in and did make a full investigation."

FEAR OF NEGRO VOTE CITED BY ABERNETHY

Commercial Appeal P.1 Wed. 2-27-57 Memphis, Tenn.

Mississippian Blasts Both Parties For Civil Rights Legislation

From The Commercial Appeal Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, Feb. 26.—Representative Tom Abernethy (D., Miss.) declared Tuesday it is "dread and fear of the Negro vote" that is influencing Northern congressmen to back civil rights legislation.

Appearing before a House Judiciary Subcommittee in spirited opposition to the measures, the Mississippian asserted they would never have been introduced in Congress if it were not for the Negro's political power in other sections.

Blames Both Parties

"The Negro has his foot on the neck of both political parties—and they like it," the Mississippian said.

"The leaders of both the Republican and the Democratic Parties are bowing and scraping to the Negro everywhere. He threatens them and they jump. The President sends Congress special demands for legislation for the Negro. The leaders of both parties fall in line without questioning constitutionality of the proposals or the ultimate effect they will have on the country or the freedom of the people."

'Negroes Don't Want It'

He declared leaders of both parties are backing the legislation "regardless of the fact that it would be impossible to enforce it even with an army of spies and secret Federal agents."

Mr. Abernethy said most Negroes do not favor the legislation because they are in accord with its ultimate objective.

"Negroes naturally prefer the association and society of their own kind," he said. "They know the purpose of this legislation is not just to give them the vote, nor to give them better schools.

Commercial Appeal P.2

"They know that the ultimate and longtime objective of its sponsors is to force the Negroes and white people to mix in all the affairs of life. This the respectable Negro does not want. They want to be left alone with their own kind.

"If they were forcibly intermingled with the white people they would be out of place from everything they had ever known. They would be the most unhappy people in the world.

He said difficulties that may arise if the bills are passed will not be confined solely to the South. "They will rise up to haunt you who are proposing them, in the years to come," he said, noting that "Negroes are moving North and East at the rate of 250,000 a year."

"Soon you will have them in such great numbers you will no longer point to them in the South," he told the subcommittee, whose seven members include no Southerners. "They will be yours and your problem."

One of the last witnesses to testify before the House subcommittee, Mr. Abernethy appeared as Republican congressional leaders predicted Congress will approve civil rights legislation before Easter despite Southern opposition.

House Republican Leader Joseph W. Martin Jr. (R., Mass.) said the legislation will pass the House within two days after it reaches the floor.

And Senate GOP Leader William F. Knowland (R., Calif.) said he expects Senate passage before the Easter recess.

The House subcommittee is slated to meet in executive session Wednesday to vote out a bill. It is almost certain to be President Eisenhower's four-point program to create a bipartisan commission to air racial grievances, establish a civil rights division in the Justice Department with increased powers, protect Negro voting rights, and authorize the attorney general to file civil actions in behalf of complainants in civil rights cases.

Waive Testimony Of 3 Southerners Before Senate

Bystander P.1
Thurs. 2-28-57
Des Moines Iowa

Washington.—Three southern Negroes who were to testify before the subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee last week were denied the opportunity to do so after they had been sworn in.

The subcommittee is holding hearings on civil rights legislation.

After the three scheduled witnesses had been sworn in on Feb. 16, Sen. Sam J. Ervin (Dem., N.C.), maintained that examination of their testimony might take until midnight. The appearance of the three then was postponed.

Time Limit

Scheduled to testify were the Rev. Holmes Borders and A. T. Walden of Atlanta, Ga., and Gus Courts, who was shot in Belzoni, Miss., because of his efforts there to register and vote.

Bystander

After cancellation of the testimony, Sen. Arthur V. Watkins (R., Utah) suggested that the subcommittee hold an executive session to consider placing a time limit on its hearings.

The following day, Clarence Mitchell, director of the NAACP Washington Bureau, urged members of the subcommittee and the full Judiciary Committee to support Sen. Watkins and Sen. Thomas C. Hennings (D., Mo.) in the move to limit the hearings.

On Feb. 18 the subcommitte voted to end its hearings on civil rights legislation by March 5. Members who voted for the March 5 closing date were Senators Hennings, Watkins, Roman Lee Hruska (R., Neb.), and Joseph C. O'Mahoney (D., Wyo.). Opposing the move were senators Irvin and Olin D. Johnson (D., S.C.).

LEADERS DIFFER ON 'RIGHTS' BILL

Times-Picayune

Ervin Says Foes Gain; Knowland Sees Passage

Mon. 3-25-57

By JOHN CHADWICK

WASHINGTON, March 24 (AP)—Sen. Ervin (D-NC) said that he feels opponents of the administration's civil rights bill have made "some headway." But Sen. Knowland (R-Calif) predicted passage of the legislation at the present session.

The measure is up for consideration at a closed meeting of the Senate Judiciary Committee called for Monday morning. A judiciary subcommittee approved it last Tuesday by a 4-2 vote.

Knowland, the Senate Republican leader, told newsmen he hoped that the full committee would act on the bill in the coming week and that the legislation might be brought up for debate in the Senate before an Easter recess late next month.

However, judiciary committee members on the both sides of the civil rights fight said they saw no prospect of any final action at the group's meeting on Monday.

Sen. Watkins (R-Utah), one of the chief sponsors of the administration bill, said he hoped the committee might at least begin consideration of some of the amendments proposed by Ervin and others.

At the judiciary subcommittee meeting last Tuesday, Ervin offered half a dozen amendments. All of them failed of adoption, including one to provide for jury trials in contempt cases growing out of civil rights enforcement.

Ervin, a leader of the Southern opposition, has been hammering away at a contention that the administration legislation provides for what he called "government by injunction." He also says it would deprive citizens of their constitutional right to trial by jury.

While Ervin said he thinks opponents have made headway with this argument, Knowland said he didn't believe administration forces would have to accept a jury trial amendment to get the bill through Congress.

Sen. Ellender (D-La) said tonight the bill would "make a shambles of the constitution and place basic individual rights at the whim of whoever may occupy the position of Attorney General of the United States."

In a speech prepared for broadcast over a New Orleans radio station (WWL), Ellender said, like other opponents, that the legislation would destroy "such precious constitutional safeguards as trial by jury."

Under present law, the government can enforce civil rights only through criminal prosecutions. The administration bill would empower the government to sue for injunctions or to seek other civil remedies.

Other parts of the administration bill call for the creation of a presidential commission to investigate complaints of civil rights violations and for establishment of a civil rights division in the justice department.

Knowland predicted the measure would pass "eventually" at this session. But he said that if its consideration by the Senate is delayed until early June, when money bills and other legislation begin to pile up, it will be "highly vulnerable" to a possible Southern filibuster.

The House Judiciary Committee has approved a civil rights bill substantially in line with the administration's recommendations, but indications are that it won't be acted on in the House until after the Easter recess.

House And Senate Committees OK Ike's Civil Rights Bill

Butler County American P.1
Sat. 3-23-57 Hamilton, Ohio

Washington—The house judiciary committee finished revising the Eisenhower administration's civil rights this week and Chairman Celler (D., N.Y.) began the job of obtaining clearance for the measure from the rules committee.

As finally approved by the judiciary committee, the bill would:

1. Create a bipartisan commission to investigate charges of civil rights violations.

2. Establish a new division in the justice department which would prosecute civil rights violations.

3. Authorize the attorney general to seek civil action in civil rights cases. Under present law, the federal government can prosecute such cases under criminal statutes only.

4. Protect the right to vote by authorizing the attorney general to start civil actions to prevent a person's being deprived of his right to vote, rather than acting after a would- be voter has been kept from the polls.

Altho the bill emerged from the committee bearing Celler's name, it was essentially the administration measure introduced by Rep. Keating (R., N.Y.)

Washington—A Senate judiciary subcommittee overrode Southern opposition today and approved the Eisenhower administration's civil rights bill.

By a 4-2 vote, the group sent the measure to the full Judiciary Committee. Subcommittee Chairman Thomas Hennings (D., Mo.) said he would press there for quick action.

The vote divided Northern and border state Senators against the subcommittee's two Southern members.

Reportedly for the bill were Hennings and Sens. Joseph O'Mahoney (D., Wyo.), Arthur Watkins (R., Utah) and Roman Hruska (R., Nebr.). Against it were Sens Sam Ervin (D., N.C.) and Olin Johnston (D., S.C.).

The Why of Civil Rights

Post + Times Herald
Sat. 3-23-57
Washington, D.C.

Critics of the civil rights bill in Congress ought to take a good look at what has happened in Birmingham. A municipal judge there has fined 21 Negroes for violation of the city's bus segregation law, which is similar to the one in Montgomery declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. In assessing the fines, the judge declared that the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution, which provides among other things for equal protection of the laws, is "null and void."

There is understandable concern about the extent to which Federal court powers to punish for contempt under the proposed civil rights bill might deprive citizens of jury trials. Persons who defied court injunctions not to interfere with the exercise of voting rights in elections might be tried summarily by Federal judges for contempt. The contempt power is of course something to be used sparingly and only to prevent direct obstructions to justice. This and other features and implications of the civil rights bill can stand some examination.

But in the final analysis, the question comes down to whether the Constitution of the United States is in fact to be treated as the supreme law of the land everywhere in the land. When a municipal judge, nearly 90 years after adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment, takes it upon himself to declare the protection nullified, is it any wonder that there is a clamor for Federal action to guarantee the voting rights supposedly secured under the Fifteenth Amendment?

10 1957

South on Civil Rights . . . By Robert C. Albright

Post + Times Herald Mon. 3-4-57
Washington, D.C.

Bill Would Impair Them. Its Foes Say

P.B-D

Albright

SOUTHERN opponents of currently pending civil rights bills supplied a new twist to an old argument during extended House-Senate hearings on the Administrations' 4-point civil rights program.

Putting their best foot forward, the Southerners abandoned the emotionalism of other days and fought Attorney General Brownell's right-to-vote proposals with adroit legal points, in the unfamiliar role for them of civil rights defenders.

The tactic was consciously designed to raise a cloud of legal doubt in the wake of the Attorney General's testimony, and has at least partially succeeded in doing just that.

THE DISTURBING question Sen. Sam Ervin (D-N. C.), an able lawyer and experienced jurist, succeeded in raising was this: Might not civil rights exponents, in their zeal to push through new voting safeguards, risk the loss of civil rights equally precious?

To Attorney General Brownell, who sparred with Ervin off and on for three tense days, the answer to that one was easy. It was a simple and unequivocal "No."

But so successfully had Ervin propounded the question that 10 days later a Southern liberal of the stature of Virginius Dabney, editor of the Richmond (Va.) Times-Dispatch, gave an equally positive affirmative answer. Dabney said legislation of this sort should frighten and dismay the whole country.

What are these powers the bill would give to the Attorney General, which the Southerners maintain will boomerang against other civil rights?

First and foremost, the authority to intervene, in the case of suspected interference with the right to vote, with or without the permission of the allegedly aggrieved individual. The Attorney General could intervene even before the offense took place, if he thought an election official was "about" to deprive a Negro, or any other citizen, of his vote.

ERVIN argued, and other Southerners are taking the same line, that this proposed new procedure would operate to negate the fundamental American right to trial by jury. They say it would permit an election official to be convicted on the strength of an affidavit. without a hearing, without witnesses, and without grand jury indictment.

Under the bill the Attorney General could bypass state judicial or administrative bodies and seek restoration of a person's allegedly impaired voting rights by obtaining a Federal court injunction, the Southerners pointed out.

Any private person or public official who violated the court order, by continuing to prevent a person from voting, could be tried for contempt of court. Subject to the discretion of the Federal judge, there would be no jury trial.

Brownell granted that much of this would be possible under the bill. What he stressed, however, was that the Attorney General already has authority to resort to criminal prosecutions to assure the right to vote. As a practical matter, however, this hasn't worked out in the South. Criminal remedies come only after the harm has been done. Besides, Brownell argued, Southern jurors are reluctant to indict and convict local officials in a criminal prosecution, even though they recognize the illegality of what has been done.

In attempting to deal with attempts at what he described as "mass disenfranchisement of Negroes," in some Southern states, the Attorney General said he concluded that only civil proceedings can assure prompt relief.

"What is needed," Brownell argued, "and what the legislation sponsored by the Administration would authorize, is to lodge power in the Department of Justice to proceed in civil suits in which the problem can often be solved before the election, and without the necessity of imposing upon any official the stigma of criminal prosecution."

As for authority for the Attorney General to act in behalf of the individual aggrieved, and even without his knowledge, Brownell said no precedent at all would be set. He noted that Congress has repeatedly given the Government the same power to proceed without the consent of the aggrieved party in anti-monopoly, Taft-Hartley and a score of other laws.

WHAT DO the liberal advocates of the bill reply to all this? Perhaps as able a witness for the bill as appeared, to back up the testimony of Brownell, was Sen. Jacob K. Javits (R-N. Y.). Javits was a practicing lawyer who served in the House and was Attorney General of New York before coming to the Senate.

Javits maintained there was one big flaw in what Ervin was saying, and that it demolished his whole argument. The guarantees to which Ervin was referring applied solely to criminal proceedings, the New Yorker argued, and not to the civil action contemplated by Brownell.

"Guarantees which are designed to protect people against criminal indictment and conviction would not be applicable because there would be no criminal prosecution," Javits said.

"A civil proceeding does not involve any individual in the jeopardy which he suffers in a criminal action . . . Hence it is not surrounded with exactly the same provisions of law in the Constitution."

"It enables him to be tried by the judge," interposed Ervin.

"But he is not tried, Senator," Javits insisted. "He is not tried at all. He is given a set of directions which he is asked to comply with, which is the mandate of the court."

SEN. Roman L. Hruska (R-Neb.), another lawyer-member of the committee, came to Javits' assistance.

"Is it not true," Hruska asked, "that the proceedings with reference to civil contempt are also blessed with the sanctity and the sacredness of constitutional procedure, and are part of those same constitutional procedures, just as fully and for just as long a period of time as criminal proceedings under criminal contempt?"

Javits said there was no question about it. Said he: "Civil proceedings and what is done under them in terms of our law are just as traditional, just as old, just as firmly fixed, just as much accepted and are considered just as much a protection to the individual as the provisions relating to criminal prosecution."

Maybe the next bout will find an answer to this question:

Have Southern jurists, as an effective substitute for filibuster, really turned up some valid defects in the Administration's bill?

If so, the new tactic of "Speak softly, but carry a law book," will have succeeded beyond the fondest hopes of the Southern authors of the gambit.

Brown Says Rights Bills Indict Courts

Constitution
Tues. 2-7-57
Atlanta, Ga.

By ALBERT RILEY
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, Feb. 6—Implications contained in civil rights bills before Congress constitute "a wholesale indictment of the courts of the 48 states," Rep. Paul Brown of Elberton declared today.

P.1

Brown appeared before a House Judiciary subcommittee in opposition to civil rights legislation that would set up a federal commission to investigate allegations of civil rights violations and give the attorney general broad power to prosecute them.

"Never before, to my knowledge, has there been such an unrestricted grant of authority by the Congress to any government department," Brown told the subcommittee.

The bills up for consideration would permit private citizens to be hauled into federal court for trial "on mere suspicion," he asserted.

Joining other Southerners in fighting the bills, Brown was the first of several Georgians to testify. Listening intently to the hearings were Rep. E. L. (Tic) Forrester of Leesburg and Charles J. Bloch, Macon attorney, who will argue Georgia's viewpoint tomorrow along with Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook and probably Rep. James C. Davis of Stone Mountain.

ROUGH TIME

However, the Southerners appear doomed to failure before what they consider a stacked subcommittee, headed by Rep. Emanuel Celler, liberal Democrat from New York, who is pushing hard for civil rights passage. No Southerner is on the subcommittee considering the proposals which would have such an impact on the South.

The subcommittee members tossed apparently friendly questions to such witnesses as Rep. Powell (D-NY) and other proponents of the bills. On the other hand some of their questions gave a rough time to Southern witnesses like Rep. Robert W. Hemphill, South Carolina freshman.

At one point, however, Rep. William M. McCullough (R-O) did make comment favorable to the Southern side while questioning Sen. Jacob Javits of New York, who supports the bills.

Powell had been talking about "killings" and "bombing terrors" in the South, and Javits argued that civil rights laws are needed as an instrument of foreign policy.

"FALSE IMPRESSIONS"

McCullough commented it sometimes seems to him Americans magnify their shortcomings in racial relations and "create false impressions around the world."

Brown told the subcommittee there is no need for creation of a commission to handle civil rights now within the jurisdiction of state courts and declared that the U.S. attorney general already has sufficient authority to prosecute civil rights violations in the federal courts.

"I feel it is the obligation of the Congress to come to the aid of the states in the preservation of those rights which are inherently theirs," the Georgian added.

Propose Bureau Of Civil Rights

Defender P.6
Chicago, Ill

ALBANY, N. Y.— Creation of a civil rights bureau in the New York state's attorney general's office has been proposed by Republican leaders to "open a brand new avenue of action in the fight against discrimination." 4-5-7

Atty. Gen. Louis J. Lefkowitz, Assembly Speaker Oswald D. Heck and Senate Majority Leader Walter J. Mahoney announced the plan with introduction of legislation appropriating $100,000.

"Operation of such a civil rights bureau in the Department of Law," they said, "will provide a more workable, effective means of initiating complaints and investigations."

Civil Rights Bill Delayed

News + Observer
Raleigh, N.C.

WASHINGTON, March 28 (AP) — House proponents of civil rights legislation today encountered what one of them called "very unfortunate" delay in efforts to get a bill to the floor. P.6

The setback, they said, may pose a serious threat to enactment of the legislation this year.

Fri. 3-29-57

The delay occurred when the bill's backers on the House rules committee, which decides when legislation is to reach the House, let a committee meeting pass without trying for a showdown on sending the bill to the floor.

Rep. Bolling (D-Mo), a civil rights bill supporter, said it would not be practical under House custom to try to force Rules Committee action on a bill before other committee reports are available.

The legislation was approved by the Judiciary Committee March 18, but Southern members of the group have not yet prepared their minority report opposing the measure. They indicated it would take them at least several more days to complete their report and meanwhile the House is due to begin a 10-day Easter recess on April 18.

Opposition strategy has been to delay a House vote until late in the congressional session, so that Southern senators would be in a better position to talk the measure to death.

Civil Rights Program

Post + Times Herald
Wash. D.C.

In his attack on the President's civil rights program as reported in *The Washington Post* for Feb. 27, Virginius Dabney, the distinguished editor, displays little of the scholarship or objective thinking for which he is esteemed. Instead, Mr. Dabney appears to have accepted unquestioningly the groundless criticisms voiced against the legislation by lawyers who should know better—and probably do.

Mr. Dabney has charged that the bill would allow persons "about to engage" in segregationist activities to be arrested. Nothing can be further from the fact. The bill does not make criminal any act which is not now criminal. What the bill does is to authorize the Attorney General to go to court to seek time-honored equitable remedies to prevent threatened violations of constitutional rights, violations which, if committed, would permit the Attorney General now to prosecute criminally under existing statutes.

If an individual is to go to jail under the bill, it is not because he is "about to engage" in any conduct or activities which would violate the constitutional rights of other individuals, but only because he has actually committed an illegal act prohibited by a valid court order.

Mr. Dabney also complains the bill appears to deny to persons charged with violating constitutional rights, the right to a trial by jury. This charge is equally without foundation. The bill does not in any way affect the right to a jury trial which such a person has if the Attorney General proceeds against him under the existing criminal statutes. This bill merely enables the Attorney General, in cases in which the Federal Government already has criminal jurisdiction, to proceed by way of civil injunction to prevent the commission of a crime.

Such proceedings are civil and not criminal, and under existing law — passed many years ago and unchallenged hitherto by Congress — where an individual disobeys the order of a court in a proceeding brought by the United States, there is no right to a trial by jury. Clearly, therefore, the bill does not "deprive" a man of a jury trial in a case where he has no constitutional right to a jury trial to begin with.

Mr. Debney also complains that the bill would let the Attorney General file, at public expense, suits for persons who contend their civil rights have been violated. But, this provision is not novel or unique. The Federal Government now has such authority, for example, in the case of wage-hour law violations or unfair labor practices. More important, the constitutional rights which the bill seeks to protect—the right to vote, the right to go to school without being subjected to violence—are precious civil rights.

Does Mr. Dabney, who presumably approves Federal expenditures to enforce the Federal snuff tax, begrudge the few dollars involved in vindicating constitutional equality? As the Attorney General in his testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights so ably pointed out, this bill by permitting such suits "would make the difference between success and failure in the meaningful protection of the civil rights of our citizens."

Finally, Mr. Dabney asserts that the Commission on Civil Rights, which the bill establishes, would be empowered to summon a citizen from any part of the country to defend himself against charges, the nature of which would be unknown to him. If this were true, it would be no different from the present practice of congressional investigating committees.

But it appears Mr. Dabney's charge is far too broad. The proposed Commission is merely an investigative and fact-finding agency on general civil rights issues; it has no power to place an individual on trial or to punish him for violating the constitutional rights of another. If ever a commission could be expected to respect civil liberties guarantees, it would be such a commission.

HERMAN EDELSBERG,
Director, Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai Brith.
Washington.

SCHEDULED ACTION ON CIVIL RIGHTS BILL POSTPONED FOR WEEK

Southerners Are Accused Of Stalling

Daily World
Atlanta Ga.
Wed. 3-6-57

WASHINGTON — (INS) — The House Judiciary Committee Tuesday postponed scheduled action on President Eisenhower's Civil Rights program for a week and a GOP member accused Southerners of stalling tactics.

Chairman Emanuel Celler (D) N. Y., called a meeting for next Tuesday to act on the controversial measure after a prolonged discussion in a closed-door session blocked a vote.

The development was a victory for Southerners who want to keep the Bill in committee until later in the session when their chances of talking it to death with a Senate filibuster would be greatly improved.

Rep. Kenneth Keating (R) N. Y., the Bill's sponsor, called yesterday's action "part and parcel of the strategy of delay." He said opponents are unable to defeat the Bill on its merits and will use every device possible to delay consideration.

Keating said that unless legislators favoring the measure "unitedly oppose" the delaying tactics, "we can have no Civil Rights legislation." He said he would move again next week for a committee vote.

Southerners said they plan to offer amendments to the measure and that they might even call for further hearings on changes made by a subcommittee.

As it now stands, the Bill would set up a presidentially appointed commission to study the racial issue and come up with recommendations for additional legislation.

It also would set up a special division in the Justice Department to handle Civil Rights cases and allow the Attorney General to seek injunctions against violations of basic civil rights.

Even after the Bill clears the Judiciary Committee, it still will have a hard road to travel. It must get House Rules Committee approval, go through the House and then face a Southern fight in the Senate.

A Senate Civil Rights subcommittee wound up scheduled public hearings on the legislation Tuesday with testimony from Mississippi Gov. James Coleman and Sen. Richard Neuberger (D) Ore.

Coleman sharply opposed the proposal, saying that it "will not be an aid to the Negro but will be a continuing source of agitation, uproar, tumult and domestic discord."

The Mississippi Governor insisted that in his state there is "no violence" and "no violations of Civil Rights." If such existed, he declared, the President's program "would not be the remedy."

New Votes For Civil Rights

Advocate Sat. 3-2-57
Jackson Miss.

For 70 years opponents of civil rights legislation have maintained a firm blockade in Congress. Often Southern Democrats have been able to sidetrack proposals in committee. Sometimes they have had Republican help in voting such measures down in one house or the other. As a last resort it has always been possible to stage a Senate filibuster. But at this moment political observers give the Eisenhower civil rights program a fair chance of success.

The President's vast prestige is a help. So is the fact that advocates are getting their bills started early in the first session of the new Congress. But the biggest reason for the changed situation flows from one of the most striking lessons of the 1956 election—Negro voters have become very important to both major parties. At the same time the civil rights question has become very important to many Negro voters.

While traditionally the Republican Party had appeared as the friend of the American Negro, all during the New Deal period the great bulk of the Negro vote went to Democrats. For Negroes became persuaded that the Democratic Party would do more to help them, through jobs, social security, or housing. Particularly for the rapidly growing Negro communities in northern industrial cities these things often loomed more important than civil rights legislation which appeared unlikely to make much change in their situation.

But there have been some changes. The Democrats have lost 18 per cent of the 1952 Negro vote, according to the Gallop Poll. In the North they retained a majority in that racial group, and civil rights was only one of the issues affecting those who did switch. But in the South—where about 500,000 Negroes voted—it was a prime consideration in a strong protest vote against segregation. In one or two states this vote is believed to have tipped the scales to the Republicans.

Possibly the most significant aspect of the situation is the growing and conscious independence of Negro voters. Their leaders are pointing out that they can get more consideration from both parties if neither takes them for granted. This attitude has begun already to produce results, especially among politicians in both parties in areas where a racial bloc can wield decisive weight at the polls.

Of course the civil rights issue appeals to millions of other voters, and the controversy over school desegregation has sharpened it up. It is going to be much more difficult for either party to escape a clear record on it in Congress. Already 35 Republican senators are lined up behind one bill embodying the Eisenhower program. Added to the Northern Democrats this should be enough. But devices of delay and diversion could block it once more unless the White House pushes firmly.—The Christian Science Monitor.

10 1957

Why South Opposes Civil Rights Bill

Advertiser 1-4-A

By Congressional Quarterly

Montgomery Ala.

WASHINGTON.

WHAT is the Southern case against President Eisenhower's civil rights proposals?

Backers of the measures contend Southern opposition simply is an emotional resistance to change in the sensitive area of Negro-white relations. But opponents say Administration bills designed to protect civil rights of minorities actually would endanger the constitutional rights of all Americans.

Understandably, most of the comment in the North and South has been about the main goal of the proposals—assuring the Southern Negro's right to vote.

Fri. 3-8-57

But when Sen. Sam J. Ervin Jr. (D-NC), a former state supreme court justice, and Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell Jr. debated the measures for three days before the Senate Judiciary Constitutional Rights Subcommittee, they argued not about the *goals of* the legislation but about its *procedures*.

In the protracted questioning, Ervin obtained Brownell's agreement to a description of what might happen if the bills were passed:

JOHN JONES seeks to register to vote and is asked a number of questions by the registrar, acting under the provision of the Constitution that gives his state the authority to fix "qualifications" for its voters. His application to register is refused.

The Attorney General hears of the incident and suspects the registration procedure has been used to deny Jones the right to vote "on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude" in violation of the 14th Amendment.

The Attorney General, under the proposed legislation, could intervene in the situation, with or without Jones's permission. He could, in fact, intervene before Jones even tried to register if he thought the registrar was "about" to deny Jones his rights.

Without regard to the administrative or judicial procedure provided by the state for determining voting rights, the Attorney General could ask the Federal district court to consider Jones's case.

He could seek, and the federal court could grant, an injunction ordering the state to permit Jones to register and vote. The injunction could be granted on the basis of affidavits only, without an opportunity for either side to present evidence or cross-examine witnesses.

If the registrar still refused to permit Jones to vote, he could be summoned before the federal judge who issued the injunction and tried for contempt of court, without the grand jury indictment or petit jury trial guaranteed in ordinary criminal procedures.

Brownell called this "one extremity" to which the requested legislation could be pushed. "We are, however, faced with the fact that without this authority in the federal Government people are disenfranchised en masse by reason of their color."

Granting this new authority, Brownell said, would spare future Attorneys General the duty of undertaking "unduly harsh" criminal prosecutions against "respected local officials" who deny Negroes the right to vote.

"No amount of criminal punishment" after the election, he added, "can rectify the harm which the national interest suffers when citizens are illegally kept from the polls."

WHAT ABOUT the state's interests under the Constitution? asked Ervin. "Don't the provisions in these bills contribute very much to the theory that the states ought to be destroyed instead of preserved?"

"At the present time," Brownell said, "all we can do in this area is to use the criminal sanctions against state and local officials. That does not contribute to the proper functioning of our federal system."

"In doing what you consider to be legally righteous," Ervin observed, "you would supplant existing remedies which give him (the election official) a right to be . . indicted by a grand jury and tried before a petit jury and be confronted and have the right to cross-examine his accusers."

"You would rather have us send him to jail than to get an injunction against him?" Brownell asked.

"I would rather have a man given an opportunity to have the spirit and the letter of his constitutional rights promoted," said Ervin.

Their argument was left unsettled Feb. 16, but the issues will be debated again when—and if—the Senate considers the civil rights bills.

HARM FORESEEN IN 'RIGHTS' BILL

Times-Picayune

Gov. Coleman Says Measure to Hurt Negro

Wed. 3-6-57

By EDGAR POE
(Times-Picayune Staff Correspondent)

WASHINGTON, March 5—Great and widespread harm will be done to the Negro race if the far-reaching civil rights proposals are passed by Congress, Gov. J. P. Coleman of Mississippi predicted Tuesday.

New Orleans La.

Appearing before the Senate constitutional rights subcommittee, Gov. Coleman, apparently looking toward the future said the sweeping laws would result in a "continuous source of agitation, uproar, tumult and domestic discord, and the intended beneficiaries will be its first victims. Such federal laws will be the chief fomenter and daily instigator of ill will between the races, instead of doing good where good so badly needs to be done."

Gov. Coleman also said that if the pending bills become law it will cause many employers of the Negro race to dispense with employing the Negro to avoid being called before the civil rights commission on account of real or fancied wrongs or grievences.

South To Turn Away

"It will cause the whole South, said the Mississippian, 'as a matter of prudence and self defense to have as little to do with the Negro race as possible in order to avoid the possibility of being hailed before this executive juggernaut, conceived out of vengeance upon the South and instigated in the false premise of aid and assistance to the Negro race."

Gov. Coleman was introduced to the committee by Sen. James O. Eastland of Mississippi. Sen. Eastland said the governor is thoroughly qualified to discuss the "demerits of the civil rights bill. He explained that the chief executive is a former judge and attorney general of Mississippi and there has been considerable speculation that the governor may seek the senator's Senate seat in the years ahead.

The governor was followed on the witness stand by Sen. Richard L. Neuberger, Democrat of Oregon, one of the backers of the civil rights bill. Sen. Neuberger, to the asserted surprise of some hearers, told the committee that he would be willing to have laws passed that would permit trials without juries in connection with the civil rights laws.

Regrets Absences

Sen. John C. Stennis of Mississippi accompanied Gov. Coleman to the hearing. It was presided over by Sen. Samuel J. Ervin Jr. of North Carolina.

In brief remarks Sen. Stennis told the subcommittee that it was unfortunate that only Sen. Roman L. Huskra, representative of Nebraska, among the more than 30 backers of the civil rights bills, was present to hear Gov. Coleman. Stennis said that in the governor, the Senate members had an opportunity to hear a person with a knowledge on the question of race relations.

At the outset of his remarks Gov. Coleman quoted from the book of Bruce Catton, the writer on War Between the States history who said recently that the tragic war "was brought about by a succession of errors in which the whole country shared" and that "the fearful price that was paid for it was exacted from the victors and defeated alike."

Coleman who said a few moments after he had testified, that he was taking a night train back to Jackson, told the subcommittee that the result of the far-reaching measures, "will be a monument to the errors and to those who made them—indeed a monument which future generations no doubt will devoutly wish had never been enacted.

Will 'Put Negro Behind Barrier'

"One of the pending bills will create a civil rights commission with six commissioners. A commission appointed and operated from Washington would remind the Southerner at this late date," Gov. Coleman said "of those 10 years after the War Between the States when there was no Marshall plan and no point four program for the South but there were military rules and military commissions." He said, "that in those days citizens were tried by so-called commissions without the intervention of a jury and were sent to prison." He said, "that it was a page in history that cannot be eradicated and will never be forgotten.

"Indeed," he said, "some of the very wrongs that should have been avoided in the first 50 years after the civil war were not caused by the war itself but by those acts of the US government immediately following the war. The eventual results of a civil rights commission would be to educate the rest of the country, to what we have known all along. . . . If we are truly interested in the welfare of the Negro race . . . we will be careful not to put the Negro behind the barrier which this legislation would erect."

COLEMAN WILL HELP BATTLE CIVIL RIGHTS

Commercial Appeal 1-1

Governor Going To Washington To Testify Before Senate Subcommittee

Memphis, Tenn.

From The Commercial Appeal
Jackson, Miss., Bureau

JACKSON, Miss., March 2. — Gov. J. P. Coleman said Saturday he is returning to Washington Monday to testify before the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee in opposition to pending civil rights bills. He will appear before the committee Tuesday.

Sun 3-3-57

He was in Washington several weeks ago as a witness before the House Judiciary Subcommittee which had under consideration identical proposals of the Eisenhower Administration.

Invited By Ervin

Governor Coleman said he had been asked by Senator Sam J. Ervin (D., N. C.) to appear before the Senate group.

"Frankly, I gave this subject the full weight of all arguments available to me when I appeared before the House committee, but Senator Ervin insists that I be there to help close the arguments before the Senate committee," the Governor said. "Senator Ervin and myself worked side by side in Chicago those two hot weeks last August, so certainly I cannot let him down in this instance."

"Furthermore," Governor Coleman said, "I want to do whatever I can for the good of the cause."

Committee Members

Governor Coleman and Senator Ervin were members of the Democratic National Convention Platform Committee and were successful in beating down an effort to endorse the United States Supreme Court's integration decisions.

Governor Coleman was in Ackerman Saturday after a night spent in the Ivy Memorial Hospital at West Point due to a gastric upset. He was forced to cancel a speaking engagement at West Point Friday night because of the indisposition following an earlier appearance at Ruleville for dedication of a new plant there.

Congress Gets Rights Measures

Courier P.13 Sat.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Six major civil rights bills covering every field where legislation is needed to protect the rights of citizens regardless of race, creed or color, were introduced in Congress by Congressman Henry S. Reuss of Milwaukee.

DAVID LAWRENCE Says:

Move In Clinton Case Could Lead to Abuse of Power

Courier Journal

WASHINGTON—Maybe there is no need for "civil rights" legislation after all. Congress will certainly be interested to discover how the Department of Justice just a few days ago, in a move that has gone unnoticed generally, simply substituted the words "the United States" for the names of a local school board as a party to a lawsuit in Federal Court. P.7

By that device the 18 defendants arrested for allegedly hindering the federal injunction at Clinton, Tenn., can be deprived of a trial by jury and put in jail as unfairly as if they were living in some totalitarian country. Wed. 3-6-57

While the laws of the land under the Constitution of the United States do permit federal judges to punish for contempt certain offenses committed in a courtroom, or even outside, when the principals to a controversy refuse to obey a court order, a jury trial can usually be obtained on request.

But it is something novel when a lawsuit has been started by private parties to find the Department of Justice petitioning the Federal Court to amend the original petition and substitute the words "the United States" for those of the complainant. This automatically bars a jury trial.

Louisville Ky.

Possible Effect of Approval

If the federal judge in Knoxville, Tenn., approves this request and it is sustained on appeal by the courts, it will not be necessary for the Congress to legislate on "civil rights." The Department of Justice can write out the orders and the courts will uphold them.

This is a flagrant abuse of power, much worse than any cited in the recent hearings before the House Judiciary Committee by the critics of the proposed "civil rights" legislation.

It is ironical that the American Civil Liberties Union—which on February 26 made a commendable statement criticizing the Federal Court injunction issued at Clinton, Tenn., as being too broad—didn't know that on February 25 the same federal judge was being asked by the Department of Justice to deprive citizens of a chance for jury trial. The Civil Liberties Union statement had rightly criticized the injunction as too broad and had said that "to the extent that it enjoins speech in opposition to or advocating ignoring of the order, or peaceful picketing for these purposes, it is invalid.

In that same statement, moreover, the right to jury trial was vigorously upheld by the A.C.L.U., even for those defendants who had been charged with actually "hindering" or "obstructing" the operations of a court order. The A.C.L.U. said:

"Under the federal law a person in contempt of a Federal Court order enjoining acts which are also in violation of the federal or state law is entitled, if he requests it, to a trial by jury. This protection of individual rights was originally written into the law to guard against possible biased judicial decisions in labor injunction cases and now covers all contempt issues. . . ."

John L. Lewis Case

Some critics not long ago pointed to the case of John L. Lewis as a precedent because he was fined once for contempt by a judge and was not given a jury trial. But those same critics failed to notice that the United States itself was a party to the suit. This was because the Government, acting in accordance with a wartime statute, had seized the coal mines; hence any action taken by a union or its leaders to defy a court order was a defiance of the United States Government itself.

There is no such parallel here. The school board officials at Clinton, Tenn., were whole-heartedly complying with the desegregation order of the Federal Court when they found certain persons in the town were "organizing a movement" to discourage attendance at an integrated school. Hence these school officials asked the court to enjoin anyone attempting to "interfere" with the school board's operations. But a local school board is not a part of the Government of the United States and it is difficult to imagine any federal judge consenting to the substitution of "the United States" for a local school board.

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Southerners Win Point On Rights Bill Wording

Evening Star Fri. 3-15-57

By ROBERT K. WALSH

Southerners on the House Judiciary Committee won an important gain yesterday in their fight against Federal civil rights legislation when the committee struck out a provision authorizing investigation of complaints of "unwarranted economic pressure."

Washington, D.C.

This move practically restricted the proposed bill to complaints of deprivation of voting rights. P.5

As the committee continued its closed door sessions in the hope of reporting out a measure this week, it adopted an amendment to restore "religion" in the bill. The word, which had been eliminated by a subcommittee last week, was reinserted in the section concerning possible civil rights violations by reason of color, race or national origin.

Committee Chairman Celler, Democrat of New York, and Representative Keating, Republican of New York, ranking minority member, were obviously crestfallen because of the removal of the phrase "unwarranted economic pressures." The bill would have authorized a Civil Rights Commission to "investigate allegations in writing under oath or affirmation that certain citizens of the United States are being deprived of their right to vote or are being subjected to unwarranted economic pressures."

Southern members of the committee proposed several other and more drastic amendments yesterday but all of these were rejected, Mr. Celler said.

Civil Rights Bill Facing Fight in Senate Hearing

Evening Star Washington D.C.

By the Associated Press

The battle over civil rights legislation moves before the Senate Judiciary Committee today.

The closed meeting is the first held by the committee since one of its subcommittees approved the administration's civil rights bill by a 4-2 vote last Tuesday.

While the bill was put on the agenda for the full committee session, impending arguments over procedures—to say nothing of the merits of the legislation—promised to slow any attempts at action. Mon 3-25-57

Senator Eastland, Democrat of Mississippi, an avowed foe of civil rights legislation, is chairman of the committee, where the administration bill died last year after passing the House in the final week of the session.

Senator Eastland said he had no comment on the outlook this year.

More Witnesses Sought

Senator Ervin, Democrat of North Carolina, who led the fight against the measure in the Constitutional Rights Subcommittee, said he intended to ask the full committee to hear some additional witnesses.

Senator Hennings, Democrat of Missouri, chairman of the subcommittee and an advocate of civil rights legislation, already has protested that further hearings would be "an exercise in futility." He said the subcommittee gave opponents full opportunity to be heard.

Argument also is likely to be stirred up by Senator Hennings' announced intention to try to substitute a bill approved by the House Judiciary Committee for the measure approved by his subcommittee. He was joined in this action by Senator Dirksen, Republican of Illinois, one of the principal Senate sponsors of the adminstration bill.

This move is directed at getting identical bills before the Senate and House in hopes of speeding final action.

Senator Ervin said in an interview that Senator Hennings' move "might provoke at least a small amount of controversy" and possibly consume the Judiciary Committee's entire session.

Plans to Offer Amendments

He also said that he plans to offer in the full committee the half dozen amendments he proposed in subcommittee. His amendments lost in the subcommittee on 3-3 tie votes.

One of these amendments would provide for trial by jury in contempt cases growing out of violations of civil rights enforcement injunctions. Another would eliminate from the bill a proposed presidential commission to investigate complaints of civil rights violations.

In advance of the committee meeting, Senator Hennings sent to all the members a memorandum contending that the bill would not deprive citizens of any jury trial rights they now have and that there is nothing new about the requested injunctive power.

He did not dispute that defendants would not be entitled to a jury trial in such cases, but he declared that this also is true under more than a score of laws already on the books.

His memorandum, accompanied by a detailed analysis by his subcommittee counsel, appeared to be the opening gun in a counter offensive by proponents of the legislation.

2 Lawmakers Predict Passage of Rights Bill

Courier Journal Wed. 2-27-57 Louisville, Ky

Washington, Feb. 26 (AP)—Senator Knowland expressed confidence today that the Senate will vote for civil-rights legislation, perhaps before the Easter recess. P.2

He made the prediction, at the White House, in the face of a certain Southern filibuster that will begin whenever such legislation hits the Senate floor.

Knowland, minority leader in the Senate, and Representative Martin (R., Mass.,), minority leader in the House, discussed the civil-rights situation with reporters after their weekly legislative conference with President Eisenhower.

Martin said the legislation should be ready for the House about March 15 and "we'll pass it. . . . It will take about two days." As he spoke, a House judiciary subcommittee was holding its last scheduled day of civil-rights hearings, taking another round of opposition testimony from Southern witnesses.

Knowland expressed hope the Senate would vote before Congress recessed for Easter. The recess is to begin April 18.

Southern critics of the proposed new laws are trying to delay a Senate vote; backers are trying to speed one up.

10 1957

Governors, Attorneys Drop Plan On Rights Hearings

Daily World, Atlanta, Ga.

Tues. 2-26-57

BY LOUIS LAUTIER

Washington Correspondent, Atlanta Daily World and NNPA News Service *P. 1*

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (NNPA) — Governors and Attorneys General of southern states apparently have decided it is useless for them to appear and testify before the Senate Constitutional Rights subcommittee since that group has voted to end hearings on civil rights on March 5.

Before the deadline was set the committee was flooded with requests from Southern State Officials and members of Congress to be heard in opposition to pending civil rights bills.

But the hearings Thursday ended abruptly when the committee ran out of witnesses after hearing Senator Jacob K. Javits, Republican of New York and Mrs. Paul Blanchard, Washington representative of the Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice.

Mr. Javits testified in support of President Eisenhower's four-point program, and Mrs. Blanschard favored an omnibus human rights bill sponsored by Senator Hubert Humphrey, Democrat, of Minnesota and a number of other Senators.

Before recessing the hearing Senator Thomas C. Hennings, of Missouri, the subcommittee chairman, announced that every day this week is available to witnesses to appear before the subcommittee.

He said the subcommittee would like to hear from proponents of some of the bills which are pending before the group.

"We don't want anybody to say he has not been given an opportunity to appear and express his views," Hennings said.

When the committee voted to end hearings on March 5, Senators Sam J. Ervin of North Carolina and Olin D. Johnston of South Carolina, subcommittee members, and John L. McClellan of Arkansas, members of the full Senate Judiciary Committee, said they would press for "adequate" hearings before the full Judiciary Committee if the subcommittee stuck to the deadline.

Clarence Mitchell, head of the NAACP's Washington Bureau, reminded Senator Hennings that the association had some witnesses who were here and sworn on February 16th, but did not get a chance to testify after Senator Ervin indicated that he intended to cross examine them at length.

These witnesses, Mitchell said, have indicated their readinesses to return on 24 hours' notice.

The witnesses, to whom Mitchell referred, are Austin T. Walden, an attorney, of Atlanta, Georgia; the Rev. William H. Borders, pastor of Wheat Street Baptist Church, Atlanta, and Gus Courts, who was shot by an unknown assailant in Belzoni Miss., because he refused to take his name off the list of registered voters.

Thursday was set as a tentative date for hearing the testimony of these witnesses.

Senator Javits told the committee that "Our international stake in civil rights is perhaps the most important consideration to the tainly a vital consideration to the veterans of our country who have fought for peace and free institutions at such tremendous cost."

Continuing, he said:

Daily World

"I saw this very clearly in November and December last, in Pakistan, South and Southeast Asia. The great contest between freedom and communism is over the approximately 1,200,000,000 people largely Negro an Oriental who occupy the underdeveloped areas of the Far East, the Middle East and Africa.

P. 4

"One of the greatest arguments used against our leadership of the free world with these people has been that if they follow the cause of freedom they too will be held in the subjection of segregation which it is charged that we tolerate within certain areas of the United States.

Tues. 2-26-57

"These people are, therefore, watching with the most profound concern our present internal struggle on civil rights. We know and I believe that they know that they have everything to gain from our leadership, material and moral.

"We need now by the wisdom and effectiveness of our actions in the civil rights field to convince them of the meaning of freedom.

"Success on civil rights at home can turn out to be one of the most decisive influences for the victory in the world which we have it in our control to achieve."

Refusal by Congress to enact President Eisenhower's civil rights program would make a "grim jest" of constitutionally guaranteed rights, Senator Everett M. Dirksen, Republican, of Illinois, said Wednesday.

LABOR CLAUSE URGED IN CIVIL RIGHTS BILL

Commercial Appeal *P. 1*

Work Privilege Amendment OK Might Mean Defeat For Proposal

Memphis, Tenn.

By MORRIS CUNNINGHAM

From The Commercial Appeal Washington Bureau *Feb. 2-19-57*

WASHINGTON, Feb. 18. — A Senate Judiciary Subcommittee considering civil rights legislation moved Monday toward attaching to President Eisenhower's four-point civil rights program an amendment hotly opposed by labor union leaders.

The amendment would direct the proposed Federal Civil Rights Commission to investigate complaints that workers had been compelled to join a labor union before being allowed to exercise their "right to work."

And, in effect, it would make the "right to work" without such requirements a Federal civil right.

Arizonan Appears

Senator Barry Goldwater (R., Ariz.), sponsor of the amendment, appeared before the subcommittee Monday afternoon to urge that it be attached to the President's measure.

An informed source predicted the seven-member subcommittee will approve the amendment by a vote of four-to-three and possibly even four-to-two with one member not voting.

If the full 15-member judiciary committee also approved the amendment the result would be sudden realignments in Senate sentiment toward the civil rights bill which probably would result in its defeat.

Meanwhile the Senate Constitutional Rights Subcommittee voted 4 to 2 to end its civil rights hearings March 5 despite implied charges of steamroller tactics by two Southern senators.

Senators Sam J. Ervin Jr. (D., N. C.) and Olin D. Johnston (D., S. C.) voted against the time limit. They said the action would make it necessary for the group's parent Senate Judiciary Committee to hold its own civil rights hearings.

Senator John L. McClellan (D., Ark.), a member of the parent grop but not of the subcommittee, agreed that such hearings should be held. Southerners have indicated they will trp to delay civil rights legislation as long as possible.

Views Awaited

President Eisenhower's views on the labor amendment may determine whether a sufficient number of the seven Republicans on the committee join with the four Southern Democrats to adopt it. *P. 2*

Pro-labor and other so-called "liberal" senators, now ardently for the civil rights bill, can be expected to switch to the opposition side if the labor amendment is attached to it.

And in a showdown on the Senate floor, they might even resort to the filibuster — which many of them oppose—to fight it.

Organized labor's opposition to the Goldwater amendment was made clear last Friday by Andrew J. Biemiller, chief counsel of the AFL-CIO.

He called it "vicious" and said it would make the "so-called 'right to work' one of the civil rights" covered by the Administration's measure.

Feb. 2-19-57

Mr. Biemiller read a 12-page statement in support of the civil rights measure but he said he would like to reserve the right to appear again in case the subcommittee gives "serious consideration" to the Goldwater amendment.

He claimed the amendment is "extraneous" to the civil rights measure and should be put before the Senate Labor Committee.

Senator Goldwater told the subcommittee Monday afternoon he would offer his proposal as an amendment to the Taft-Hartley Labor Law if revisions of that law were before the Senate. But he said they're not, and probably won't be this session.

Tells His Stand

He said civil rights legislation is properly a state matter. But he said since Congress is trying to legislate in the field that he believes it should consider the "right to work."

Calling the right to work "the most precious of all rights," Senator Goldwater said "the right to life is so basic as to create no argument—but how can the right to life be exercised when the right to work is tampered with?

He conceded he will be charged with trying to defeat the President's Civil Rights Bill, but he said this is not true. He cited his long record in behalf of civil rights.

He said he is against "discrimination in any form" and because of this he said he is opposed to any interference with the right to work.

He said he is not trying to "wreck unions nor impair their actions but to make sure that when we in this body outline, define and protect civil rights we do a thorough and proper job."

Senator Ervin said the committee "might well consider broadening the bill" so as to include the Goldwater proposal.

He also suggested amendments guaranteeing equal rights to women and to "the original Americans — the Indians." He said he knew of no group more mistreated than American Indians.

LAWS TO HALT MOB VIOLENCE

Charge Organizers Beaten, Kidnapped, Denied Free Speech

WASHINGTON — (INS) — The Textile Workers union asked Congress Saturday to stiffen Civil Rights law in order to halt what it called "mob terror or violence" against union organizers.

The TWU filed a statement with the House Civil Rights Subcommittee detailing examples over the last 12 years in which organizers have been beaten and kidnaped and "denied free speech and assembly."

Present statutes, the union complained, "fail to provide any relief against the civil rights fiasco engineered by Southern Textile employers."

They recommended a series of amendments to administration and Democratic-sponsored civil rights bills which the organization said would lessen "the illegal and immoral suppression to those seeking merely to effectuate their right to form unions of their choosing."

Among cases cited by the union was one in South Carolina where a local sheriff allegedly refused to arrest those who attacked organizers and also informed the assailants when the organizers would arrive.

In an Alabama case the Union said the city chief of police directed a campaign against labor organizers, arresting one of them after he had been beaten in a city street while a uniformed policeman watched ten feet away.

The statement also noted local ordinances imposing licenses of up to one thousand dollars on union organizers along with charges of one hundred dollars a day to carry on union activity.

The union urged that the Justice Department be required to seek injunction against alleged violators of civil rights. The administration measure makes application permissive only.

They also asked that Congress strengthen criminal sections of civil rights laws as well as civil sections.

Wilkins Asks Support Of Civil Rights Bill

WASHINGTON, D. C. — A "Gestapo" has been established and is operating "in certain areas" of the South in an attempt to maintain racial segregation and the status quo, Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, charged in testimony delivered before a Senate sub-committee here Tuesday.

Mr. Wilkins' testimony before the Sub-Committee on Constitutional Rights of the Senate Judiciary Committee was prepared on behalf of 25 organizations including the NAACP. It urges support of civil rights measures which were passed by a bi-partisan majority in the House of Representatives last year.

In a prepared statement, the NAACP leader says opponents of civil rights legislation fear that passage of such bills "will doom their empire of thought-control and secret police."

The word "Gestapo," Mr. Wilkins notes, was used last week by opponents of civil rights legislation who maintained before a House subcommittee that such legislation would establish a "Gestapo" in the southern states.

As evidence of his contention that a "Gestapo" already exists in parts of the South, the civil rights official submitted to sub-committee members exhibits of newspaper clippings from Jackson, Miss., and other papers. The Jackson State Times' exhibit states that "secret racial investigations" hired by the state will "interview persons involved in integration moves in the courts" and will "keep an eye on meetings of Negro groups." The other clipping reported that a teacher may not hold theories "contrary to Georgia's traditional policy of segregated schools."

VOTING AND PERSONAL SECURITY

The NAACP official urges the passage of a "meaningful" civil rights bill to safeguard "the two most basic rights — the right to vote and the right to security of the person."

Although such a bill was passed by the House last year, he notes, "action was never completed by the full Senate Judiciary Committee and no such legislation ever reached the Senate floor."

He charges the Senate with preserving rules, "both in committees and on the floor," to "prevent or obstruct an expression of majority will."

"Earlier this year," he recalls, "efforts to modify Senate rules, so as to make it somewhat easier to bring legislation to a vote, failed by a relatively narrow margin. It was repeatedly stated at that time that a filibuster on a meaningful civil rights bill could and would be overcome. Now is the time to demonstrate that this is indeed the case."

In addition to the NAACP, Mr. Wilkins' statement was prepared on behalf of these organizations: American Civil Liberties Union, American Council on Human Rights, American Ethical Union — National Committee on Public Affairs, American Jewish Congress, Americans for Democratic Action, American Veterans Committee, Friends Committee on National Legislation, New York Joint Board of Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union, and Improved Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks of the World.

Also: International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, AFL-CIO, Japanese-American Citizens League, Jewish Labor Committee, Jewish War Veterans of the U. S. A., National Alliance of Postal Employees, National Community Relations Advisory Council, National Council of Negro Women, Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice, United Automobile Workers of America, AFL-CIO, United Hatter, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union, United Hebrew Trades, United Steelworkers of America, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Workers Defense League, and Workmens Circle.

FILIBUSTER WON'T WIN, SOLONS SAY

WASHINGTON — Strong predictions that both the House of Representatives and the Senate will approve civil rights legislation at this session, were made Monday by Republican leaders in both sections of Congress.

The predictions said civil rights legislation would be passed even though it was inevitable that a filibuster by Southern Democrats will be staged to halt approval which will mean victory toward gaining equal rights for all citizens regardless of race.

Senate Republican Leader Knowland, of California and House GOP leader Martin, of Massachusetts expressed these views at the White House after the regular Tuesday morning conference of Republican legislative chiefs with President Eisenhower.

When Knowland expressed belief the Senate will approve civil rights legislation despite a Dixie filibuster, Martin immediately declared there is "no question" the House will pass similar legislation.

Knowland said he expects the legislation to come up for Senate debate after final action is made on the Middle East resolution.

Knowland was asked about his pending bill to revise Senate rules to make it easier to end filibusters on such issues as civil rights. The Senate leader replied that the measure is still in the Senate rules committee and probably won't be acted upon in advance of a showdown on the administration's civil rights program.

However, he hastily added, he hopes to get a vote on civil rights before the Easter recess.

Representative Martin said the measure should be ready for the House about March 15.

"We'll pass it," he said, "there is no question about that. It will take about two days."

Southern opposition to Civil Rights legislation dimmed recently when it was announced the way will be cleared for a vote by March 5. Up to that time numerous politicians had gone to Washington from Southern states to oppose any move toward the end of segregation.

Trials Bill Filed in Rights Issue

Associated Press

A bill to guarantee jury trials for persons accused of contempt for disobeying Federal court injunctions was introduced yesterday in an offshoot of the battle over civil rights legislation.

Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss.) chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, introduced the bill for himself and Sens. Harry F. Byrd (D-Va.) and Strom Thurmond (D-S. C.).

Southern opponents of the Eisenhower Administration's civil rights bill charge that it would permit "government by injunction" and deprive the defendant of a trial by jury.

The issue also has arisen in connection with contempt charges brought against 17 persons accused of violating an injunction against interference with court-ordered racial integration at Clinton, Tenn., High School.

Eastland told the Senate in introducing the bill that it is designed "to guarantee and secure the sacred right of a trial by jury to every citizen charged with criminal contempt in the Federal courts of the United States."

He continued: "Arbitrary jail sentences by Federal judges in contempt cases, arising from alleged violations of the court's own injunctions, are foreign to every conception of American justice and fair play."

He said that for years members of labor unions have been given the absolute right of trial by jury in all cases of criminal contempt arising out of labor disputes.

"This bill will extend to all citizens the same rights under Federal law," he said.

Supporters of the Administration's civil rights bill contend there is nothing novel in the injunctive power it would give the Federal government and they claim it would not take away any right to a jury that citizens now have.

They have said also that as a practical matter juries in the South often refuse to convict in civil rights cases.

Thurmond, in a separate Senate speech, said the bill he had joined Eastland and Byrd in offering would "provide every citizen with protection now given in labor disputes."

"I can visualize no reasonable basis in which anyone could claim that justice would best be served by denial of jury trial," he said. "The time has not come in this country when the end justifies the means in courts of justice."

10 1957

Knowland Sets Goal for Ike's Civil-Rights Program

Courier Journal

Washington, Feb. 3 (AP)—Senator Knowland today put a March 1 target date on efforts to get President Eisenhower's civil-rights program before the Senate for debate. Mon. 2-4-57 P. 3

Knowland, the Republican leader, from California, told reporters the Senate might have to wear down an expected Southern filibuster against consideration of the bill if the necessary 64 affirmative votes can't be mustered to muzzle debate.

By whatever means the end is accomplished, he said he was confident that civil-rights legislation would be enacted in this session of Congress.

Democratic leaders were reported less optimistic than Knowland about early Senate action. They apparently believed the civil-rights measure would not be brought up in the Senate until late in April.

Chairman Hennings (D., Mo.) has ordered committee hearings on civil-rights proposals beginning February 12. Louisville, Ky.

Senator Byrd (D., Va.) served notice that Southerners are prepared to fight.

"We will make the best fight we are capable of making to prevent any action on these bills," Byrd said in an interview. "The proposal to permit taking civil-rights suits directly into federal court is one of the most iniquitous ever made in Congress."

Under Eisenhower's proposals, the attorney general or even a private citizen could seek injunctions in federal courts to enforce school integration. Where injunctions are granted, violators could be punished for contempt, without jury trial.

Eisenhower's program also calls for creation of a presidential commission to investigate complaints of civil-rights violations, establishment of a civil-rights division in the Justice Department, and giving the attorney general increased powers to protect voting and other rights.

Our Opinions

Defender

Praise The Lord And Pass The Rights

Chicago, Ill.

Last week as the city of Alexandria, Va. was sprucing up to commemorate the 150th birthday anniversary of its favorite son, Robert E. Lee, somebody discovered that when the famous Confederate General died on Oct. 14, 1870, he had never been restored some of his citizenship rights which he lost as an enemy fighting the Union.

Shocked and horrified that such a thing had gone on for nearly 87 years with nothing being done about it, a Yankee Republican, Sen. Homer Capehart of Indiana, promptly introduced a resolution to restore posthumously General Lee's "lost civil rights". Sat. 2-2-57

America who are deprived in one way or the other of their rights as citizens.

To be precise, Senator Capehart was among those 55 members of the Senate who on January 4 this year voted down a motion to put a check on Rule 22, commonly known as the filibuster and better known as the chief roadblock to passage of civil rights legislation.

As far as we have been able to check the record. Sen. Capehart, has never been an enthusiast over civil rights. He's either absented himself or voted wrong on any number of pieces of liberal legislation and neither can we find where he has proposed any. Yet, in his home state of Indiana,

Now the interesting thing about the resolution is that normally when you even mention the loathsome words, civil rights to a Southerner, it's enough to send his blood pressure up and get him in a fighting mood to preserve the "traditions of our way of life". But last Thursday, there was the sight to behold of such stalwart foes of civil rights as Sens. Herman Talmadge, James O. Eastland, John Stennis, Richard Russell, Harry Flood, Byrd and Strom Thurmond, all gallantly rushing up to affix their signatures to a petition to restore civil rights to Robert E. Lee. P. 9

Now, we don't have any quarrel about General Lee getting his civil rights. Officially, the war between the states is over with, except when its fought out over and over again in words over cornbread and pot likker. Certainly, we believe that everybody ought to have his civil rights and that's where our particular beef comes in.

Gen. Lee lies mouldering in his grave and he can't use his rights now, so it seems middling strange and inconsistent to us that a Yankee from Indiana, and a Republican at that, should be rushing to restore the rights of a deceased Southerner who would like to be a Democrat when he has failed to do anything about the civil rights of some of his constituents who voted him into office back in Indiana, to say nothing of the rest of the 15 million Negroes in

there are large numbers of registered Negro voters whom he depends upon to help him win. It's about time that somebody reminded the Senator that he ought to start passing some rights around to the living. Both he and his party could use some more votes.

Rights Bills Called Peril to All Laws

Constitution P. 2
Atlanta, Ga.

N. Carolina Official Rebuked For 'Extravagant' Remarks

Wed 2-6-57

WASHINGTON, Feb. 5 (UP)—A North Carolina state official said today that pending federal civil rights legislation "threatens to shake the very foundations of law enforcement in the United States."

Edward Scheidt, the state's commissioner of motor vehicles, told a House Judiciary subcommittee the proposals represent "a frontal attack upon the police powers and responsibilities of all local and state governments."

Scheidt was promptly rebuked by Rep. Kenneth B. Keating (R-NY), ranking GOP member on the subcommittee, for making "extravagant statements." Keating said part of Scheidt's testimony "borders on the insulting."

The subcommittee is considering 45 separate bills to protect the civil rights of Negroes and other minorities.

Among these was President Eisenhower's four-point program. It would (1) establish a presidential commission on civil rights; (2) set up a civil rights division in the Justice Department; (3) authorize the government to use the courts to forestall civil rights violations and (4) provide greater federal protection for voting rights.

Witnesses testifying in favor of the proposals at today's hearing included several northern congressmen, Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; AFL-CIO Legislative Director Andrew J. Biemiller and Mrs. Paul Blanshard of the Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice.

FEARS SENATE LAG

Mrs. Blanshard and the lawmakers urged quick House action on civil rights. Mrs. Blanshard said early House passage is necessary "because the Senate is prone to linger over important legislation unduly."

Senate Republican Leader William F. Knowland (Calif) said today he believes the Senate, traditional graveyard of civil rights legislation, should tackle the issue about March 1 after the Middle East debate is concluded.

He said that hearings by the Senate Judiciary Committee on the legislation are scheduled to start next Tuesday, Lincoln's birthday.

HAUL OUT ARSENAL

Southerners in both the House and Senate have served notice that they intend to use every weapon at their command to delay and, if possible, prevent enactment of civil rights legislation.

Scheidt was particularly critical of proposals that a federal commission be established to ride herd on the states' enforcement of civil rights.

The witness is former FBI agent in charge of the New York office and is credited with a key role in cracking the Rosenberg spy case. A state official since 1953, he was designated by Gov. Luther H. Hodges to present North Carolina's views.

NATIONAL POLICE?

He said the effect would be "to create a national police force to supersede and sit in judgment upon the actions of local and state law enforcement officers in almost any kind of case they might handle."

He said this would put every local police officer "under a sword of Damocles, knowing that his every act might be criminally examined by the federal government at the instigation of criminals, psychopaths, pressure groups "or anyone who wanted to make trouble for him."

Solon Presents Bill On Rights To House

World Wed. 1-16-57 P. 3
B'ham Ala.

WASHINGTON) D. C. — (NNPA) — Representative Emanuel Celler, Democrat, of New York, introduced in the House Monday an eight-point civil rights bill.

In offering the measure, Mr. Celler, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee said he is certain the House would pass a civ'l rights bill during this session of the 85th Congress.

Mr. Celler described his bill as ::more comprehensive than the four-point civil rights bill which passed the House last year and wh'ch reportedly has the backing this year of the Eisenhower Administration."

The Celler bill would create a civil rights commission in the executive branch of the Government, create an addtional Assistant Attorney General to head a civil rights division in the Justice Department, protect the right to vote by providing c'vil and criminal penalties for violations ,amend the old Ku Klux Klan Act to protect rights relating to educat'on, judicial process, employment, housing and so forth.

In addition the Celler bill would

1. Strengthen existing Federal civil rights laws by increasing the punishment where death or bodily injury result from violations.

2. Clarify such laws to facilitate prosections under them.

3. Provide for judicially enforced penalities and remedies, both criminal and civil, in cases of segregation in interstate travel

4. Create a joint Congressional committee on civil rights with supena powers.

Chairman Celler indicated that legislation to prevent race or religious discrimination will have "top priority in the 85th Congress."

In the Senate, Senator Everett M. Dirksen, Republican of Illinois introduced the Eisenhower civil rights program, which passed the House last session but was kept bottled up in the Senate Judiciary Committee of which Senator James O. Eastland, Dixiecrat, of M'ssissippi, is chairman.

The Eisenhower program, submitted to Congress last April by Attorney General Herbert Brownell, calls for:

1. The creation of a bipartisan commission on civil rights in the executive branch of the Government.

2. The creation of an additional Assistant Attorney General in the Justice Department to head a new civil rights division.

3. Giving the Attorney General authority to br'ng c'vil suits to prevent or redress violations of civil rights and providing that an injured person does not have to exhaust state administration remedies for relief under the Federal c'vil rights statutes.

4. Making it unlawful for a pri vate individual as well as a person acting under color of law to interfere with the right to vote at any election of Federal officers and giving the Attorney General authority to seek injunctions to prevent violations of the right to vote.

Washington merry-go-round—

News P.H.-A

President urges beating civil rights filibuster to punch

Sun. 2-3-57
B'ham, Ala.

BY DREW PEARSON

WASHINGTON, Feb. 2 — President Eisenhower made it clear to Republican congressional chiefs at a closed-door White House meeting the other day that civil rights legislation is at the top of his "must" list for Congress. The way to lick the would-be filibusterers against civil rights, Eisenhower said, is to beat them to the punch.

"If we hope to get a bill through this session we must get started on it right away," he declared. "The longer we wait, the greater the chance of running into a time - killing filibuster."

PEARSON

The president apparently has studied Senate filibustering tactics.

"If we wait until May or June to get the bill out of committee and onto the Senate floor," he continued, "the chances of approval are mighty slim, it seems to me."

Ike referred, of course, to the fact that filibustering tactics are always most effective toward the end of a session when members are tired and want to go home.

House GOP Leader Joe Martin, who has no filibuster problems, was somewhat more enthusiastic than his Senate counterpart, Bill Knowland of California. Knowland assured Eisenhower of his support, but said the final outcome would depend as much on Northern Democratic liberals as on his Senate GOP cohorts.

"If we get to your civil rights program in time, we'll pass it, Mr. President," intoned the deep-voiced Californian. "I'll do the best I can."

NOTE — Shortly thereafter, the Senate constitutional rights subcommittee voted 5 to 2 against the president. Sen. Tom Hennings (Mo.) and O'Mahoney (Wyo.), both Democrats, voted with the president's idea of immediate consideration of the civil rights bill. But three Republicans—Watkins (Utah), Langer (N. D.) and Hruska (Neb.)—voted with two Southern Democrats, Johnston (S. C.) and Irvin (N. C.), to delay consideration.

One-man block

NOT MANY PEOPLE realize how the tactics of one potent congressional committee chairman can block legislation affecting millions of people. Such a chairman is Graham Barden, charming, courtly congressman from North Carolina, who for years has exercised one-man rule over the House education and labor committee. His refusal to hold meetings in the past delayed new schools and higher minimum wages.

The other day, a group of young turk congressmen revolted against Barden's longtime one-man rule. They won part of their battle. But he won the right to block Negro Congr. Adam Clayton Powell, the Harlem Democrat who bolted to Ike.

The inside story indicates how legislative battles are sometimes decided backstage on Capitol Hill.

The young turk congressmen, Udall of Arizona, Metcalf of Montana, Roosevelt of California, Thompson of New Jersey and Mrs. Green of Oregon, had carefully planned their strategy for six months. They even sent Jimmy Roosevelt on a secret mission to Texas last month to clear their plans with Speaker Rayburn.

Counter-action

SO, WHEN THE LABOR committee met, the young turks were ready with a new set of rules, drafted by Udall, which they planned to ram down Barden's throat. They felt confident of Republican support if a test vote was needed.

Barden, however, outsmarted them. Secretly he had his own new set of rules drawn up, surrendering part of his power, but not all. He also slipped a copy to Rep. Sam McConnell of Pennsylvania, top-ranking Republican on the committee.

Barden knew, of course, that McConnell was on the spot. Republican orators had publicly berated Barden for hamstringing labor legislation, yet actually they didn't want much labor legislation—only enough to win votes. Barden knew, therefore, that McConnell would go along with his plan to keep certain controls in conservative hands.

Sure enough, McConnell called a confidential caucus of the GOP committee members, decided to back the Democratic chairman against other rebellious Democrats.

When the full committee met, Barden had his strategy all set.

"Every person in the United States is affected by what is done here," he partially surrendered. "The committee's jurisdiction and scope have grown so much that I have decided subcommittees should be appointed."

This meant that he could no longer bottle up legislation in the full committee.

"I am proposing a resolution to be adopted today by the members of the committee," he said.

Powell is defeated

THE YOUNG TURKS, who were ready with their own resolution, perked up their ears.

"Can we consider the provisions one at a time?" inquired young turk Metcalf of Montana.

"No!" declared Barden, annoyed. He then launched into a half-hour lecture, winding up with a reading of his new rules, reserving for himself the right to appoint subcommittee chairmen and members.

"I move the adoption of the resolution!" said Congr. Ralph Gwinn (R., N. J.), one of the most reactionary Republicans in Congress. Another Republican seconded the motion.

"Mr. Chairman," interrupted Metcalf, "will the resolution be open to amendment by the committee?"

Barden was now irritated.

"Well," he growled, "if you're going to butcher it all up, I don't want any of it."

By now, Powell had arrived in the committee room.

"Mr. Chairman," he inquired meekly, "are the subcommittee chairmen going to be appointed according to seniority?" He knew that if seniority prevailed he would be a subcommittee chairman. He also knew Barden didn't want him as such.

"No!" declared Barden, "because of complications."

Edith Green of Oregon came to Powell's defense by offering a formal motion in opposition to Barden, calling for seniority in appointing subcommittee chairmen. All eyes turned to Powell, whose turn it was to make a plea for fair play. He merely offered a meek second to Rep. Green's motion.

When the votes were tallied, Barden won, 19 to 9, against Powell. Not a single Republican voted for Powell, though the Harlem Democrat had campaigned for Eisenhower and swung thousands of Negro votes in November. Rep. McConnell cast his vote first, in a loud voice. Other Republicans followed suit.

Most important result of all this maneuvering is that subcommittees will now handle labor and school problems and legislation will not be bottled up by Barden in one big central committee.

Ervin Says Ike Is in Dark On Rights Bill

Constitution
Atlanta Ga.
Mon. 4-1-57

WASHINGTON, March 31 (UP) —Sen. Sam J. Ervin Jr. (D-NC) said today President Eisenhower would oppose his own civil rights bill "if he knew what was in it."

Ervin, a member of the Senate Judiciary Committee which has jurisdiction over the measure, said the bill "cannot possibly pass" the Senate in its present form if all senators understand its ramifications.

The measure would set up a presidential commission on civil rights, establish a civil rights division in the Justice Department, authorize government court suits to protect civil rights, and provide greater protections for the voting rights of minorities.

The bill, urgently requested by Mr. Eisenhower, already has been approved by the House Judiciary Committee. House passage is expected later this year.

Ervin, a foe of the legislation, said on the ABC television program, "Celebrity Parade," that the President at his news conferences invariably refers questions about the legal aspects of the bill to Attorney General Herbert Brownell Jr.

"I believe the President would not be for this bill if he knew what was in it," Ervin said.

He reiterated his charge that the legislation, if enacted, would **"take away from all Americans civil rights far more important"** than those it seeks to protect.

Ervin said the measure "would rob Americans of their right to "trial by jury" and give the attorney general **"despotic power"** in the enforcement of laws.

10 1957

Advertiser, Montgomery, Ala. Wed 2-27-57

DESPITE EXPECTED FILIBUSTER

Civil Rights Bill Passage By Easter, Knowland Forecast

WASHINGTON, Feb. 26 (AP)—Sen. Knowland (R-Calif) expressed confidence today the Senate will vote for civil rights legislation, perhaps before the Easter recess.

He made the prediction, at the White House, in face of the certainty of a Southern filibuster due to begin whenever such legislation should hit the Senate floor.

Knowland, minority leader in the Senate, and Rep. Joseph W. Martin, (R-Mass), minority leader in the House, both discussed the civil rights situation with reporters after their weekly legislative conference with President Eisenhower.

Martin said the legislation should be ready for the House about March 15 and "we'll pass it—it will take about two days."

As he spoke, a House Judiciary subcommittee was holding its last scheduled day of civil rights hearings, taking another round of opposition testimony from Southern witnesses.

Knowland expressed hope the Senate would vote before Congress recesses for Easter, Thursday, April 18.

A Senate Judiciary subcommittee has voted to end its hearings on the legislation March 5. However, Sen. Ervin (D-NC) has announced he will press for further hearings before the full committee, headed by Sen. Eastland (D-Miss).

Southern critics of the proposed new laws are trying to delay a Senate vote; backers are trying to speed one up. Last year the House passed a bill patterned after Eisenhower administration proposals, but so late in the session that the Senate didn't act.

This year, the backers started their efforts much earlier and are in a better position to weaken the filibuster weapon.

Those pressing for the legislation contend that many Southern Negroes are being deprived of their rights and the federal government must act. Those fighting it call it unnecessary and an intrusion on the rights of states to govern themselves.

NEW DIVISION

The Eisenhower program calls for a federal commission to investigate civil rights complaints, a new division in the Justice Department to handle civil rights matters, authority for the attorney general to get court injunctions to prevent violations, and provisions for civil rights damage suits.

In today's House subcommittee hearings, Sen. Thurmond (D-S.C.):

"In other countries, tyranny has taken the forms of fascism, communism and absolute monarchy. I do not want to see it foisted on the American people under the alias of civil rights."

VIRGINIAN SPEAKS

J. Lindsay Almond, Virginia's attorney general, said of the civil rights plan:

"It was not conceived in response to the demands of the national interest, but engendered in hate and motivated by political expediency."

Almond said the proposed federal commission would inflict on some citizens the same "unwarranted economic pressure" which he said the legislation is supposed to protect others from.

Another witness, Rep. Robeson (D-Va) said there is "an almost unbelievable minimum of difficulty" between the races in Virginia, and the legislation would be an justified invasion of states' rights.

EDITOR WARNS

Still another Virginian, editor Virginius Dabney of the Richmond Times - Dispatch, discussed the legislation in a speech for a meeting of the National Assn. of Secondary School Principals.

"A majority of Congress seems to be so bemused by the phrase 'civil rights' that it is reluctant to vote against anything which bears that label, no matter how dangerous its potentialities."

Constitution, Atlanta, Ga. Thurs. 2-28-57

Civil Rights Plan Changed Slightly, Clears Panel, 6-0

By JOHN D. MORRIS

(Copyright 1957 by The New York Times Co.)

WASHINGTON, Feb. 27—President Eisenhower's civil rights program easily cleared its first congressional hurdle of the session today.

A slightly-amended version of the administration's bill was approved, 6-0, by a House Judiciary subcommittee. The measure will be taken up Tuesday by the full committee with excellent prospects of favorable action.

Tuesday is also the day fixed for completion of hearings by a Senate Judiciary subcommittee. Prompt approval of a civil rights bill is expected there, too, but the program faces possible delay in the full Senate committee and a filibuster by Southern opponents when it reaches the Senate floor.

"LESS UNPALATABLE"

In the House, operating under strict limitation of debate, little difficulty is anticipated once the bill clears the Judiciary and Rules committees.

Rep. Celler, (D-N.Y.) announced after today's subcommittee action that he was "well satisfied" with the amended version. Chairman Celler said the amendments were designed to make the bill "less unpalatable" to Southern opponents.

The subcommittee accepted without significant change administration-backed provisions for appointment of an assistant attorney general in charge of civil rights and for new federal enforcement powers.

FEDERAL PROSECUTION

The new powers include the authority for the Justice Department to prosecute anyone who intimidates or coerces voters in an election involving federal office.

The Justice Department also would be authorized to institute civil damage suits and seek federal court injunctions against violation of voting and other constitutional guarantees. In addition, private citizens would be allowed to take denial-of-rights complaints directly to federal courts.

The subcommittee added a proviso to prohibit the department from instituting a damage suit without the written consent of the aggrieved person.

INVESTIGATE COMPLAINTS

The other amendments were written into a provision for the creation of a bipartisan commission to study civil rights problems and investigate complaints of violations.

The new language would have the following effects:

1. Restrict investigations of alleged violations to cases based on sworn or affirmed complaints.

2. Prohibit the commission, in exercising subpoena powers, from requiring a witness to travel from one judicial circuit to another to testify.

3. Require the commission to adhere to rules of procedure now specified by the House for investigations by its committees.

Advertiser, Montgomery, Ala. Wed 2-27-57

As Real As In Montgomery

The Hartford (Conn.) Courant

THE latest report made by the State Civil Rights Commission on integration of Negro families in white neighborhoods in Connecticut is one of the more interesting studies made by that commission. Connecticut laws covering segregation and integration are among the best in the country. For that reason a great many of us have believed that inter-personal relations had reached the same high level. Therefore, the study of the trials of some 219 Negro families in buying new homes, moving into them, and trying to get accepted as neighbors is a shocking revelation of how far we still have to go before a bare minimum of equity and decency is reached.

The truth is, that the Negro in Connecticut, while not persecuted or set upon physicaly, is still discriminated against. When he tries to do what every other immigrant group has done successfully, to move to a better home as his financial condition improves, he finds nearly every hand turned against him. The barriers against his struggle upward begin when he tries to buy a new home. It is virtually impossible for a Negro to rent a home in a white neighborhood. And often the only chance he has to buy a home springs from the mean emotion of spite; a neighbor is to be damaged by the sale of a house to a Negro.

When the word circulates that a Negro is buying a home, there are grumblings and sometimes overt insults. Petitions are circulated and Negroes are told plainly they are not wanted. And even after they have settled in their homes and by years of respectable and exemplary living, have rightfully earned respect, they are still often not integrated into the social life of the community.

This ostracism is as real as anything that occurs in Montgomery, Ala., but the difference is, in Connecticut it is done under a mantle of hypocrisy. Hypocrisy exists because nearly everyone in Connecticut pretends to subscribe to the brotherhood of man. But that belief snaps quickly in the face of the reality of a Negro moving into a white neighborhood.

The irony of this report lies in the fact that the 219 Negroes who are covered by it are of superior intelligence and educationally were far ahead of their white neighbors. It is sad not only because Negroes were given a bad time by people whose traditions should have taught them better, but because these white people cut themselves off from social contact with many rich personalities who might as accepted neighbors have brightened and enriched their lives.

The report is not good, but the fact that it can be published and will be accepted contritely by most people around here will help to take some of the sting out of it. We think the next one, if there is a next one, will be better.

DORIS FLEESON

Civil Rights and New Schools

Evening Star P.13

Leaders Trying to Get Rights Measure Passed First, Then Construction Bill

Tues. 2-26-57

Washington, D.C.

Congressional Democratic leaders have linked civil rights and the school construction bill in a desperate effort to get these fratricidal issues behind them before they are confronted with another election year. In 1958 all the House and one-third of the Senate again face the voters.

The leaders' strategy is to keep the school bill a safe distance behind the civil rights measures in both House and Senate. The civil rights legislation, they figure, will enable members for and against to make their positions absolutely plain to their constituencies.

The leaders argue next that with everyone firmly on record, there will be no need whatever to refight the segregation battle on the school bill. House Democrats from big city districts are not at all sure this is so, but they are listening.

Senate liberals on the other hand have given assurances that they will put the need for school construction ahead of segregation considerations if and when the bill reaches them.

It may not, if the House sends over a school bill with the Powell antisegregation amendment attached to it. A Southerner, Lister Hill of Alabama, is chairman of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee to which the bill would go. Hill is a liberal but not that liberal for reasons that are self-evident, and his powers as chairman are great.

It is a foregone conclusion that the House, which can limit debate, will pass civil rights legislation. Senate Leader Lyndon Johnson must deal first with a heavily right-wing Judiciary Committee with Eastland of Mississippi as its chairman, then with a filibuster when and as the bill comes out of committee.

Johnson has taken the position in discussion with his fellow-Southerners that the Eisenhower administration in conjunction with Democratic liberals has the votes to win this year on the civil rights issue. He says the issue therefore cannot be evaded but must be handled by the divided Democrats. His plea is for restraint on both sides so that the party will be injured as little as possible.

Johnson expects the House to act in time to enable him to make a civil rights bill his next big item of business in the Senate.

Civil rights advocates are exploring another idea to circumvent the Powell amendment. It is that the President by administrative decision could withhold all Federal funds for education from States whose schools are defying the law of the land as laid down by the Supreme Court.

The Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare—Marion Folsom—was asked about such a possibility in hearings on his departmental appropriations. He indicated it might be possible but retreated somewhat when a direct question about segregated schools followed. In a matter so important, the decision would have to be the President's anyway.

Civil Rights Bills Called 'Tyranny' by Thurmond

Evening Star Tues. 2-26-57 Washington, D.C. P.13

A House subcommittee winding up public hearings today on civil rights bills was urged by Senator Thurmond, Democrat of South Carolina, not to "foist" such legislation on the American people as a form of "tyranny."

Attorney General J. Lindsay Almond of Virginia was another witness scheduled for the final open session. Late today or tomorrow the subcommittee planned to hold an executive meeting with every indication it will promptly recommend a measure to the full Judiciary Committee.

Senator Thurmond's testimony released in a prepared statement before the hearing warned against confusing "real civil rights and so-called civil rights."

"In other countries tyranny has taken the forms of fascism, communism and absolute monarchy," the former South Carolina Governor said. "I do not want to see it foisted on the American people under the alias of civil rights. Everybody favors human rights. But it is a fraud on the American people to pretend that human rights can long endure without constitutional restraint on the power of government."

Like many other Southern public officials who have appeared before House and Senate subcommittees studying proposed civil rights legislation, Senator Thurmond contended that such bills would invade the rights of States.

The House subcommittee headed by Representative Celler, Democrat of New York, incorporated in the hearing record a Justice Department statement that some FBI findings were at variance with recent testimony of Louisiana Attorney General Jack P. Gremillion concerning methods used in registering Negro voters in his State.

Assistant Attorney General Warren Olney wrote to the subcommittee as well as to Mr. Gremillion that FBI investigations of the handling of voting registrations in 10 Louisiana parishes disclosed that 8,552 Negroes were challenged when they tried to register for the 1956 elections.

Mr. Olney challenged Mr. Gremillion's claim that persons seeking to register in Louisiana had a free choice in selecting the section of the Federal Constitution they wished to interpret as part of the educational test.

Mr. Olney also disputed Mr. Gremillion's statement that prospective voters who were challenged had ample opportunity to establish their right within 10 days before the election. The Justice Department official said the investigation indicated that in a half dozen parishes the registrars "did everything to discourage the filing of reply affidavits in the statutory form and generally refused them when offered."

RIGHTS PROGRAM IS LIKELY TO PASS

Times Mon. 3-25-57 New York P.1

But New Southern Tactics Stressing Loss of Jury Trials Pose a Threat

By WILLIAM S. WHITE

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, March 24—The prospect for enactment of some civil rights legislation now seems the most favorable in two decades.

A marked change in manner, in leadership and in basic strategy within the Southern opposition, however, has created obstacles that in a sense are more formidable than before.

This new Southern opposition, typified by such men as Senator Sam J. Ervin Jr., of North Carolina, has forced some concessions from Northerners; it may force more.

All this is privately conceded by some of the most responsible of the civil rights leaders.

Showdown After Easter

Some equally responsible Southerners acknowldge that the outlook for action is nevertheless stronger than in recent memory.

The showdown is only slowly approaching, however, and is not expected until after the Easter recess of Congress. However, the Senate Judiciary Committee meets tomorrow and the civil rights question is expected to be discussed then.

The implacable Southern opposition of the past to any kind of Federal legislation has visibly weakened. This softening has come about by the passage of time and by a greater degree of general Southern acceptance of the proposition that in some areas, voting, for example, discrimination against Negroes cannot morally and ethically be defended.

In part the change is the result also of the pressures from political reality—notably the heavy inroads made by the Republicans in 1956 among Negro voters, Southern as well as Northern. Some Southern Democrats fear that they may have heard the striking of a clock and that their party's success in holding Congress over big Republican Presidential victories will not necessarily be repeated.

Finally, an altered atmosphere proceeds in part from the fact that the Texas Democratic leadership of Congress — Speaker Sam Rayburn in the House of Representatives and Senator Lyndon B. Johnson in the Senate — is Southern but not Deep Southern and not adamantly and necessarily opposed to any and every civil rights reform.

Limited Assistance

The old total and bitter Southern resistance has been largely replaced by a soft-spoken and limited resistance that is in practical ways more effective. It is, in fact, gaining some assistance from non-Southern and essentially liberal quarters.

This new Southern approach is best illustrated in what has become the single greatest issue within the general issue of civil rights—the question of whether civil rights violators are to be given jury trials in every circumstance.

Administration-backed civil rights bills now approved by a Senate Judiciary subcommittee and the full Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives would make it possible to deny jury trial in many instances.

This could be done by empowering the Department of Justice to bring, in the name of the United States, actions for injunctions against persons charged with violation of the civil rights of others. To make the United States a party to such an action, instead of an individual citizen, would permit a Federal judge to hear without a jury a subsequent contempt case against a person accused of disobeying the injunction. The defendant could not demand a jury as a matter of right.

The Senate version of the measure would enable the Justice Department to take this course in behalf of the civil rights of a citizen even if he himself did not wish to make or to authorize the case.

Balk at Proviso

Southern and some Republican members balked at this latter provision in the House committee and voted to strike it from the bill.

Contempt actions in practice probably would normally be used primarily where election registrars refused to enroll a Negro voter or where local officials refused injunctions to implement the Supreme Court's decree against racial segregation in the public schools.

Senator Ervin has taken the lead in opposing the provision. Beginning in February with a three-day cross-examination of Herbert Brownell Jr., the Attorney General, Mr. Ervin has made a painstaking record, with much quiet Southern assistance, on the point.

The Southerners generally have adopted his basic argument as the heart of their cause. Senator Ervin's contention is that what is being proposed is "a fundamental alteration in the law, which would deprive American citizens and state officials of their constitutional right to trial by jury and of their constitutional right to be confronted by their accusers and to have an opportunity for cross-examination."

Mr. Brownell and the leading civil rights advocates have repeatedly rejected this interpretation. Nevertheless, it has been adopted in substance by a few Northern liberals, particularly in the Senate. The leading civil rights advocates contend that non-jury trial of contempt actions has been historically common in American jurisprudence and that no constitutional right is being deprived.

Senate Sets Vote Date On Civil Rights Legislation

Defender Chicago, Ill.

Sat. 2-23-57

By ROSE McKEE

WASHINGTON — (INS) — A Senate Judiciary subcommittee decided Monday to end hearings and vote March 5 on civil rights legislation but southern senators protested the action on the floor.

One of them, Sen. Sam J. Ervin, Jr., (D) N. C., said the deadline allows inadequate **time** to consider "such momentous" legislation which he charged **would** bring about "government **by the** whims of one man," the attorney general.

Sen. John McClellan (D) Ark., **said** the full judiciary committee, **of** which he is a member, should **hold** its own hearings on the hotly disputed bills. Sen. Olin D. Johnston (D) N. C., charged that the cut-off in subcommittee hearings would deprive witnesses of their "constitutional right to be heard."

6 TO 2 VOTE

Chairman Thomas C. Hennings (D) Mo., announced that his subcommittee voted 6 to 2 for the **termination date. There appears no question but that the Hennings group will approve a civil rights program, probably along the lines proposed by President Eisenhower.**

Advocates of the legislation have enough strength in the full committee to approve a bill overwhelmingly, provided they can bring it to a vote. Delay is the major weapon of opponents and once the bill reaches the Senate floor, a formal filibuster is expected.

Debate over the legislation broke out on the Senate floor when Democratic Leader Lyndon Johnson, Texas, acting for the subcommittee, asked and obtained permission for the unit to sit late Monday while the Senate was in session.

RUSH ACTION

Ervin, who has been fighting the bill in subcommittee, declared **that it gives the attorney general the right to determine if action against civil rights offenders is** to be taken.

Ervin said that if the attorney general decides to put the legislation into operation, **"then state laws fall and we do not have government by laws or government by men but government by the whims of one man."**

Both Ervin and Johnston complained that they were not notified until 8:15 a.m. (EST) Monday of the subcommittee meeting at 9 a.m. at which the March 5 deadline was set.

Ervin said he didn't even have time to shave or eat breakfast but **had to rush to the meeting. He charged that the deadline was "unprecendented" and he said the practice could be used in the future by "a majority of a subcommittee to practice tyranny."**

JOHNSON CRITICAL

Johnson told the Senate that if he had been a member of the subcommittee, "I would not have voted for the motion." He said that in asking permission for the unit to sit while the Senate is in session, he was merely carrying out his duties as Democratic leader.

Sen. Francis Case (R) S. D., **challenged Ervin's appraisal of the bill. The GOP senator declared that Attorney General Herbert M. Brownell, jr., was not advocating a bill that would "result in the denial of certain fundamental rights."**

Ervin retorted: "I do not think that until Saturday, the attorney general knew what his bill provided."

Sen. Everett M. Dirksen (R) Ill., who introduced the administration's bill, also differed with Ervin. Dirksen said the civil rights issue had been explored at length last year both in the subcommittee and the full committee.

RAN OUT OF WITNESSES

Hearings On Civil Rights Recessed

Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

2-22-57

WASHINGTON, Feb. 21 (AP) — Senate hearings on President Eisenhower's civil rights legislation ran out of witnesses for the time being today and were recessed until at least next week.

Before suspending the hearings for the rest of this week, the Senate Judiciary subcommittee heard testimony favoring the program from Sen. Javits (R-NY).

Javits contended the legislation sought by the Eisenhower administration is needed to cope with what he called "a serious situation caused by a breakdown in the enforcement of the law" in parts of the South.

Subcommittee Chairman Hennings (D-Mo.) said no additional witnesses were slated for this week and nearly every day next week is available, he said, for any witnesses wanting to be heard.

Hennings said he would like to be notified by any opponents who wish to testify against the legislation.

"We don't want anyone to say later they weren't given an opportunity to testify," he said.

The subcommittee voted 4-2 last Monday to end its hearings on March 5. Sponsors of the legislation hope to get it before the Senate in time to ride out an expected filibuster against its passage.

Javits, contending the attorney general needs the additional powers the program would give him, said criminal prosecution for civil rights violations "has broken down in certain areas of the South." He said "you can't get" indictments or convictions.

Present law provides only for criminal prosecutions in cases of alleged civil rights violations, such as the right to vote. The administration bill would empower the attorney general to seek federal court injunctions against such violations.

It also provides for creation of a special commission to investigate civil rights problems, and establishment of a civil rights division in the Justice Department.

SOUTHERNERS WIN DELAY ON RIGHTS

New York Times 2-14-57

Celler Grants Postponement to Feb. 25-26 for Further Testimony on Legislation

By C. P. TRUSSELL
Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 13—Southern state officials won a further delay today for the presentation of civil rights recommendations to the House of Representatives.

The strategy of proponents of the civil rights program has been to get their legislation through the House early. The time element is important to chances of passing such legislation.

Representative E. L. Forrester, a Georgia Democrat, called the pending legislation "a bunch of garbage" and a "monstrosity." He said that President Eisenhower's civil rights program was "only an effort to beat the Democrats to the punch."

A House Judiciary subcommittee headed by Representative Emanuel Celler, Democrat of Brooklyn, had scheduled only two more days of hearings before the civil rights issue would be taken to the House floor. In setting this deadline Mr. Celler had said that he was "leaning over backward" to give opponents a further chance to present their arguments. He said he wanted all to be given their words at the forum.

More Want to Testify

But today more Southern officials asked to be heard. However, they stated, situations prevented their appearances before Feb. 25 or Feb. 26.

Some cited definite commitments that would hold them away from Washington appearances before those dates.

Representative Celler finally agreed to a postponement, but in harried tones.

He served notice that there would be no more hearings Feb. 25-26, but that then the door would close. "Absolutely," he added.

Proponents of civil-rights legislation want the House to act first. Hearings on similar bills were scheduled to start on the Senate side tomorrow. Civil-rights measures have got through the House but not through the Senate. In the Senate the power of unlimited debate has killed such proposals.

The proponents' plan was to get a civil rights bill passed by the House and sent to the Senate in time to prevent a filibuster that would endanger the entire legislative program. A filibuster makes use of the unlimited debating privilege to bar action on legislation. The legislation usually is abandoned to give the right of way to programs necessary for the operations of the government.

Representative Forrester, a member of the House Judiciary Committee, which Mr. Celler heads, testified that when civil rights was last before Congress the Celler panel did not hear opponents of the legislation.

He was given an hour in the witness chair, and was followed by George F. McCanless, Attorney General of Tennessee; Jack P. F. Cremillion, Attorney General of Louisiana; Ernest W. Goodrich Jr., spokesman for the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties, and others from the South.

Complimented by Celler

Mr. McCanless set the tone of the arguments against more than a score of civil rights bills before the subcommittee. Mr. Celler later complimented him on the "calm and able" way in which he had made his arguments.

Mr. McCanless made these arguments:

¶The pending bills were not needed, because the Government already had power to deal with violations of civil rights.

¶The legislation, if enacted, would reflect discredit upon the people in Southern states.

¶It would result in "further invasion of areas of government that properly belonged to the states."

¶It would set in motion a commission with authority all over the United States, that could conduct "an inquisition that could accomplish nothing except to intensify distrust and misunderstanding."

¶It would grant to the United States Attorney General the power to sue individuals on behalf of other individuals and to use the writ of injunction as a means of intimidation.

¶It would alienate "the very people whose good sense and good will are necessary to a fair and reasonable solution of the problems of race relations in our country."

A distrust of state governments, Mr. McCanless held, is implicit in the measures before the subcommittee, and this, he contended, is not deserved as to Southern states. Tennessee, he added, has even enactd law to giv the death penalty to persons who, under the trappings of disguise, wealt with deadly weapons assault or terrorizing.

The state spokesman expressed pride over the laws they had enacted, without recourse to Federal law, in giving a fair break to citizens of all races.

RIGHTS HEARING HALT VOTED, 4-2

Times-Picayune Tues. 2-19-57 New Orleans

Subcommittee Sets Showdown on Bill March 5

By J. W. DAVIS

WASHINGTON, Feb. 18. (AP)—

Backers of civil rights legislation won a victory today in a 4-2 decision by a Senate judiciary subcommittee to take a showdown vote on the bill March 5.

The subcommittee has been considering various proposals, mainly the legislation submitted for the Eisenhower administration by Atty. Gen. Brownell.

Today's vote was reported to have lined up Chairman Hennings (D-Mo) of the subcommittee and Sens. O'Mahoney (D-Wyo), Watkins (R-Utah) and Hruska (R-Neb) in favor of cutting off hearings and taking a vote March 5. Opposed were Sens. Olin Johnston (D-SC) and Ervin (D-NC).

Unnecessary, Says Critics

The legislation is aimed against what its sponsors call the deprivation of Negroes of their civil rights, including voting rights, in some states. Southern critics have said it is unnecessary and would undercut states' rights.

Last year the House passed a bill patterned after the administration's request, and a Senate judiciary subcommittee did likewise, but it never got out of the full Senate Judiciary Committee. The House didn't pass it until July 23, four days before Congress adjourned.

This year backers of the legislation moved early, in the hopes of getting a bill before the Senate well ahead of adjournment, so as to weaken the force of an expected Southern filibuster.

Full Committee Hearings Aim

If the Senate subcommittee approves a bill March 5 the legislation would still have to go through the full Judiciary Committee. The committee chairman is Sen. Eastland (D-Miss), who opposes it.

Sens. Johnston and McClellan (D-Ark) said they would call for public hearings by the full committee. Ervin said he would want the full committee to hold hearings if those held by the subcommittee were not adequate. He said it seems apparent that adequate subcommittee hearings could not be held in the time allotted.

Johnston said that the subcommittee majority, by limiting hearings, was "taking away the constitutional rights of the people, both colored and white, to be heard."

The House Judiciary Committee plans to end its hearings on similar legislation by Feb. 26.

Additional Pressure

Some additional pressure was brought over the weekend when the new advisory council of the Democratic party, meeting at San Francisco, adopted a resolution urging Congress to pass civil rights legislation at this session.

Adlai Stevenson, the party's presidential candidate in 1952 and 1956, told the council he hoped Congress would pass a bill "with overwhelming Democratic support and without filibuster and parliamentary harassment."

The Eisenhower program calls for a federal commission to consider civil rights complaints, a new civil rights division in the Justice Department, and authority for the attorney general to bring injunctions to protect voting rights and other civil rights.

SOUTHERN OPPOSITION OVERRIDEN

Daily World, Wed. 3-20-57, Atlanta, Ga.

WASHINGTON — For the second straight day President Eisenhower's Civil Rights Bill has been approved, and brought closer to reality, despite open opposition, and near threats by Southern Congressmen.

Tuesday a Senate judiciary subcommittee overrode Southern opposition and approved the bill by a vote of four to two. The measure was then sent immediately to the full judiciary committee, and is now awaiting clearance by the rules committee for floor debate.

Approval by senators came one day after the House judiciary committee approved the measure which has weathered attacks and numerous crippling amendments by Southern Congressmen, who openly declared war on the ideal of gaining full equality for Negroes in Dixie.

The house committee had to beat down four Southern inspired amendments before clearing the bill for house floor debate, when southerners have promised a new attack in an attempt to kill the bill which could change the white supremacy rule that has existed virtually since the Civil War period.

The Bill's approval in the Senate subcommittee was considered a victory for government forces. Subcommittee chairman Hennings, (D-Mo.) said he plans to press for quick passage of the measure.

the usual and expected howl from Southern Senators. The main person speaking against it was the junior senator Herman Talmadge which would make a czar of the attorney general, and compared it with bills passed during post Civil War days.

The Eisenhower administration has pressed for a strong civil rights bill for several months, labelling it the only way the safety and rights of all citizens can be protected.

Civil rights has been one of the main planks in presidential elections for the past several years, with both the Democratic and Republican Parties seeking the method with the most effective approach. In all these measures Southern Congressmen had fought against passage on any measure designed to gain civil rights for Negroes.

"I SOLEMNLY SWEAR" — These are the words uttered by three prominent Southerners who were requested to take an oath before giving their testimony before the Hennings Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights. The Rev. Gus Courts, (left), who was shot in Belzoni, Mississippi, because of his efforts to get Negroes registered to vote; Attorney Austin T. Walden (center), and the Rev. William Holmes Borders, both of Atlanta. These three men sat through three days of hearings in Washington awaiting to be heard. Finally late Saturday afternoon they were called up before the subcommittee — all three at one time — and unlike other witnesses who had appeared, they were asked to take an oath although they were not subpenaed. When the swearing-in ceremony was completed they were informed that there wasn't time for them to be heard, and they would have to return to Washington later the following week.

10 1957

Warns against unworkable 'rights' bills—

News Thurs. 2-7-57

Coleman tells Congress: Leave us alone to solve our problems

B'ham, Ala.

BY JAMES FREE
News Washington correspondent

P. 30

WASHINGTON, Feb. 7—Gov. J. P. Coleman of Mississippi has served notice to the Congress that proposed civil rights bills would not help Negroes as its backers want to do.

He told a House judiciary subcommittee yesterday that broad, new federal powers suggested would put an end to the civil right of trial by jury (in civil rights cases) and substitute government by judiciary and government by injunction.

COLEMAN SAID that, under the new laws urged by Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell, a citizen could be subject to injunction on an unsubstantiated complaint or on mere suspicion of a past or prospective violation of the law. And that a citizen could be sentenced for violation of an injunction—not only without a trial by jury but without an indictment by a Grand Jury.

The governor said such a state of affairs would set back progress in race relations in Mississippi and nearby states by 25 years.

"A citizen might be afraid to have anything to do with a Negro, he might fear the risk of a complaint arising out of an honest misunderstanding, or perhaps a false report of discrimination."

COLEMAN SAID Mississippi has made tremendous strides in recent years in improving job and educational opportunities for Negroes. He denied that there were any bars directed against Negroes in the state in registration and qualification for voting.

And he warned that these proposed civil rights laws would put a virtually impossible burden on himself, as governor. And many other citizens who are doing their best to promote friendly relations between the races in the South.

Chairman Celler (D., N. Y.) of the judiciary committee, complimented Coleman on a "cogent and clear presentation, and especially on its temperate tone."

(Coleman followed Rep. Mendell Rivers (D., S. C.), who had addressed some pungent and, at times, bitter and personal remarks at Chairman Celler for his steady plugging for civil rights bills.)

Mississippi Atty. Gen. Joe T. Patterson dealt more fully with Gov. Coleman's claim that the new laws are not needed to protect individual rights. He cited many decisions of the Mississippi Supreme Court to show that for the past 50 years or more it has closely guarded the legal and civil rights of persons of all races in the state.

ALL SIX MISSISSIPPI members of the House — who had joined in inviting Gov. Coleman and Mr. Patterson to come here to testify—sat in on all or most of their presentations. Rep. William Colmer, dean of the delegation, introduced Rep. Tom Abernethy, who presented the two witnesses to the subcommittee since both Coleman and Patterson live in Abernethy's district.

Gov. Coleman was before the subcommittee a full hour and a half. And its members paid him the rare tribute of not interrupting him a single time until he completed his own statement and indicated he was ready for questions.

The governor was asked about the shooting of two Negroes in Humphreys County in 1955 reportedly to intimidate Negroes and keep them away from the polls. Coleman replied that those cases were still unsolved despite intensive efforts. And he added that it is his understanding that the men were shot for reasons having nothing to do with voting.

ASKED WHY relatively so few Negroes vote in Mississippi—only an estimated 7000 to 8000 in the 1955 Democratic primaries—Coleman said that many Negroes fail to pay their poll taxes. He said that a check he made as attorney general in 1954 showed at least 22,000 Negroes were registered to vote in the state. He added that he thought many more than that number are registered at present.

He assured the subcommittee that there are no "trick" questions that Negroes must answer to qualify to vote. He explained that all questions on the application for registration are the same for all prospective voters; and that the application and the information on it are matters of public record—which was not the case prior to three years ago.

Coleman said he was glad that Mississippi is no longer the "whipping-boy" among the states in the matter of adverse publicity about race relations. He said that lynchings were a thing of the past in Mississippi and that in 1956 there had been no racial incidents whatsoever. He said that Mississippi and other Southern states need help in solving their race relations problems and that they should not be saddled with unworkable civil rights laws aimed at the South.

Civil Rights Opponent Sees Start Of National Police

Post-Herald Wed. 2-6-57 P. 2
B'ham, Ala.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 5 (AP)—A Southern critic of civil rights proposals pending in the House said today they would lead to "a national police force." A Northern congressman called the argument ridiculous.

The critical witness was Edward Scheidt, North Carolina motor vehicles commissioner. A former FBI agent, he was the first of a series of representatives of Southern state governments sent here to oppose bills under consideration in the House Judiciary Committee.

Testimony in support of new legislation was offered by Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); and Andrew J. Biemiller, legislative representative of the AFL-CIO.

Scheidt told the committee that proposed federal civil rights legislation would "bring the heavy hand of a national police force upon every community and state in the nation."

Speaking specifically of a program advocated by Rep. Celler (D., N. Y.), chairman of the committee, Scheidt said it would "create a national police force to supersede and sit in judgment upon the actions of local and state law enforcement officers in almost any kind of a case they might handle."

Celler disputed Scheidt's argument and Rep. Keating (R., N. Y.) called it "extravagant to the point of ridiculousness."

Keating has introduced a bill to carry out President Eisenhower's civil rights program.

The committee was unable to hold a scheduled afternoon meeting because Southern lawmakers blocked requests for unanimous consent to let the committee sit while the House was in session.

Southerners used the same tactic yesterday.

There were indications, meanwhile, that Celler had worked out a truce with Southern members in order to conduct hearings while the House meets.

It was understood Celler agreed to continue the hearings beyond Thursday's scheduled termination date in return for permission to sit whether the House is in session or not.

Celler denied to newsmen there was any "agreement," but he said he could not conscientiously halt hearings when state officials have asked to be heard on civil rights proposals.

Biemiller for the AFL-CIO asked for enactment of the Eisenhower program "at the very least." He said the AFL-CIO wants also to get laws against lynching and poll taxes, and for a fair employment practices system.

Wilkins for the NAACP said his and allied organizations were willing, for a starter, to accept "much less at this time than we believe to be justified."

Putting it a little differently, he said these organizations are calling for "the first step toward breaking the congressional stalemate by enactment of minimum legislation."

Eisenhower's program calls for:

Creation of a federal commission to investigate reported violations of civil rights.

Establishment of a civil rights division in the Justice Dept.

New laws to protect voting rights and permit the government to use court injunctions to prevent violations.

Provision for civil damage suits where civil rights have been adjudged to have been violated.

An administration bill patterned along these lines passed the House last July 279-126, but the Senate never acted on it.

Prominent Englishmen back British civil rights campaign

Afro-American Baltimore, Md. p. 19
Sat. 3-9-57

By ROY McFARLANE

LONDON — Outside of Britain, very little is known about a small group of English men and women who champion the cause of the colored people all over the world. From time to time, these liberal-minded people criticise their government's treatment of the colored people living in the colonies.

They have set up various organizations all over the country in order to provide a platform for their views.

Nearly three years ago, a group of members of the British Parliament, Trade Union officials, Church leaders and other prominent persons joined together and formed the Movement for Colonial Freedom.

* * *

ONE OF ITS chief sponsors is Fenner Brockway, member of Parliament, an English journalist who was born in India.

He has been a long-time campaigner for racial equality. He has travelled extensively throughout Africa and made a special study of racial segregation. Two years ago, he wrote a book called "African Journeys."

One of his parliamentarian colleagues once said in a radio broadcast, "Fenner's constituency is the largest in the world. People from many lands stretching from Africa to the West Indies write to him about their problems."

It is true to say that in some parts of Africa the name Fenner Brockway has become a household word.

* * *

MR. BROCKWAY has been instrumental in introducing a bill in the British Parliament demanding the abolition of racial discrimination in Britain and in the colonies over which Britain has control.

The bill, known as the "Anti-discrimination Bill," is designed to end the colour bar in employment, hotels and boarding houses and in public places such as clubs, resturants, beer garden, dance halls and cinemas.

He is the first person to introduce such a bill in the British Parliament.

* * *

SOMETIME AGO, parliamentarian Barbara Castle received a letter from a colored prisoner in Kenya complaining of the treatment meted out to him by the white prison officers.

Backed by a national newspaper, she hurriedly set out to Africa to conduct an on-the-spot investigation.

At first, the white officials in Kenya ignored her. The colony's Governor would not offer her any assistance. After many days of interviews, conferences consultations with white officials, she managed to gain entrance to one of the prisons. She was shocked by what she saw.

On her return to Britain, she submitted a report of her findings to Allen Lennox Boyd, Colonial Secretary of State. Time and again, she raises the matter in the House of Commons and she has described her experience to audiences all over the country.

* * *

PROBABLY ONE of the most popular crusaders of racial equality in the British Commonwealth is clergyman Trevor Huddleston who returned to Britain last year after 12 years of hard fighting against the South African Government.

His book "Nought For Your Comfort" is circulated all over the world. At present, he spends most of his time lecturing on the policy of the South African Government.

But Huddleston is not the only parson in England who vigorously opposes racial discrimination. The Rev. Michael Scott, who also lived in Africa, has led many deputations to the United Nations. He is now head of the African Bureau in London.

* * *

ANOTHER PARSON who does a great deal of work for the colored people is Cannon John Collins of the famous St. Pauls Cathedral. He is presently engaged in soliciting funds for the defence of the African people arrested and charged with treason in South Africa.

He castigates the South African Goverment in nearly all of his sermons. He once said that Christians should refrain from buying South African products in the shops.

It is encouraging to know that a few English people are actively engaged in the struggle for equality and harmony. It is to be hoped that as the campaign gathers momentum more and more of them will come out on the side of the colored people.

Statements of the Democratic Council

Times p. 17-C
Mon. 2-18-57
New York

Special to The New York Times.

SAN FRANCISCO, Feb. 17—Following are the texts of the resolution on civil rights and two statements issued today by the Democratic Advisory Council:

Civil Rights

Whereas, the Democratic party, in national convention assembled has, time after time, adopted platforms containing specific pledges on civil rights; and

Whereas, Democratic members of both houses of Congress, over a long period of years, have introduced and supported civil rights legislation, which was consistently sabotaged by the Republican leadership; and

Wheras, Republicans are attempting to create the false impression that they originated civil rights proposals, which they have belatedly copied from Democratic measures; and

Whereas, there has been a woeful lack of concern by President Eisenhower and those he has entrusted with administrative responsibilities in this vitally important field.

Now, therefore, be it resolved by the Democratic Advisory Council; that

The Democratic members of the United States Senate and House of Representatives are hereby urged to proceed, during this first session of the Eighty-fifth Congress, to enact pending legislation introduced by Democratic members in their unflagging efforts to eliminate discrimination of all kinds of relation to the right to vote and to engage in gainful occupations; and the other specific discriminations mentioned in the planks on civil rights embodied in Democratic platforms.

And be it further resolved, that the chairman of this council be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to send a copy of this resolution to Democratic officials (Federal, state and local), officials of the Democratic party and other interested persons for the purpose of mobilizing public sentiment throughout the nation in support of prompt action to put Democratic pledges into effect.

Foreign Policy Statement

We deplore the recent conduct of our foreign policy. In the Middle East is has served to bring us to the most dangerous crisis since the war. Russian influence has penetrated the Middle East for the first time in history. Israel is again isolated. The Suez Canal is still closed, its future unsettled. The economy of Western Europe is imperiled by the fuel shortage. Our great Western alliance, which is indispensable to our security, is endangered.

We are relieved that the President has at last indicated that he appreciates the peril of our position. This was not apparent during the late campaign, when the Administration was too willing to play politics with peace.

We commend the Democrats in Congress for making a searching examination of the events which have brought our affairs to this unhappy state. In doing so, they are performing the duty of a responsible opposition and the highest responsibility of the Senate.

It is only on the basis of full undersanding of the facts that a democratic system can survive. We commend the search for facts which have not been fully reported to the people by either the Administration or the press.

Like the Democrats in Congress, we remind the Administration that any policy in the Middle East which does not meet its real problems would be of little value. We commend all efforts, Democratic or Republican, to direct our Government's attention to the causes of our grave trouble. The President's proposed resolution does not meet the problems of the unrestricted use of the Suez Canal and the Gulf of Aquaba, of peace between the Arabs and Israel, and the prevention of the expansion of Communistic influence in this strategic area.

Alaska-Hawaii Statement

The representatives of the territories of Alaska and Hawaii have clearly demonstrated during the meetings held in the course of this conference that these territories are ready for statehood. The Democratic Advisory Council recommends early hearings and favorable action on pending legislation to create such states.

The Democratic party, in its platform adopted at the national convention in August, 1956, pledged itself to enact such legislation. Alaska and Hawaii have adopted constitutions, to become effective upon their admission into the union, and it is to be hoped that the new states will be authorized without undue delay.

Senate Group Overrides South

Advertiser
Wed. 3-20-57
Montgomery, Ala.

WASHINGTON, March 19 (AP) — A Senate Judiciary subcommittee overrode Southern opposition today and approved the Eisenhower administration's civil rights bill.

By a 4-2 vote, the group sent the measure to the full judiciary committee. Subcommittee Chairman Hennings (D-Mo) said he would press there for quick action.

A similar measure has been recommended by the House Judiciary Committee, and is awaiting rules committee clearance for floor debate.

Committee Balks Moves To 'Waken' Rights Bill

Post & Times Herald p. 2-A
Wed. 3-13-57
Washington D.C.

United

The House Judiciary Committee yesterday rejected what Chairman Emanuel Celler (D-N. Y.) called a number of Southern Democratic attempts to "weaken" the Administration's civil rights bill.

The committee acted at a closed-door session on a number of amendments to the bills provision setting up a Presidentially appointed commission to investigate charges of racial discrimination. Details were not disclosed.

Celler said he would "make every effort" to complete Committee action on the bill today.

The committee approved one minor amendment. It would increase from $8 to $12 a day the expense allowance granted out-of-town witnesses appearing before the proposed Civil Rights Commission.

An amendment restoring the Commission's authority to investigate religious discrimination was not offered yesterday. Such authority was included in the Administration's bill, but a Judiciary Subcommittee struck it out.

The amendment to restore the authority is sponsored by Rep. Lester Holtzman (D-N. Y.), who suffered a heart attack and is hospitalized in New York. Holtzman's office said he would remain in the hospital about six weeks.

However, Rep. Kenneth B. Keating (R-N. Y.) said Holtzman's amendment would be submitted the Committee session today.

The Administration bill also would create a civil rights division in the Justice Department, strengthen protections for the right to vote, and authorize the Government to start civil suits to prevent civil rights violations.

10 1957

Civil Rights . . . . . . By Robert C. Albright

Post + Times Herald

Legislation Enters Critical Stage

Mon. 2-11-57 P. 13-a

THE NEXT 30 to 60 days could tell the story of whether this Congress will break a jinx of many years standing by legislating in the politically troubled field of civil rights.

Probably never before in our times has the opportunity been brighter. Despite unchanging Southern opposition, a clear majority of both Houses appears ready to meet the issue. Seldom have both parties been so clearly committed to a course of action.

Albright

But all these favorable auguries could fade overnight unless the civil rights leaders themselves are able to agree on a program and steer it with skill through the tricky and uncertain currents that make up the legislative process.

THE legislation (in the form of some 45 bills) is now in the hearing stage in the House and about to enter that stage in the Senate. The pattern of the Southern opposition has already unfolded, in a daily procession of witnesses mainly concentrating their fire on the "right to vote" points in the President's program and his proposed commission to investigate civil rights violations.

The Eisenhower request for Government authority to use court injunctions to prevent voting violations was denounced by one witness before the House group as the denial of "the most fundamental of civil rights, that of trial by jury."

The President's call for a Federal civil rights investigatory commission, with subpena powers, was termed by another "a frontal attack on the police powers and responsibilities of all local and state governments."

Such statements were viewed as somewhat "extravagant" and even "insulting" by Rep. Kenneth B. Keating (R-N.Y.), House sponsor of the President's four-pronged program.

Extravagant or not, they were due to be repeated again and again when the House Judiciary Subcommittee resumes hearings this week and when the Senate Constitutional Rights Subcommittee finally gets its hearings going Thursday. Later, beyond any doubt, the same and even more hotly worded arguments will be used against the program on the floors of the two chambers.

The first test of the civil rights leadership will be how well they steer their bills through this baptismal Dixie fire without either crack-ups or crack-downs that hurt their own civil rights cause. Their second and more difficult test will come later, when they sit down and work out a civil rights bill.

The House Committee is expected to follow the pattern it set last year when it rejected extreme civil rights measures and compromised on the essentials of the President's own program. But its action last year came too late. A bill was passed and sent to the Senate in the last week of a dying Congress. There could be at that hour no more than a token attempt to put it through the Senate.

It became obvious then, and it has been increasingly apparent since, that no substantive civil rights legislation has the remotest chance of passing any Congress unless it is taken to the floor in the opening weeks of a new two-year term. Otherwise, Southern opponents have always been able to crush a bill to death against a cut-off adjournment date.

It was determined therefore to get the current program to the floor in both houses as early as possible, certainly no later than mid-March in either chamber. That is the whole purpose of the present civil rights drive. But the timetable is already behind schedule. And without careful generalship it could backslide some more, even to the point of jeopardizing the bill.

IN THE HOUSE, for example, Judiciary Chairman Emanuel Celler (D-N. Y.) has more than the problem of terminating hearings and winning committee approval for a composite bill. This much apparently is assured. His much more difficult problem is how to get a quick green light from Rep. Howard W. Smith (D.-Va.) and his House Rules Committee. He will be in luck if he can get a bill to the floor by the middle of next month.

The sooner the House acts, the sooner pressure will start building up on the Senate, which has been road's end for all earlier civil rights ventures.

If Celler thinks he has problems, he ought to drop around and commiserate with Sen. Thomas C. Hennings Jr. (D-Mo.), the man leading the Senate civil rights fight.

The Constitutional Rights Subcommittee headed by Hennings will start hearings Thursday after many a false start. When Hennings tried earlier to report out some bills without hearings he found his subcommittee suddenly enlarged by Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss.), chairman of the full Judiciary Committee, and No. 1 foe of any civil rights legislation. When Hennings later tried to limit the hearings to two weeks, the subcommittee overrode him.

With tactful handling, however, he should be able to pick up the votes of two newly added members of his subcommittee and get a bill out of his subcommittee by the close of this month.

His next problem will be how to get Senate Judiciary Committee approval of his bills. Hennings already has the necessary votes on the Judiciary Committee, but there one hitch: Only Eastland is empowered to call a meeting of the full Committee. That's always how it goes on the civil rights front.

Sooner or later, Hennings is bound to get a bill to the Senate floor. If he gets it these soon enough, say within the next six weeks, the outlook for civil rights legislation will be bright indeed. But if the bill ever gets bogged down between money bills and private bills, in the heavy pressure of a going-away Congress, count it out. For there's still that little matter of a Southern filibuster to be dealt with.

10

Civil Rights Program Argued

Times-Picayune

Brownell's View of Voter Situation Attacked

New Orleans, La.

By J. W. DAVIS

WASHINGTON, Feb. 14 (AP) — Atty. Gen. Brownell said today that many more Southern Negroes could have voted last year if the administration's civil rights program had been in effect.

He told a Senate Judiciary subcommittee that from 4,000 to 6,000 Negroes had been stricken from registration rolls in Ouachita Parish in Louisiana after being challenged by the White Citizens Council of the parish. Brownell said most of the Negroes were subsequently denied any opportunity to establish their qualifications.

Had the administration's program been in effect, the Department of Justice would have been able to initiate a civil action "for the purpose of restoring the Negro voters to the rolls of the registered voters in time to vote in the November elections," he said.

Cites Louisiana, N. Carolina

Also, Brownell testified, registrars in three North Carolina precincts imposed technical requirements that kept Negroes from qualifying for the vote.

In these Carolina and Louisiana cases, Brownell said, "the proposed legislation would have been of great assistance in protecting the right to vote."

"In most of these situations, civil remedies would enable the government to take affirmative action to deal with attempts at what amounts to mass disenfranchisement of Negroes in time to be effective," he said.

Sen. Ervin (D-NC) challenged Brownell's description of the situation. The senator said there are approximately 7p500 local election officials in North Carolina and Brownell had been able to criticize the actions of only three of them.

Ervin Disputes Claim

Ervin, a former member of the North Carolina Supreme Court, said that "until today I never heard of a single individual in my state that's been denied the right to vote."

Reporters asked Ervin later if he saw any particular significance in Brownell's citing North Carolina cases to the subcommittee.

"I'll say this. If there's no more iniquity in other states than there is in North Carolina, there is no need whatever for this legislation," he replied.

The administration proposes, among other things, that the attorney general be given authority to go into federal courts to get injunctions in behalf of citizens who say they are being illegally kept from voting.

Brownell noted that present law permits criminal prosecutions to protect voting rights but these cannot be started "until after the harm actually has been done."

Objection Brings Recess

Today's senate committee hearings were recessed until tomorrow after Sen. Long (D-La) objected because the Senate was in session.

Hearings continued on civil rights legislation before the House Judiciary Committee.

Rep. Mathews (D-Fla), a witness today, took special exception to a proposal that the attorney general be authorized to file, at public expense, suits on behalf of persons who contend their civil rights are violated.

Matthews said it is conceivable under this proposal that "will of the wisp rumors will descend upon the household of some innocent citizen and he, to clear his name and protect his honor, will have to deprive himself of all his material possessions and yet the accuser enjoys the vast resources of the United States for his prosecution."

"This is tyranny at its worst," Matthews said.

Whitten Sounds Warning

Appearing also as a witness, Rep. Whitten (D-Miss.) told the House group "you'll have a third party in the South" if the civil rights proposals are enacted.

He said the States' Rights party, which carried four Southern states in 1948, had its origin in resentment against the wa[y] Tom C. Clark, then attorney general and now a supreme court justice, intervened in a Smith county, Miss., racial disturbance in 1946.

From Rep. Huddleston (D-Ala.) there was an argument that the bills could be so interpreted as to interfere with labor-management relations. The right to join or not join a union, he said, could be considered a civil right.

GOPs See Rights Laws By Easter

Constitution Atlanta, Ga. Wed. 2-27-57

WASHINGTON, Feb. 26 (UP)— Republican congressional leaders predicted today that Congress will approve civil rights legislation before Easter despite solid opposition from the strong Southern bloc.

They made the forecast to reporters following their weekly legislative huddle with President Eisenhower who is seeking approval of a four-point civil rights program.

However, Southerners trying to head off such legislation charged today that the President's plan could lead to federal tyranny.

State Attorney General J. Lind-

say Almond Jr. of Virginia accused the administration of preaching "one course of action and basic philosophy" on states' rights while practicing the opposite.

He and Sen. Strom Thurmond (D-SC) appeared before a House Judiciary subcommittee which ended hearings on the program today. The group plans to start drafting a bill tomorrow.

House Republican Leader Joseph W. Martin Jr. said it would take the House only about two days to pass the legislation once it gets to the floor.

PROGRESS ON CIVIL RIGHTS

On both sides of the Capitol the proponents of civil rights legislation are edging forward toward an inevitable showdown with the die-hard opposition.

If anything in this field does get through, it will probably consist of part or all of the Administration's moderate program, which includes strengthening of Federal powers in civil rights cases, granting added protection to Negroes at the ballot box, and establishing an investigatory commission. While neither Senate nor House hearings on these and related proposals have yet closed, it is a definite mark of progress that a terminal date has been set by both subcommittees. Representative Celler has fixed next Tuesday as "absolutely" the final hearing day for the group of which he is chairman, while the Senate subcommittee has decided by a 4-2 vote to close its doors just a week later.

Already on the Senate side there is talk of further and prolonged hearings before the full committee; and on top of that, if some kind of legislation is ultimately sent to the floor, there will surely be another and more intense filibuster in the Senate itself. So the path is still a long and hard one, but despite all the obstacles the present outlook is somewhat brighter for a reasonable civil rights bill than it has previously been.

This is so for various reasons, not the least of which are political. While it is pleasanter to speak of the moral issues in civil rights bills —and the moral issues are vital—it would be unrealistic to ignore the factor of party politics in this situation. The Republicans had some success in the last election in their effort to recapture the Negro vote, of great importance to them in the large Northern cities; and it is no reflection on the sincere belief of many Republicans in the need for civil rights legislation to observe that, from the strictly practical point of view, the G. O. P. is not likely to throw away the present opportunity of working for measures that will redound to its credit in Negro eyes.

While the Southern Democrats are more bitterly opposed than ever to Federal action on civil rights, their Northern colleagues are pressing hard in the opposite direction. It is in no sense to impugn their sincerity, either, to point out that the Democrats in the North need the Negro vote as badly as the Republicans do. The Democratic Advisory Council has just come out strongly for civil rights legislation in a declaration not lacking in political overtones; and the "liberal"—or Northern and Western—wing of the party is determined to work hard for a civil rights record no matter what the Southern Democrats say or do.

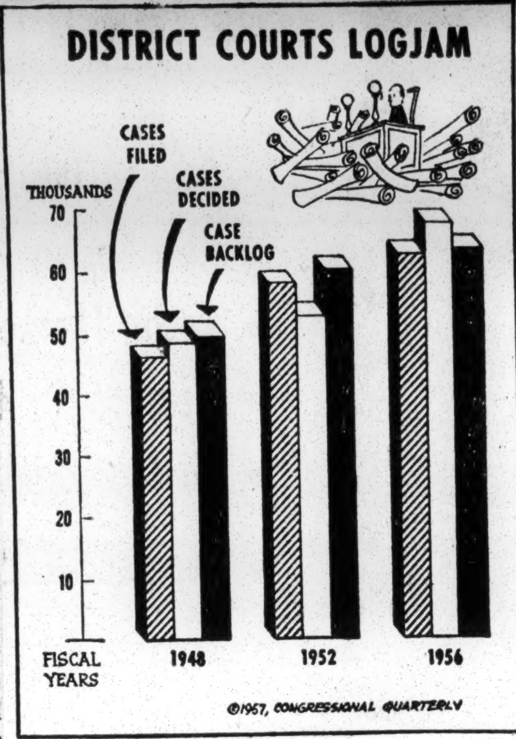
It is quite within the bounds of possibility that the traditional Republican-Southern Democratic coalition that dominates the Senate may break down on this issue, and that a temporary liaison of Republicans and non-Southern Democrats may succeed in putting across a mild civil rights program. If so, they will, of course, squabble over who should get the credit, but that will be of less importance than the substantive accomplishment of bringing

Southern District Judges Have It Easy — Now

WHATEVER the outcome of civil rights proposals before Congress, the outlook is that federal courts will have more work in the future.

Particularly is this likely in the South where U. S. district judges have been charged with the responsibility of implementing the school decision and other integration matters, making them a kind of super-superintendent of education and heirs to what Justice Jackson foresaw as a "generation of litigation."

For southern district judges, who usually have far less work to do than their northern brothers of the bench, this could mean a sharp increase in caseloads. However, from the viewpoint of Southern whites anxious to thwart integration efforts, the relatively uncrowded dockets in Southern district courts also means less of the law's delay, at least for a while.



Here in the Middle District of Alabama, according to the U.S. Courts Administrative Office, there were fewer than 25 trials in 1955 and the average delay between filing a case and its decision was seven months, or less. In 1956, by the same source, there were too few trials to get a meaningful statistic. In the Northern District of Alabama, where there are two federal judges to our one, the delay averaged about seven months for both years.

The national average delay was more than twice that—15.4 months. In some New York districts the delay was just short of *four years*. Tennessee's Western District, at the other extreme, had the shortest average delay in the nation—five months. The Courts Administrative Office believes the optimum delay should be about six months, which many Southern courts are already close to.

The worsening log jam in federal courts (see graph) left 63,526 cases on the books over the nation at the end of the year. This surplus was almost as great as the number of cases disposed of by the federal courts during the year.

Congress will probably take steps to remedy this overload by appointment of additional judges and other measures. But the congestion does not greatly concern Alabama and most of the South (one notable exception being the Eastern District of Louisiana where the number of cases per judge last year was a record 596 and the docket delay 18 months).

Still prospects are that in the years ahead Southern district judges will wish they could sit on a nice quiet bench in New York.

Committee Delays Action On Rights Bill

Hennings Says He Has Votes To Win

Washington, March 25 (AP)—Senator Hennings said his move to get immediate action on a pending civil-rights bill had the votes to win today, but it was bypassed by the Senate Judiciary Committee.

The Missouri Democrat said he would bring the question up "again and again and again, if necessary."

He reported that Chairman Eastland (D., Miss.) adjourned a closed-door committee session before any action could be taken on his motion for immediate consideration of the bill.

But, Hennings maintained, it wasn't a rebuff and he would push the motion at the committee's next session.

Estimates 8-to-4 Edge

The civil-rights measure has already been approved by a judiciary subcommittee headed by Hennings. Approval of his motion today would have made the bill eligible for immediate amendment or approval in its present form.

Hennings, who is leading a drive to get the legislation approved, estimated a winning 8-to-4 vote could have been mustered on his motion if there had been a roll call today.

He said there was some lengthy discussion by two opponents of the bills—Senators Erwin (D., N. C.) and Johnston (D., S. C.). In the midst of this the signal bell sounded to announce the Senate was in session.

Eastland said he had "matters on the calendar" in the Senate that needed his attention, and the meeting adjourned, Hennings reported.

Eastland told reporters later there had been objections to Hennings' motion on the ground that an official printed record of the subcommittee's hearing on the bill had not been received.

Civil rights foes claim headway

WASHINGTON, March 23—(AP)—Sen. Ervin (D., N. C.) said Saturday he feels opponents of the administration's civil rights bill have made "some headway." But Sen. Knowland (R., Calif.) predicted passage of the legislation at the present session.

The measure is up for consideration at a closed meeting of the Senate judiciary committee called for Monday morning. A judiciary subcommittee approved it last Tuesday by a 4-2 vote.

Knowland, Senate Republican leader, told newsmen he hoped that the full committee would act on the bill in the coming week and that the legislation might be brought up for debate in the Senate before an Easter recess late next month.

However, judiciary committee members on both sides of the civil rights fight said they saw no prospect of any final action at the group's meeting on Monday.

Mississippian Warns Of Civil Rights Peril

WASHINGTON, Feb. 26 (AP)—Rep. Abernethy (D-Miss.), contended today enforcement methods proposed in the civil rights legislation would put all citizens at the mercy of federal spies "and rob them of their liberties and freedom of choice for all time to come."

10 1957

Civil-Rights Program Held Leading To 'Gestapo' Catering to Negroes

Courier-Journal Thurs. 2-21-57 P.2
Louisville, Ky.

Georgia Official Attacks Bills

Washington, Feb. 20 (AP)—Georgia's attorney general today pictured President Eisenhower's civil-rights program as leading to "a federal gestapo" that would cater to Negro pressure groups "inspired by the communistic ideologies of the police state."

Attorney General Eugene Cook said enactment of the bills would lead to intimidation of a majority of Americans "to appease the vociferous minorities which . . . have now apparently wrested control of our government from the people."

'Would Destroy States'

Cook, in a 24-page brief filed at a public hearing of a Senate judiciary subcommittee, didn't say just what "politically powerful minority pressure groups" he was accusing of police-state leanings. But he indicated that one group he had in mind was the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

"Save only the Communist Party," he said, "the most aggressive proponent of these civil-rights measures is the N.A.A.C.P."

Cook said the Eisenhower program would "inevitably destroy the states" and lead to the stirring up of civil-rights litigation to justify the cost of a "new board of bureaucrats" which would oversee the program.

Wants Decision Reversed

The Georgia official could not appear in person at the hearing. Confined to a hospital by a virus infection, he assigned an aide of Senator Talmadge (D., Ga.) to file his brief.

Charles J. Bloch, Macon, Ga., a past president of the Georgia Bar Association, testified in opposition to the bills. He said he appeared "on behalf of the great majority of the people of Georgia, at the request of our Governor."

Bloch expressed hope Congress would "co-operate with us in securing a reversal" of the Supreme Court's school-desegregation decision. The lawmakers should do that, he said, instead of pressing for "unconstitutional, unwise" civil-rights legislation.

The Eisenhower bills call for creation of a special commission to investigate civil-rights problems, the establishment of a civil-rights division in the Justice Department, and authority for the Federal Government to seek Federal Court remedies to protect voting rights and other civil rights.

Cook complained the legislation would permit the United States Attorney General to bring court action in civil-rights cases without regard to whether state administrative remedies had been exhausted.

This is contrary to practices firmly established in federal law, he said, and would produce a situation that "will inevitably destroy the states."

Cook Warns Rights Plan Would Lead To 'Gestapo'

Advertiser Thurs. 2-21-57
Montgomery, Ala.

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Cooke said the proposed commission "would result in the creation of a federal gestapo which would hold needless investigations, pry into the affairs of the states and their citizens, and intimidate a majority of our citizens."

He said the commission would have such a free hand in spending its funds it presumably might contribute to the Communist party "if it determined that such would promote the cause of racial amalgamation."

HOUSE UNIT VOTES CIVIL RIGHTS BILL

Times Tues. 3-19-57

Overrides South in Following Eisenhower's Program—Obstacles Loom Ahead

New York P.1

By C. P. TRUSSELL

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, March 18—The House Judiciary Committee approved a civil rights bill today. Except for a few modifications, it follows the program sought by President Eisenhower.

Southern members of the thirty-two-man panel fought to the last against the measure, making some inroads with the help of Northerners and Westerners.

More hard sailing lies ahead. The bill now goes to the Rules Committee, which is headed by Representative Howard W. Smith, Democrat of Virginia. Mr. Smith said that action in his committee, which serves as a traffic light for bills going to the floor, was not yet clear.

The Virginian is against the bill. It is within his power to refuse to call meetings for a vote to bring the legislation to floor consideration.

Representative Emanuel Celler, Brooklyn Democrat who heads the Judiciary Committee, seemed to expect that the bill might have a hard time in the Rules Committee.

Mr. Celler said that if the rules panel did not clear the bill for floor consideration wtihin "a reasonable time" he would put a discharge pettition before the House membership. If signed by a majority of 218 members, the petition would force the legislation to the floor for a decision, by-passing the Rules Committee.

Mr. Cellar predicted that a majority would sign the petition quickly. He also expressed confidence that the bill would be passed overwhelmingly when it reached the floor.

Should it go through the House, the bill would then move to the Senate. It would be referred to the Judiciary Committee, headed by Senator James O. Eastland, Democrat of Mississippi. Should it pass the panel it would go to the floor, facing perhaps one of the strongest filibusters in Senate history.

Senate rules permit unlimited debate, except when checked by the votes of sixty-four members, or two-thirds of the chamber. No Senate vote has ever curbed debate under such circumstances. Accordinfgly, civil rights measures have been talked to death in the past.

While the House unit retained the framework of the Eisenhower proposals it made some changes in detail.

Sets up Bipartisan Unit

The bill would set up a six-member bipartisan commission with broad authority to investigate complaints on denial of equal rights because of race, religion or national origin.

Mr. Celler and Representative Kennedy B. Keating of upstate New York, ranking Republican on the committee, called it a "good bill."

Southerns won two victories in the final actions on the bill. They had fought hard against [illegible]ting general authority to the Attorney General to institute suits on behalf of alleged victims of discrimination even if they did not want such costly court action.

The bill requires that a complainant initiate action himself.

They also won an amendment under which the Attorney General could seek preventive injunctions only when evidence gave "reasonable" ground for suspicion that an employer or an election board had intended to discriminate.

The South lost two major points. Its spokesmen tried to write into the bill a guarantee that anyone accused of right violations should have a jury trial. Northerners and Westerners balked at this. It had been contended through long debate at hearings that a local Southern jury would not convict.

The second battle lost by the South was its attempt to take from the proposed commission the power of subpoena.

The bill would establish a Department of Justice division to check on civil rights. It would authorize the Attorney General to institute injunction suits on behalf of persons claiming they had not been given equal rights.

A general ban would be put on moves to intimidate, threaten or coerce voters at general or primary elections. Injunctions could be obtained against such efforts.

GROUP APPROVES RIGHTS MEASURE

Times-Picayune Tues. 3-19-57

House Judiciary Committee Okays Bill

New Orleans, La.

By JERRY T. BAULCH

WASHINGTON, March 18 (AP)—Overriding the unrelenting opposition of Southern legislators, the House Judiciary Committee today approved a civil rights bill that conforms closely to what President Eisenhower asked. *P.1*

Chairman Celler (D-NY) said about 15 amendments were offered and nearly all were defeated in the committee's closed door session. He said no roll calls were taken but there were "no surprises" in the voting division and the margin was about three-fifths to two-fifths.

The approval came after hearings prolonged many weeks by Southerners trying to delay action on the legislation. The measure now goes to the Rules Committee, where the opponents are expected to make another stand.

Saying he was applying to the Rules Committee for an order

sending the legislation to the House floor for a vote, Celler told reporters:

"I expect to get it. The Democratic leadership wants it—it is very anxious to have this bill passed in the House."

Celler and Rep. Keating of New York, senior Republican on the Judiciary Committee—who introduced the administration's proposals—said "We have a good bill." They predicted quick clearance by the Rules Committee and overwhelming passage by the House.

Northern and Western legislators supporting the bill have been trying hard for quick House passage so that pressure would build up in the Senate for similar action. The backers figure that under such circumstances the Southerners would find it more difficult than in the past to talk the measure to death.

Separate hearings on civil rights legislation have been going on before a Senate Judiciary subcommittee. The group's chairman, Sen. Hennings (D-Mo) called a meeting tomorrow to try to whip into shape a bill for the Senate

CIVIL RIGHTS ACTION IS DELAYED A WEEK

Commercial Appeal P.1

Southern Senators Hold Up Committee Vote—NAACP Leader Protests

Tues. 3-26-57

From The Commercial Appeal
Washington Bureau

Memphis, Tenn.

WASHINGTON, March 25.—Southern senators succeeded Monday in delaying Senate Judiciary Committee approval of the Administration's Civil Rights Bill for at least a week.

Senator Thomas C. Hennings Jr. (D., Mo.), a strong supporter of the measure, made the motion for approval.

Senators Olin D. Johnston (D., S. C.), Sam J. Ervin (D., N. C.) and John L. McClellan (D., Ark.) discussed it for about 20 minutes until bells signaling the start of the regular Senate session halted the committee meeting. Senator McClellan still had the floor when the meeting adjourned.

Senator Hennings' motion was that the committee agree to vote on the bill four weeks hence. He served notice he will renew it at the committee's next weekly meeting next Monday.

Clarence Mitchell, Negro Washington director for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, charged the Southerners with using "deception and filibuster" to delay the vote.

"It is obvious that in today's meeting of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Senators Ervin, Johnston and their other anti-civil rights colleagues were giving a practical demonstration of their technique," the NAACP director said.

Commercial Appeal

Filibuster Is Certain

The Administration measure has been approved by Senator Hennings' Constitutional Rights Subcommittee but faces another formidable obstacle in the full committee. And if it clears the committee a filibuster on the Senate floor is certain. *P.3*

Senator Styles Bridges (R., N. H.), chairman of the Senate Republican Policy Committee, conceded there probably will be a Senate filibuster. But he predicted the filibuster will fail and the bill will be approved "because I think it's a pretty reasonable program."

Southerners, meanwhile, stepped up their attack upon the bill's failure to guarantee jury trials to defendants in contempt of court cases arising from its injunctive provisions.

Senator Allen J. Ellender (D., La.) said proponents "have no compunctions about declaring they oppose provisions requiring a jury trial as a matter of right because they do not trust Southern juries."

"If enacted into law," the Louisianan said, "this legislation would relegate the Southern people to the status of 'domestic Hungarians,' under the iron heel of a horde of Washington lawyers instead of Russian commissars, subject to the whim and caprice of an appointed politician, instead of Kremlin bosses, but captives of oppression, nevertheless."

He declared the measure's objective is to reduce "our Southern states to the status of satellites of an over-powering central government located many miles away in Washington."

Senator Ervin recalled the "shameful story" of the conviction of Samuel Gompers, America's first labor union leader. He recalled that Gompers was convicted without a jury and sentenced to jail for violating a court injunction. He noted that this was before labor won special protections against these procedures.

Senator Thurmond called the right of trial by jury "a fundamental right, guaranteed to every American by the constitution."

"I do not believe the American people want to see the Senate of the United States—or even its Judiciary Committee—approve a law to deny the right of trial by jury," he said.

In the House, the Administration measure has been approved by the Judiciary Committee and is now awaiting action by the House Rules Committee. House proponents have conceded it will not be cleared by the Rules Committee before the Easter recess, which ends April 29.

In an effort to refute the mounting cries of the Southerners, Senator Hennings released a nine-page report which attempted to refute the charge the measure would deny jury trials.

"I am certain that lawyers will see that the charge is essentially without foundation in fact," The Missourian said

SOUTHERNERS LOSE AMENDMENT FIGHT ON CIVIL RIGHTS BILL

Commercial Appeal

Wed. 3-20-57

Senate Subcommittee Fails To Pass Clause Calling For Trial By Jury

Memphis, Tenn.

CLOSED-DOOR SESSION

P.1

Hennings, Republicans Join To Beat Dixie Team—Full Committee Meets Monday In Running Battle

By MORRIS CUNNINGHAM
From The Commercial Appeal
Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, March 19.—A Senate judiciary subcommittee approved the Administration's civil rights bill Tuesday with Senator Thomas C. Hennings Jr. (D., Mo.) joining two Republicans to defeat an amendement to guarantee defendants in contempt cases the right of trial by jury.

Senator Hennings, chairman of the subcommittee and a strong advocate of civil rights legislation, teamed with Republican Senators Roman L. Hruska of Nebraska and Arthur V. Watkins of Utah to defeat all amendments.

The unamended measure went to the full Senate Judiciary Committee, headed by Senator James O. Eastland (D., Miss.). The committee will meet Monday.

Closed Session

Senator Hennings served notice he will demand "prompt action" and will oppose delaying tactics.

Southern Senators Sam J. Ervin Jr. (D., N.C.) and Olin D. Johnston (D., S.C.) offered six amendments to the subcommittee, including two aimed at assuring jury trials in contempt cases arising from the bill's injunctive procedures.

All failed by a three-to-three tie vote. Senator Hennings voted with the two Republicans. Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney (D., Wyo.) voted with the two Southerners.

The subcommittee met in closed session. Word of its actions was disclosed after the meeting. The vote on the bill was four to two, with only the Southerners voting against it.

A "right-to-work" amendment, which would ban closed-shop labor contracts, was not offered. Southerners said, however, it will be offered in the full committee. They are hopeful it will be adopted and will turn prolabor senators against the bill.

Long Battle Predicted

Southern members predicted a long, bitter fight in the full committee. Senator Eastland, whose opposition to the measure is widely known, declined comment.

On the House side, the Administration measure—modified by Southern amendments—has been approved by the full House Judiciary Committee and is now before the Rules Committee, through which it must pass to reach the floor.

Commercial Appeal

In the Senate, the measure will go directly from the Judiciary Committee to the floor.

Southerners will attempt to amend and delay the measure all along the line, with a Senate filibuster the final weapon against it.

P.4

The bill would:

Authorize the attorney general to obtain Federal Court injunctions restraining persons who had violated, or who he thinks might violate, civil rights of others. Persons charged with violating the injunctions would be tried for contempt of court, with the judge deciding whether they would be allowed a jury trial, and the right to cross-examine their accusers.

Create a six-member Federal civil rights commission with subpena powers to travel about the country airing racial and religious grievances at public hearings.

Establish a civil rights division in the Justice Department, headed by an assistant attorney general with no limit on the number of assistants he could employ.

Aunthorize the attorney general to obtain injunctions against any interference with voters.

Opposition Amendments Are Beaten

Post-Herald Tues 3-19-57 B'ham Ala.

Rules Group Asked To Send Measure To Floor For Ballot

WASHINGTON, March 18 (AP)—Overriding the unrelenting opposition of Southern legislators, the House Judiciary Committee today approved a civil rights bill that conforms closely to what President Eisenhower asked. *P.1*

Chairman Celler (R., N.Y.), said about 15 amendments were offered and nearly all were defeated in the committee's closed door session.

Today's approval came after hearings prolonged many weeks of Southerners trying to delay action on civil rights legislation. The measure now goes to the rules committee, where the opponents are expected to make another stand.

Saying he was applying to the rules committee for an order sending the legislation to the House floor for a vote, Celler told reporters:

"I expect to get it. The Democratic leadership wants it—it is very anxious to have this bill passed in the House."

Celler and Rep. Keating of New York, senior Republican on the judiciary committee—who introduced the administration's proposals—said "we have a good bill." They predicted quick clearance by the rules committee and overwhelming passage by the House.

Separate hearings on civil rights legislation have been going on before the Senate judiciary subcommittee. The group's chairman, Sen. Hennings (D.-Mo.), called a meeting for 2 p.m. tomorrow to try to whip into shape a bill for the Senate.

The measure also would set up a new division in the Justice Department to look into civil rights and would authorize the attorney general to bring injunction suits in federal courts on behalf of persons who contend their civil rights are being violated or when there is reasonable ground to think these rights would be violated.

The bill specifically would forbid anyone to intimidate, threaten or coerce another's or interfere with his right to vote for any federal officer at a general or primary election. In such cases, the attorney general would be empowered to seek an injunction in federal courts.

Southern members won committee agreement today to removing from the bill a provision under which the attorney general, acting in the name of a person who contended his civil rights were violated, might bring suit for damages against the person accused of the violation.

However, the amendment leaves the attorney general with authority to sue for an injunction in such cases.

The committee rejected by a narrow margin a hotly debated Southern-sponsored amendment to guarantee trials by jury to persons accused of violating injunctions which federal courts might issue in supporting civil rights under the bill.

CIVIL RIGHTS PROBERS SET VOTE FOR MARCH 5

MOVE HITS DELAYING STRATEGY

WASHINGTON — A Senate Judiciary subcommittee voted Monday to vote on Civil Rights legislation March 5, bringing a major defeat to Dixie's opponents who have been apparently following strategy aimed at delaying this vote until too late to bring the action into law.

The actual action voted upon was to end hearings on March 5, and then take a vote. It met with an expected howl from opponents of the bill who lost their main weapon at preserving the South's standard of white supremacy.

Chairman Thomas C. Hennings (D) Mo., announced that his subcommittee voted 6 to 12 for the termination date. There appears to be no question but that the Hennings group wil approve a civil righ's program, probably along the lines proposed by president Eisenhower.

Advocates of the legislation have enough strength in the full committee to approve a bill overwhelmingly provided they can bring it to a vote. Delay is the major weapon of opponents and once the bill reaches the senate floor, a formal fillbuster is expected.

Debate over the legislation broke out on the senate floor when democratic leader Lyndon Johnson Texas, acting for the subcommittee, asked and obtained permission for the unit to sit late Monday while the senate is in session.

Sen. Sam Ervin (D), N. C., who has been fighting the bill in subcommittee, declares that it gives the attorney general the right to determine if action against civil rights offenders is to be taken. Ervin said that if the attorney general decides to put the legislation into operation, "then state laws fall and we do not have government by men but government by the whims of one man."

Both Ervin and Johnston complained that they were not notified until 8:15 A. M. (EST) Monday of the subcommittee meeting at 9 A. M. at which the March deadline was set.

Ervin said he didn't even have time to shave or eat breakfast but had to rush to the meeting. He charged that the deadline was "unprecedented" and he said the practice could be used in the future by "a majority of a subcommittee to practice tyranny."

Johnson told the senate that if he had been a member of the subcommittee, "I would not have voted for the motion." He said that in asking permission for the unit to sit while the senate is in session, he was merely carrying out his duties as democratic leader.

Sen. Francis Case (R) S. D., challenged Ervin's appraisal of the bill. The Gop senator declared that attorney general Herbert M. Brownell, Jr., was not advocating a bill that would "result in the denial of certain fundamental rights."

Ervin retorted: "I do not think until Saturday, the attorney general knew what his bill provided."

Sen. Everett M Dirksen (R) Ill., who introduced the administration's bill, also differed with Ervin. Dirksen said the civil rights issue had been explored at length last year both in the subcommittee and the full committee.

Southern Negroes Urged Passage Of Civil Rights Bills

NEW YORK—A message from Negroes in South Carolina, urging the passage of civil rights legislation at this session of Congress, compares the situation of some Negroes in the Deep South to that of the Hungarians who fled from violence in their homeland.

The letter was sent to Rep. Emanuel Celler, chairman of the House Judiciary Sub-Committee, by the president of the South Carolina State NAACP.

"The Negro is only seeking real, true and unadulterated equality in this, our great government, that he may move about unhampered, unsegregated, as other Americans... even Hungarians, who are coming to our country fleeing from what Negroes suffer in certain sections of this country," the letter asserts. It is dated Feb. 10 and signed by the Rev. J. M. Hinton, NAACP state president.

The executive committee of the Mississippi State NAACP telegraphed Rep. Celler on the same day urging passage of federal civil rights legislation as 'the only means by which Negroes in Mississippi may attain the freedom that all men cherish."

The Mississippi committee also telegraphed President Eisenhower urging him to "speak out against all forms of violence that is used against us for no reason. Other than our desire for the rights guaranteed under the Constitution of the United States of Aemrica."

The Jackson, Miss., NAACP branch telegraphed Sen. Thomas Hennings, chairman of the Senate Sub-Committee on Constitutional Rights, on Feb. 10. The message said, in part:

"The present trend of physical violence and injustices heaped upon Negroes solely because of race makes it necessary that we call upon you and your committee to make every possible endeavor to pass civil rights legislation that will guarantee the security of persons in Mississippi."

Southerners Try Civil Rights Delaying Action

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(NNPA)—Reviving all of the old issues which led to the Civil War, present-day Confederates are fighting a delaying action before the House Judiciary subcommittee which is considering civil rights legislation, but they are being challenged on every issue.

They unlimbered last week their big guns—Attorney General Eugene Cook of Georgia, Judge George C. Wallace of Clayton, Ala., and Charles J. Bloch, a Macon, Ga., attorney, representing Gov. Marvin Griffin of Georgia.

Judge Wallace is an ex-trustee of Tuskegee institute. He served on the platform committee of the Democratic national convention in Chicago last August. He is the judge of the third judicial circuit of Alabama, in which half the population is colored.

Early economic reforms of the New Deal had more to do with the economic status of colored people than all the legislation enacted in the history of this country, Judge Wallace told the subcommittee.

Impetus From South

President Franklin D. Roosevelt told Senator John J. Sparkman, Democrat, of Alabama, Judge Wallace said, that if it had not been for Southerners there never would have been placed on the statute books the economic reforms which benefitted colored people.

But as soon as Judge Wallace charged that the civil rights legislation pending before the subcommittee arose out of anti-southern feeling, Representative Kenneth B. Keating, Republican, who comes from Buffalo, N. Y., the home town of Frederick Douglass, counter-attacked.

"I have never heard any Northerner express any anti-southern feeling," Keating said. "There is absolutely no basis for that whatever. It is just that we have a difference of viewpoint."

Asserting that conditions in the South were changing, Wallace said it is politically inexpedient to make speeches in the South at this time inciting racial feelings.

Not Based on Hate

If segregation were based upon hatred, ill will and malice, he conceded, it would be sinful. But, he continued, segregation is due to the feeling in the hearts of the great majority of the people in that section that it is for the best interests of all concerned.

Representatives Lester Holtzman, Democrat, of New York, challenged Wallace's statements concerning segregation in New York City. He said the reason for any segregation that may exist in New York City, if it can be called that, "is not because of any design or plan but because of economic conditions."

"The fact remains that you do have segregation," Wallace replied.

"In the city from which I come, for instance, in the schools there is no segregation. Young children all go to school where they live," Keating told Wallace.

Representative Emanuel Celler, of New York, subcommittee chairman conceded that there was some segregation in the north, but he attributed it to the congregation of colored people in certain areas, making the schools preponderantly colored.

Scatter Population

"But we are trying to scatter the colored people all over the city

so that there will be no such segregation," Celler said. "We are making substantial progress in that regard."

Celler asked Wallace to identify the 1956 Democratic ballot in Alabama, containing a rooster as a symbol and the words, "White Supremacy."

Wallace said it was the Democratic ballot. "I have always marked my ballot under the rooster," he added.

"Does your name appear on that ballot?" Celler asked.

"Anybody who runs in Alabama and gets elected runs on this ballot the same as United States Senators and Congressmen. Yes, I have been elected on this ballot," Wallace replied.

"You think that is appropriate in the light of the things you have been telling us?" Celler asked.

"I am not a member of the Democratic committee of our state," Wallace replied, "but under the laws of Alabama it is the right of the Democratic executive committee to place any symbol on the ballot they want, and that is their business."

Segregation Imbedded

He old Celler that "since you ask me, yes, I approve of this ballot."

"That imbeds segregation rather than opposes it?" Celler asked.

"I do not want to say anything that segregation is not firmly imbedded," Wallace replied. "I am for it being firmly imbedded."

"Did you at one time threat to arrest any FBI agents if they made any civil rights investigation in your circuit?" Celler asked.

Wallace admitted that he made a statement that if the FBI came into his circuit as they had gone into Cobb County, Ga., to find out whether colored persons were systematically excluded from juries, he would have ordered the arrest of the FBI agents.

Celler told him that the FBI is an arm of the Justice Department, that there are existing Federal civil rights statutes, and they have the right to make investigations to determine whether Federal law is violated.

"I think it was rather high-handed of you to say that," Celler told Wallace.

Inflammatory Remark

Keating told the Alabama judge that his statement about the FBI taking over the court house was inflammatory. "There was no effort of the FBI to take over the court house," Keating said. "It was an effort to examine the names in the jury box to find out whether colored persons were systematically excluded from jury duty and whether a colored person could get a fair trial."

Asked by Keating whether when he takes his oath he swears to uphold the Constitution of the United States, Wallace replied, "Yes," then added that his statement "has not been nearly as inflammatory as statements against the white people of the South, but I have made no statement against colored people."

Keating also rebuked Wallace for saying that the proposed civil rights legislation implied that southern white people cannot be trusted to sit on juries in civil rights cases, and that was how he felt.

"We are not interested in what you feel," Keating told him. "A man who sits in judgment on people, a man who is learned in the law could not possibly make the assertion that these bills, in effect, say southern jurors cannot be trusted to sit on civil rights cases.

"The fact you feel that way," Keating continued, "bears on the weight and value we should give your testimony."

Attorney General Cook told the subcommittee that "There are some of us who still believe that the issue in the Civil War was not slavery but one of the states' rights to secede from the Union."

Cook denied that Georgia attempts to segregate colored people in every respect. He said segregation in Georgia covers four areas of "intimate intercourse"—education, eleemosynary institutions, transportation, and penal institutions.

Still fighting the Civil War, Cook said General Tecumseh Sherman was careless with matches and after his scorched-earth policy had said that crow flying from Atlanta to Savannah would starve to death if it did not have a break basket around its neck.

After the Civil war, he said, "We fixed a pattern of life. It is still deeply imbedded and will remain taht way.

More in Harlem

Cook said there is a greater degree of segregation in Harlem than there is in Georgia.

"Why do you have that situation in New York with any laws?" Cook asked. "It goes to the very basic, fundamental proposition that the people want it that way," he said. "White people want it that way. They voluntarily did what we in Georgia have given legal sanction."

Celler denied that the people of New York want it that way. He told Cook that if he visited Brooklyn, he would find areas where there are mixed populations of all sorts.

"We do not have any statutes compelling segregation," Celler said. "We do not have segregation in the subways, transportation, penal institutions, eleemosynary institutions.

"We have an FEPC statute which probits discrimination in employment in New York, and we have hardly any discrimination and we have many civil rights statutes on our books.

"I assure you there is no deliberate segregation. Unfortunately in Harlem there has been growing up over the years a problem of segregation but we are battling with it.

"We will solve it, and we are scattering the colored population all over New York City to do away with it, and many colored families are going into the suburbs."

"We are not talking about segregation," Keating remarked. "We are talking about basic civil rights—the right to vote. Anybody who complies with the law can vote in New York."

Keating wanted to know how would patterns in the South be changed by enactment of a law that would give the Attorney General the right to enjoin an act for which an individual may now bring suit for damages.

Cook replied that where integration takes place under a court decree, colored and white children have been placed in a classroom together.

"It is the law of the land, this Supreme Court decision you speak of?" asked Holtzman.

Cook replied that he had never criticized the Supreme Court as such, "but I am telling you that, while for the time being, under some theory of our Constitution and decisions heretofore handed down, it can be said it is the supreme law of the land, but the supreme law of the land under our Constitution are the people of the United States and not the Supreme Court of the United States.

"While I would concede theoretically your proposition, insofar as my state is concerned, we are going to circumvent that decision within the law if we can possibly do it."

"How can you do that within the law?" Celler asked. "How can you justify efforts now being made in Georgia to take legislative action to block the Supreme court.

Cook replied that Congress had recently done so by passing an act to circumvent the court's decision on tidelands oil.

"That was the Congress of the United States that acted," Keating said. "The question put to you is how can the state legislature of Georgia overrule or get around the Supreme Court decision."

Cook replied that Georgia was not a party to the school segregation cases and that the decision does not apply to states or school boards which were not before the court.

Cook added that the colored people in Georgia did not want to integrate. He said that was demonstrated by their not bringing suits.

"If you pass the legislation contemplated, you will have an avalanche of cases brought to overthrow what the legislature is doing," Celler told Cook. "Judges in the district courts will have to follow the Supreme Court decision. What will you have for your labor—pains?"

"We have a choice to make in my state and the deep South," Cook replied. "We have got to choose between following the Supreme Court decision and becoming faced with violence. I do not think legislation and court decisions can change temperaments, emotions and deep human feelings."

Mr. Bloch made a legalistic argument against the proposed civil rights legislation.

House Group Votes Rights Bill Approval

By Robert C. Albright
Staff Reporter

The Administration's civil rights bill, contested every step of the way by a determined bloc of Southerners, yesterday was approved in slightly modified form by the House Judiciary Committee.

Basic provisions of the four-point, "right-to-vote" measure were aproved substantially as recommended by President Eisenhower, but Southern members, with some GOP aid, won a few minor concessions.

House Judiciary Chairman Emanuel Celler (D-N. Y.) described it as a "good bill" and immediately got off a letter to House Rules Committee Chairman Howard W. Smith (D. Va.), asking early clearance to the House floor.

Smith Declines Comment

Smith, an opponent of the bill, declined comment pending receipt of the Committee's report. His traffic-controlled rules group is one of the most formidable hurdles in the path of the legislation, and conceivably could hold up the bill for about a month. Civil rights proponents claim they will have the votes on the showdown, however.

The Senate's Constitutional Rights Subcommittee, headed by Sen. Thomas C. Hennings, Jr. (D-Mo.), meanwhile called a meeting for 2 p. m. today, in an effort to get companion legislation rolling. The Hennings subcommittee recently concluded hearings on the bill, but was unable to get a quorum at a meeting last week.

As approved by the House Judiciary group yesterday, the bill would:

- Forbid anyone from intimidating an individual in the exercise of his right to vote.
- Authorize the Attorney General to seek injunctions in the Federal court to prevent civil rights violations. The Attorney General could sue before State administrative remedies were exhausted.
- Create a bipartisan commission on civil rights with authority to investigate charges that citizens were deprived of their right to vote because of race, color, religion or national origin. The Committee recently eliminated authority for the Committee to investigate use of "unwarranted economic pressures" against minorities.
- Set up a Civil Rights Division, headed by an Assistant Attorney General, in the Justice Department.

Suit Clause Removed

Southerners succeeded in removing from the bill authority for the Attorney General to bring suit for damages in the name of an individual who claimed his civil rights were violated. The aggrieved individual could still bring suit for damages in his own name, however. Basic authority for the Attorney General to sue for injunctions in such cases was retained in the bill.

Southerners came within striking distance of emasculating a key section when they moved to require jury trials in contempt actions, either civil or criminal. They were defeated by a margin of one or two votes. In civil contempt actions, jury trials are discretionary with the Federal judge presiding. The Justice Department has complained that it is impossible to get convictions by juries in civil rights cases in the South. The Committee also beat down a Southern motion to deprive the proposed bipartisan civil rights commission of subpena power.

Rep. Kenneth Keating (R-N. Y.), who introduced the Administration bill, joined Cellar in voicing satisfaction with the measure finally cleared by the committee.

Clarence Mitchell, Washington director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said he thought the bill "is in pretty good shape," but that he wanted to study some of the modifications made yesterday.

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Civil Rights Outlook Better, Says Reuther

AFL-CIO news
Sat. 2-16-57

The prospect of "meaningful" civil rights legislation being enacted by Congress and signed by the President "seems better than in previous years," Pres. Walter P. Reuther of the Auto Workers said in a statement filed with the House Judiciary Committee.

He added however, that this would be the case "provided anti-civil rights forces in both houses can be defeated in their efforts to delay action again until late in the session when the filibuster can be used most effectively to kill legislation."

Washington, D.C.

Supports Wilkins

Reuther, an AFL-CIO vice president, supported a statement filed earlier by Roy Wilkins on behalf of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, composed of organizations working for federal legislation in this area.

P. 16

Summarizing the delaying tactics used by opponents of civil rights last year to kill a "stripped-down" bill in the Senate after the House had passed it by a two to one majority four days before adjournment, Reuther urged the committee to report out, as a minimum, "a bill similar to, if not identical with, the bill you reported to the House in 1956."

Reuther pointed to recent progress in the field of civil rights by state and local governments, the courts and the executive branch and added that "only Congress has failed to act."

Progress Made

"However," he continued, "progress has been made in the sense that the American people have a keener and more widespread understanding of the reason for Congressional inaction. They know the roadblock to civil rights legislation is the filibuster, the denial of majority rule."

Reuther reminded the lawmakers that last year's Democratic and Republican conventions had repeated earlier pledges to enact civil rights legislation.

Civil Rights Legislation Blasted By Senator Scott

News & Observer
Tues. 3-19-57
Raleigh, N.C.

ROXBORO, March 18 — Sen. W. Kerr Scott told a Negro gathering here today that President Eisenhower's civil rights program would pave the way for "the legal lynching of some of our most cherished rights."

Scott said, "Regardless of the intentions of the authors, the present civil rights bills would backfire and do the opposite of what they are intended to do."

The Tar Heel senator was the main speaker as Person County Negroes received the first-place award in the annual Rural Progress Campaign sponsored by the Progressive Farmer magazine and A&T College in Greensboro.

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Projects of the Person County Negroes in winning the award included:

One hundred thousand pine seedlings put out, 150 new farm water ponds constructed, home sewing increased 35 per cent through New Homemakers of America, remodeling projects at 15 churches, young programs expanded in 25 churches, 650 gardens with 12 or more vegetables planted in 31 neighborhoods, 464 families given assistance with food preservation, including canning and freezing.

Calling the President's civil rights proposals "a sword that cuts many ways," Scott said the bills would give the Attorney General the power to bypass such basic rights as trial by jury, facing one's accusers in open court and indictment by a grand jury.

Praising both whites and Negroes in Person County for close cooperation, he said the Rural Progress Campaign "is a living example of my attitude on how our race relations must be approached in the long run."

Scott pointed out that government agencies, schools, churches, private businesses and others worked together in the Person County Negroes' efforts to win the contest.

Of race relations in general, Scott said:

"There have been some regrettable incidents in the South in the past two years, but we have been fortunate here in North Carolina. We have avoided outbreaks of violence in spite of the fact that our relations have been strained. Firecrackers have been popping around us, but so far none have gone off under us.

"Somehow, we have got to show the radicals—and there are radicals in both races—that setting off bigger and louder firecrackers is no way of preventing explosions.

"It is a difficult job, but we have to make efforts to re-establish the lines of communications we once had between the races in North Carolina and cement the good relations we have demonstrated in the past," he said.

Alluding to schools segregation court decisions, Scott said "nobody gets anywhere when each and every little problem—real or fancied—is taken into courts for settlement. Once that chain of events takes over, then nobody really wins in the long run."

Regardless of the outcome of court cases involving segregation, Scott said, "when the court closes, everybody has to go back home and be neighbors again. A man who sues his neighbor over a property boundary line may win his case in court, but he has made an enemy in life."

Scott said he feels "very strongly that the time has come when Negroes and whites alike must stop and take stock of what's going on in race relations. We have a big job to do to get back on an even keel and hold on to the advances we have made in good race relations. If we do this, there will be no time left for getting into a lather about what radicals in both races are telling us to do in the future.

Senate Group Okays Rights; Fight Vowed

Constitution
Wed. 3-20-57
Atlanta, Ga.

By ALBERT RILEY

WASHINGTON, March 19—A Senate judiciary subcommittee overrode southern opposition today and approved the Eisenhower administration's civil rights bill.

P. 1

By a 4-2 vote, the group sent the measure to the full judiciary committee. Subcommittee Chairman Hennings (D-Mo) said he would press there for quick action.

A similar measure has been recommended by the House Judiciary Committee, and is awaiting rules committee clearance for floor debate.

Earlier, speaking on the civil rights bill approved by the House committee, Sen. Talmadge called it "the most alarming and dangerous such proposal to be put before the Congress since the infamous Force Bill of reconstruction days."

Talmadge said that despite the fact that the outcome is in doubt, "the people of the United States can be assured that the senators and congressmen from the South will fight their battle for constitutional government."

Brownell Testifying Again on Civil Rights

World-Telegram and Sun

~~By the Associated Press~~

WASHINGTON, Feb. 16.—Atorney Gen. ~~Herbert~~ Brownell faces a third straight session of questioning ~~today~~ on the ~~Eisenhower~~ administration's ~~civil rights~~ program.

Sat. 2-16-57

In advance of an unusual Saturday session, Mr. Brownell informed the Senate judiciary subcommittee he was willing to appear on Saturdays, Sundays or at night in the interest of speeding action on the proposals.

P. 4

The longer Southern opponents can keep the legislation from being brought up in the Senate, the better they regard their chances of filibustering it to death.

Sen. Sam J. Ervin (D., N. C.), carrying the ball on the subcommittee for the Dixie forces, said he was unable to estimate just how much longer his questioning would take. Sen. Ervin has been interrogating Mr. Brownell for parts of the past two days.

But Sen. Ervin said that when he is finished, questions are to be asked of the Attorney General by Robert Young, a member of the staff of the full Judiciary Committee.

Judge Wallace Takes Pot Shot At Civil Rights

Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.
Wed. 3-6-57

BIRMINGHAM, March 5 (AP) — An Alabama Circuit Court judge said today that should Congress pass pending Civil Rights legislation, it would "bring about more political persecutions than have ever been dreamed of."

P. 3-A

Judge George C. Wallace of Clayton, Ala., said the pending bills "provide unlimited appropriations," including the provision that the Federal Bureau of Investigation may be "expanded to whatever number."

Wallace addressed the Birmingham Kiwanis Club.

He said passage of such measures would mean numbers of FBI agents "would be scurryint to and fro over the South in responce to allegations filed with the Civil Rights Commission."

Wallace said it would make "one fear a knock on the door at night."

Civil Rights Bill Nearing Debate

Post Herald
Wed. 3-20-57

Senate Judiciary OKs Ike Measure

B'ham, Ala.

WASHINGTON, March 19 (AP) —A Senate Judiciary Subcommittee overrode Southern opposition today and approved the Eisenhower administration's civil rights bill.

P. 1

By a 4-2 vote, the group sent the measure to the full Judiciary Committee. Subcommittee Chairman Hennings (D., Mo.) said he would press there for quick action.

The vote divided Northern and border state Senators against the subcommittee's two Southern members.

Reportedly for the bill were Hennings and Sens. O'Mahoney (D., Wyo.), Watkins (R., Utah) and Hruska (R., Neb.). Against it were Sens. Ervin (D., N. C.) and Olin Johnston (D., S. C.).

A similar measure has been recommended by the House Judiciary Committee, and is awaiting Rules Committee clearance for floor debate.

Civil Rights Bill Delayed By Dixie Dominated Senate Group

Daily World Atlanta, Ga. Tues. 3-26-57

WASHINGTON — (INS) — The Supreme Court Monday rejected appeals by the State of Virginia from court orders to integrate public schools in Arlington and Charlottesville.

Figuring in the two appeals was the question of whether a state may be sued without its consent, an issue not raised in earlier segregation suits.

P. 1

Petitions by Virginia Attorney General J. Lindsay Almond also challenged the lower court decisions on grounds that the Negro plaintiffs had failed to show that their children were qualified for transfer to schools now attended exclusively by white pupils.

Arlington was ordered by lower courts to desegregate elementary schools by Jan. 31 and high schools by next September. Charlottesville was directed to desegregate as of last September.

CIVIL RIGHTS BILL

Meanwhile Southern opponents blocked action on Civil Rights legislation in the Senate Judiciary committee.

Sen. Thomas B. Hennings (D) Mo., said he moved in the closed session to take up the bill immediately for discussion and consideration of amendments.

But he said that Sen. Sam J. Ervin (D) N. C., and Olin D. Johnston (D) S. C., then "took the floor and there was considerably discussion" without any showdown on his motion.

The committee meeting broke up promptly at noon when the bells rang for the Senate session. Hennings said that chairman James O. Eastland (D) Miss., a strong foe of Civil Rights legislation, announced he had to go to the floor because of his interest in pending measures.

If his motion had been put to a vote, Hennings said, he was confident it would have been approved by an 8 to 4 margin. Delay is a major tactic of opponents of the legislation. Eastland, asked when his unit will meet again, replied: "Oh, Monday or our regular date."

Hennings said he will renew his motion if the committee meets Monday.

Asked if he thought the committee's lack of action was a rebuff, Hennings replied: "No, when you are in a Marathon race, you don't bother about who is ahead after the first couple of yards."

Once the committee decides to take up the Civil Rights legislation, opponents have said they will demand further hearings by the full committee. However, supporters claim the votes to beat this proposal.

The legislation approved by Hennings' subcommittee last Tuesday, would protect voting rights of Negroes, permit the government to seek an injunction in federal court to prevent offenses against minority groups, create a commission to investigate civil rights problems and establish a civil rights division in the Justice department.

The storm center of the program is a provision which opponents claim would deprive persons of a jury trial when they are accused of ignoring an injunction. Hennings said this charge is essentially without foundation.

Southerners Bombard Rights Bill

Constitution Wed. 3-13-57 Atlanta, Ga.

By ALBERT RILEY

Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, March 12—Southern Democrats, led by Rep. E. L. (Tic) Forrester of Leesburg, began bombarding the administration's civil rights bill with amendments in the House Judiciary Committee today.

P. 1

Although the Southerners did not get any of their amendments adopted, they gained another day in their fight to forestall a House vote as long as possible.

Their tactics forced the committee to go into yet another day of debate tomorrow when the Southerners have numerous other amendments to offer.

48 AMENDMENTS

Forrester indicated that as many as 48 additional amendments may be put forward by the Southern bloc. Unless Chairman Emanuel Celler (D-NY) shuts off debate, consideration of these amendments could take up the rest of the week.

Although two amendments considered today were rejected by a 15-to-10 vote in the closed-door meeting of the committee, Forrester was encouraged that the Southerners had picked up two extra votes. There are only eight Southern Democrats on the 32-member committee.

The Georgian spoke for an hour in the committee as he and his colleagues hit the civil rights bill with legalistic rather than emotional arguments.

"All the amendments we are offering are meritorious," Forrester said later, "and they (the civil rights proponents) can't brush them off.

"AS LAWYERS"

"They are suddenly respecting the amendments we are offering," Forrester added. "They may not vote for them, but at least they are understanding that we are approaching this issue as lawyers and not as politicians."

When the committee quit for the day they were arguing over a Southern amendment which would prevent a civil rights commission from subpoenaing a witness outside his home state.

As the bill is now drawn, the proposed commission could sum-

CIVIL RIGHTS FOE

Rep. E. L. (Tic) Forrester

mon a person accused of threatening another person's civil rights thousands of miles to a hearing in a distant state on short notice.

Constitution 3/13

What the Southerners are trying to do is to convince the Northern advocates of civil rights legislation that such a law would not just affect race relations in the South but actually would jeopardize constitutionally guaranteed civil rights of citizens, white and black, everywhere in the country.

Since the administration bill would empower a civil rights commission to investigate "social" activities, Forrester warned the committee that it could lead to a surrender of individual American freedoms to dictates of the United Nations.

Forrester warned that the U.S. Supreme Court already is handing down decisions based on a theory that since the U.N. charter is a treaty obligation of the United States, it supersedes constitutional rights.

The high court, he said, used that basis for overturning a California state law that prohibited aliens from holding property.

The U.N. charter, he said, concerns itself with social, religious, racial and sex questions.

"Show me anything in the Constitution of the United States," he said, "that gives any agency the power to investigate such things as social, racial, religious questions or 'unwarranted economic pressures.'"

Extensive New Federal Rights Program Would Retard Progress

News Tues. 2-5-57 P. 5 B'ham Ala.

The House judiciary committee began its hearings yesterday on the Eisenhower administration's civil rights program. It has been indicated that the President and his colleagues will again press hard to get such a program across. It is apparent that representatives of the South will again fight hard to block it. They should.

This paper continues to believe there are strong grounds for this Southern opposition. Such a plan as is proposed would, in our opinion, intensify problems in this field and make more difficult the kind of progress that is sought.

It would do so by broadening and multiplying federal action in matters which would better be left largely in the hands of state and local authorities, and to already established procedures.

It is to be admitted that such authorities have in many cases failed to meet their responsibilities satisfactorily. Even so, we strongly believe that the greater hope of sound progress in this field lies in enlightened local and state action. We believe that such action will in numerous instances be made more difficult by broadened federal intervention.

Attorney General Brownell was the first witness before the House committee yesterday. He maintains that none of the four proposals recommended by the President "would extend or increase the area of civil rights in which federal jurisdiction as defined by the courts exists today." But he declared "these rights are now protected by amendments to the constitution and when they are violated the government may not act under existing criminal law."

The administration's program calls for (1) a bi-partisan commission to investigate reported violations of civil rights; (2) a Justice Department civil rights division; (3) new laws to protect voting rights and permit the government to use injunction power to prevent violations; (4) provisions for civil damage suits where civil rights have been adjudged to have been violated.

Under the proposed injunctive power the government could seek court orders in advance of an election to halt any illegal interference with voting rights. Mr. Brownell said that criminal prosecution now cannot be instituted "until after the harm has been actually done." He declared that numerous statutes now authorize private persons to seek civil remedies.

This program would, in our view, have as major results far more activity under federal auspices, with a resulting intensification of difficulties in the way of just and enlightened local and state action. Progress has been made in this field in recent years, though, of course, it has not been fully satisfactory. It would, we believe, be slowed down rather than hastened by extensive new federal interventions.

10 1957

GOP Leader Knowland Predicts Senate Passage of Civil Rights Bill

Post Mon. 2-4-57 P. 7a
Washington, D.C.

By Betty Pryor
United Press

Senate Republican Leader William F. Knowland said yesterday he is confident the Senate will pass a civil rights bill this year.

The California Senator said he expects the legislation to shape up along the lines of President Esenhower's program to protect against racial discrimination.

He could not say whether this would be done by "wearing out a filibuster" or by invoking the rule shutting off debate.

"But I do think there will be a civil rights bill passed at this session." Knowland added.

House Hearing Today

Southern Democrats long have used filibusters to block key supporters of civil rights bills. Some key supporters of civil rights legislation believe, however, they may be able to muster the 64 votes necessary to shut off debate this year.

A House Judiciary Subcommittee will begin hearings on civil rights bills today. About three dozen witnesses already have been lined up to testify.

A Senate Judiciary Subcommittee has scheduled hearings to start Feb. 12. Knowland said he hopes to see a bill emerge from the committee by the end of February.

Sen. Jacob K. Javits (R-N.Y.) said in a television interview the Senate filibuster rule is "the key to the civil rights future in Congress."

"I think we have got a real chance to do something about it," he added.

Javits said an attempt may be made to head off another fight over the rule by "actually geting action" on a "moderate" civil rights bill.

Still Wants Rule Change

Even if the measure is passed, he said, he still would fight to change the rule so that debate could be halted by a majority of the Senators, rather than the two-thirds now required.

The House Judiciary Subcommittee will consider about 45 civil rights bills in four days of hearings. Nearly all are repeats of legislation introduced in the past.

The major proposals are Mr. Eisenhower's program, which was passed by the House last year, and a broader bill by Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.), chairman of the full committee who will preside at the hearings.

The Administration bill would create a civil rights division in the Justice Department, strengthen protection of voting rights and permit the Government to bring civil suits to protect civil rights.

Attorney General Herbert Brownell Jr. will be the opening witness. Southern witnesses will include eight Congressmen opposing the bill.

Southerners' Objections To Rights Bills Cited

Evening Star P. 18-A
Washington, D.C.
Fri. 3-1-57

What is the Southern case against President Eisenhower's civil rights proposals?

Backers of the measures contend Southern opposition simply is an emotianal resistance to change in the sensitive area of Negro-white relations. But opponents say administration bills designed to protect civil rights of minorities actually would endanger the constitutional rights of all Americans.

Understandably, most of the comment in the North and South has been about the main goal of the proposals—assuring the Southern Negro's right to vote.

But when Senator Ervin, Democrat of North Carolina, a former State Supreme Court justice, and Attorney General Herbert Brownell, jr., debated the measures for three days before the Senate Judiciary Constitutional Rights subcommittee, they argued not about the goals of the legislation but about its procedures.

In the protracted questioning, Senator Ervin obtained Mr. Brownell's agreement to this description of what might happen if the bills were passed.

The Jones Case

John Jones seeks to register to vote and is asked a number of questions by the registrar, acting under the provision of the Constitution that gives his State the authority to fix "qualifications" for its voters. His application to register is refused.

The Attorney General hears of the incident and suspects the registration procedure has been used to deny Mr. Jones the right to vote "on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude" in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment.

The Attorney General, under the proposed legislation, could intervene in the situation, with or without Mr. Jones' permission. He could, in fact, intervene before Mr. Jones even tried to register if he thought the registrar was "about" to deny Mr. Jones his rights.

Without regard to the administrative or judicial procedures provided by the State for determining voting rights, the Attorney General could ask the Federal district court to consider Mr. Jones' case.

Injunction Provisions

He could seek, and the Federal court could grant, an injunction ordering the State to permit Mr. Jones to register and vote. The injunction could be granted on the basis of affidavits only, without an opportunity for either side to present evidence or cross-examine witnesses.

If the registrar still refused to permit Mr. Jones to vote, he could be summoned before the Federal judge who issued the injunction and tried for contempt of court, without the grand jury indictment or petit jury trial guaranteed in ordinary criminal procedures.

Mr. Brownell called this "one extremity" to which the requested legislation could be pushed. "We are, however, faced with the fact that without this authority in the Federal Government people are disenfranchised en masse by reason of their color."

Granting this new authority, Mr. Brownell said, would spare future Attorneys General the duty of undertaking "unduly harsh" criminal prosecutions against "respected local officials" who deny Negroes the right to vote.

"No amount of criminal punishment" after the election, he added, "can rectify the harm which the national interest suffers when citizens are illegally kept from the polls."

States Rights

What about the State's interests under the Constitution, Senator Ervin wanted to know. "Don't the provisions in these bills contribute very much to the theory that the States ought to be destroyed instead of preserved?"

"At the present time," Mr. Brownell said, "all we can do in this area is to use the criminal sanctions against State and local officials. That does not contribute to the proper functioning of our Federal system."

"In doing what you consider to be legally righteous," Senator Ervin observed, "you would supplant existing remedies which give him (the election official) a right to be . . . indicted by a grand jury and tried before a petit jury and be confronted and have the right to cross-examine his accusers."

"You would rather have us send him to jail than to get an injunction against him?" Mr. Brownell asked.

"I would rather have a man given an opportunity to have the spirit and the letter of his constitutional rights promoted," said Senator Ervin.

Their argument was left unsettled February 16, but the issues will be debated again when—and if—the Senate considers the civil rights bills.

Ask Passage Of Civil Rights Law

Defender
Chicago, Ill.

NEW YORK — A message from Negroes in South Carolina urging the passage of civil rights legislation at this session of Congress, compares the situation of some Negroes in the Deep South to that of the Hungarians who fled from violence in their homeland.

The letter was sent to Rep. Emanuel Celler, chairman of the House Judiciary sub-committee by the president of the South Carolina State NAACP.

Sat. 3-2-57

"The Negro is only seeking real, true and unadulterated equality in this, our great government, that he may move about unhampered, unsegregated, as other Americans . . . even Hungarians, who are coming to our country fleeing from what Negroes suffer in certain sections of this country," the letter asserts

PASSMAN HITS 'CIVIL WRONGS'

Times-Picayune
New Orleans, La.

'Rights Measures Threaten the Individual'

Mon. 3-4-57

(Special to The Times-Picayune)

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 3—"Force measures under the guise of protecting civil rights, but which in reality would create civil wrongs, constitute a monstrous threat to the liberties of all Americans, and could result in the sacrifice of old and basic individual rights and freedoms to possible political prosecution and persecution," US Rep. Otto E. Passman, Louisiana, has warned congressional colleagues.

P. 16

He said in a statement in Washington that rights which have long been uppermost to all citizens — "already seriously threatened by the supreme court's notorious school integration decision and the attendant activities of federal courts in attempting to enforce that decision"—now "stand in danger of being usurped" through precedents being set in federal courts, and would be "even more seriously endangered" by passage of the civil rights legislation being proposed by the administration and other proponents in Congress.

Rep. Passman charged that the "so-called civil rights" measures "further threaten the individual's right to be secure in person and property against individual arrest and seizure, the right of indictment by a grand jury, and trial by jury."

The proposed legislation includes establishment of an investigatory commission (with power of subpena), a civil rights division (with injunctive authority) in the justice department, and "other interference" with individual and state's rights, Congressman Passman said. He asserted that the program, against which Southern congressmen are now waging vigorous opposition, would by-pass the need for a person to exhaust state judicial and administrative remedies before turning to the federal courts.

His statement continued:

"It begins to look more and more as though the highly emotional and inflammatory question of 'segregation or integration' is methodically being used as a 'whipping boy' to disguise an all-out attack upon constitutionally guaranteed freedoms of the American people."

Civil Rights; 'Full Hearing'

Star P. 25-a
Sun. 2-10-57
Washington, D.C.

Representative Emanuel Celler of New York, chairman of a House Judiciary Subcommittee holding hearings on proposed civil rights legislation, hopes he can close the hearings sometime this week. His hopes, however, can be no more than faint, for Southerners in the House were employing delay, their time-tested and favorite tactic, against the administration's package of civil rights bills.

The Southerners made it plain that they would insist on strict enforcement of House rules which prohibit committees from meeting while the House is in session, except by unanimous House consent. They said they would refrain from objecting to meetings simultaneous with the House itself only if Mr. Celler agreed to hear all the myriad of witnesses from Dixie who might have a word or two to say on the subject of civil rights.

Consequently, Southern Governors and attorneys general will line up this week to be heard. Last week the committee heard lesser **State officials from the South, plus**

spokesmen for labor unions, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and other organizations that favor the proposed legislation and United States Attorney General Herbert Brownell.

Mr. Brownell, the leadoff witness, tried to reassure the Southerners that the bills would not lead to Federal encroachment of States' rights. But he got nowhere; they wouldn't be convinced.

The officer in charge of the North Carolina State Highway Patrol, for instance, testified that he regarded the bills as "a frontal attack" on his State's police power, and an Alabama judge told the committee he would not permit any "unlawful interference by Federal police in my district."

Mr. Brownell said wearily that he thought "165 years is long enough" to get differences in Federal-State relationship ironed out.

The proposals would set up a Federal body to investigate charges of civil rights violations; create a civil rights division in the Justice Department headed up by an assistant attorney general; set up new Federal laws assuring voting rights, and make the injunction power available to the Federal Government, with the possibility of civil suits resulting, in cases of violations of civil rights.

The same proposals were passed in the House last year, but died somewhere in the recesses of the Senate Judiciary Committee. Once again, civil rights proponents feel, the real hurdle is the Senate, but they believe things are looking up for them there this year.

President Eisenhower, meanwhile, at his news conference reaffirmed his desire for civil rights legislation, but said he would not put any pressure on his party's congressional leaders to deliver it by any given date or according to any White House specifications.

Senator Humphrey Holds Congress Does Not Respond To Moral Demand For "Rights"

Globe + Independent P. 1 — Nashville, Tenn. — Fri. 2-22-57

Congress Must Recognize Moral Demand For Civil Rights Action: Humphrey

A Congress which continues "to be unresponsive to the greatest moral demand of our generation is an irresponsible Congress," Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D.,Minn.) declared yesterday in urging the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rigts to act without delay on a "meaningful" civil rights program.

In submitting a summary of his own civil rights bills before the Subcommittee at the opening of hearings, senator Humphrey commented:

"No conscientious observer who has ever examined the American scene has failed to put his finger on our greatest national weakness: the gap between our pretensions and our performance in the field of civil rights.

"We know that our Constitution guarantees full equality of rights and opportunities to Americans of every race, color, religion and national origin. We know that proposed legislation to assure to every American his constitutional rights has been introduced in Congress after Congress, only to die in committee, on the calendar, or by the veto of the filibuster.

"I am convinced, however, that we are coming to realize that a Congress which continues to be unresponsive to the greatest moral demand of our generation is an irresponsible Congress. We are coming to realize that, to the degree that procrastination, temporizing, delays, and obstruction continue, we are convicting ourselves of hypocrisy. We are coming to realize that the enemies of society are not those who promote the processes of freedom, but those who try to block them.

Globe + Independent P. 1

"Your subcommittee now has the opportunity, if it will only seize it, to initiate the first meaningful civil rights legislation in 80 years. Despite the honest differences of opinion among us, I am convinced that the subcommittee will do its part and that the Congress itself will follow."

Fri. 2-22-57

Senator Humphrey said, in his prepared statement sent to Senator Hennings, Chairman of the Subcommittee, that he placed first priority on his "right to vote" bill "because it is becoming increasingly clear that this is the key to all of the rest of our human-rights objectives.

P. 4

Lost Cause Lost Again

Afro American — Sat. 2-23-57 — Baltimore, Md.

Extravagant to the point of ridiculousness.

That was how one observer described the testimony offered by unreconstructed Southerners before the House Judiciary Committee.

It was one of the understatements of the week.

The committee is considering the modest civil rights proposal submitted for the second time by President Eisenhower.

But the violent manner in which these proposals were attacked would lead many unsuspecting persons to believe the President contemplates robbing our Dixie friends of their inalienable right to eat hominy grits floating in bacon grease.

P. 4

Nothing could be further from the truth.

When Southern officials are so bereft of legitimate argument that they are reduced to angry screams and absurd name calling, they must surely realize the lost cause is lost once again.

Their desperate shouts of "gestapo," and "police state," mixed with brazen defiance of the Federal authority only proves to the rest of the country how urgent is the need for meaningful civil rights laws if America's promise is to become a reality for millions of people behind our Cotton Curtain.

Action Sought Today On Civil Rights Bill

Evening Star P. 9 A — Washington, D.C. — Wed. 2-13-57

By the Associated Press

Supporters of a civil rights bill worked against parliamentary odds and Southern determination today to get approval by the House Judiciary Committee before the day ends.

Southerns on the committee, who consumed most of yesterday's session with debate on a single amendment, had a dozen or more proposed changes to offer today. Efforts by Chairman Celler, Democrat of New York, a strong civil rights supporter, to force a committee vote today were further hampered by the prospect of roll-call votes in the House on a money billand farm legislation. These would make it difficult to hold a committee majority in session, even though the House has granted special permission for the group to sit during conduct of general House business.

Representative Keating, senior Republican member of the committee and co-author of the bill, called for the group to sit into the night if necessary.

Mr. Cellar said he hopes to finish committee consideration during the day, but will continue to meet the rest of the week if necessary. He said the committee will positively act this week.

Among the amendments Southerners have prepared are language changes that would guarantee jury trial of persons accused of violating injunctions issued in civil rights cases; deprive the proposed civil rights investigating commission of subpoena powers; and strike out the provision for a special assistant Attorney General in charge of civil rights matters or reduce the size of the staff to be authorized for him.

One amendment which seemed likely to be adopted was one, not sponsored primarily by the Southern group, to set up guarantees against discrimination because of religion. Both Mr. Celler and Mr. Keating said they favored reinstating the religious provision, which was deleted during subcommittee consideration of the bill.

The amendment defeated yesterday after more than two hours of discussion would have stripped the bill of all its provisions except the investigating commission.

P. 10

CIVIL RIGHTS BILL PASSES FIRST HURDLE

Daily Tribune — Thurs. 2-28-57 — Chicago, Ill. — P. 13

BY PHILIP DODD

[Chicago Tribune Press Service]

Washington, Feb. 27—President Eisenhower's civil rights bill passed its first legislative hurdle today as a house judiciary subcommittee approved the measure with few changes and submitted it to the full committee.

As approved by the subcommittee, the bill had these provisions:

1. Authority for the attorney general to file civil damage suits on behalf of persons contending their civil rights have ben violated, but only with the written permission of the aggrieved party. The requirement for written permission was added by the subcommittee.

Could Ask Injunctions

2. Authority for the attorney general to apply for civil injunctions in federal courts to prevent civil rights violations, a provision aimed at preventing southern Negroes from being deprived of their right to vote.

3. Creation of a bipartisan commission to investigate civil rights violations. The subcommittee added an amendment providing that subpenaed witnesses could testify in their own federal judicial districts. It eliminated the word "religion" from the types of civil rights violations to be investigated, leaving race, color, national origin, and "unwarranted economic pressure."

4. Creation of the office of an additional assistant attorney general, who would head a special civil rights division in the justice department.

Predict Committee O. K.

Rep. Celler [D., N. Y.], chairman of the judiciary committee and Rep. Keating [R., N. Y.], sponsor of the administration bill, predicted full committee approval of the bill when the group meets next Tuesday.

The bill emerged from the subcommittee with Celler's name on it as sponsor instead of Keating's. Technically, the group acted on a bill by Celler which was amended by substituting Keating's language for Celler's.

10 1957

Rights Sidetracked in Congress

Herald Tribune New York Thurs. 2-14-57

Pre-Session Burning Issue Put in Background by Middle East

By Don Whitehead

WASHINGTON, Feb. 13.—The Eighty-fifth Congress has been in session now for six weeks and the civil-rights issue, which was to have been the burning question at hand, has been pushed into the background for the time being by the Senate debate over President Eisenhower's Middle East policy.

This Congress had been expected to open with the liberal wing of the Democratic party joining Republicans in an all-out push on the civil rights front that would overshadow everything else.

This was a prospect not relished by the top Democratic leadership in Congress, inasmuch as a civil rights fight would spotlight the North-South cleavage on this issue within the Democrats' ranks—and expose one of the fundamental and embarrassing weaknesses of the party.

Tactical Consideration

Some ranking Democrats were hopeful even before Congress convened that foreign affairs—and not civil rights—would be given top billing as the issue of most compelling interest to Americans. They concluded that the Eisenhower administration was most vulnerable to attack in its handling of foreign affairs—specifically, its moves to checkmate the influence of communism.

There was the tactical consideration, too, that the Democrats could muster far more unity than the Republicans on an "internationalist" foreign policy, but could not display any such unity on the question of civil-rights legislation designed to strengthen the Federal government's hand in dealing with alleged civil-rights violations.

As events have developed, civil rights and domestic affairs have become secondary for the time being while the Senate concentrates on President Eisenhower's resolution aimed at halting Soviet penetration of the Middle East.

New Delay Granted

Civil-rights bills before a House Judiciary subcommittee ran into more delay during the day when Southerners won a twelve-day extension of hearings that were due to be ended tomorrow. The chairman, Rep. Emanuel Celler, D., N. Y., declared this was the last extension he would grant.

Be that as it may, the current debate over the Eisenhower Doctrine underlines more sharply perhaps than anything else the gradual shift in emphasis from domestic to foreign problems in the four years of Mr. Eisenhower's administration.

While some Congressional leaders welcome the fact that the civil-rights issue is in the background, this secondary position of the issue is by no means entirely the result of their doing.

One of the main reasons for this development lies in the fact that during the four years of Mr. Eisenhower's administration, there has been a gradual shift in emphasis from domestic to foreign problems.

Four years ago the President placed about as much emphasis on the need for a balanced budget, efficient management, decentralized government and other domestic affairs as he did on the need to find the key to world peace.

But in his second inaugural address, and in later statements, he made it quite clear that he considers the problem of peace to be of far more overriding urgency than the problems at home. And it follows this would be true inasmuch as he has set for himself the goal of trying to establish a secure peace throughout the world. It was with a note of urgency that he sent his resolution to the Senate.

But while the debate over Middle East policy now obscures the civil-rights issue, that issue remains an explosive one that sooner or later must be dealt with by Congress.

REUTHER PUSHES BILL

Times P. 19-C

Bids Congress Act on Rights Plans of Administration

Tues. 3-5-57

WASHINGTON, March 4 (AP)—Walter P. Reuther today urged the "earliest possible action" in both House and Senate on what he described as a "stripped-down" civil rights bill backed by the Eisenhower Administration.

Mr. Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers union and a vice president of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations, said "the prospect for meaningful civil rights legislation * * * seems better than in previous years, provided anti-civil rights forces in both houses can be defeated in their efforts to delay action again until late in the session when the filibuster can be used most effectively."

The labor leader said this in a statement he filed with a Senate Judiciary subcommittee considering civil proposals.

The Eisenhower program calls for creation of a bipartisan commission to investigate complaints of civil rights violations, establishment of a civil rights division in the Justice Department, and new authority for the Attorney General to seek injunctions to protect voting and other civil rights.

RIGHTS BILL FOES WIN WEEK DELAY

Times P. 24-C

Keating and Celler Clash as Southerners Defer Vote by House Unit

Wed. 3-6-57

By JOHN D. MORRIS

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, March 5—Southerners won a week's postponement today of action on President Eisenhower's civil rights program. The Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives met this morning to start considering the bill, which was approved with minor changes last Wednesday by a subcommittee.

But at the request of Representative Edwin E. Willis, Democrat of Louisiana, voting was deferred until next Tuesday.

The delay drew a protest from the committee's senior Republican member, Representative Kenneth B. Keating of upstate New York, and a sharp rejoinder from the chairman, Representative Emanuel Celler, Democrat of Brooklyn.

The exchange marked a break in this session's harmonious efforts of Representatives Celler and Keating to steer the Administration bill through the House. They had led a bipartisan approach by Republicans and Northern Democrats.

Senate Hearings Ended

Meanwhile, a Senate Judiciary subcommittee completed public hearings on pending civil rights bills without immediately setting a date to start voting.

Senator Sam J. Ervin Jr., Democrat of North Carolina, who presided over today's session, said he might seek to reopen the hearings. He mentioned further hearings by the full committee as a possible alternative.

Civil rights advocates desire early committee action because of the prospect of a filibuster when a bill reaches the Senate floor. A filibuster—dilatory debate to prevent a vote—is more likely to succeed toward the end of a session, when other important legislation is awaiting action.

The failure of the House committee to start voting today was assailed by Representative Keating as "part and parcel of the strategy of delay" to block civil rights legislation.

"Unable to defeat the bill on its merits," he declared, "the opponents will resort to any device they can think of to delay consideration. Until we face up to that and unitedly oppose it, we can have no civil rights legislation."

Representative Celler said it was not "fair" to accuse Mr. Willis, "a very fine gentleman," of such motives.

"I don't think he had any such idea at all," the chairman told reporters. "I think that's purely a self-serving declaration on Mr. Keating's part. It doesn't help the bill at all * * *.

"The bill will be voted next week. That's definite. You can never get a bill of this character out the first day. That's ridiculous."

Mr. Celler's statement indicated a desire to avoid tactics that might be regarded as high-handed. He said such tactics might upset prospects that the Rules Committee would clear the bill for consideration by the House.

Keating Tactics Decried

"We will get a rule," he said, "but not if we follow the tactics advocated by Mr. Keating."

The Senate subcommittee's final witness was Gov. James P. Coleman of Mississippi. He played a key part in drafting a "moderate" civil rights plank for the 1956 Democratic platform.

The proposed Federal legislation, he contended, would "lose much of the valuable ground already gained" toward settlement of the South's racial problems.

Under the Administration's bill, the Attorney General would be permitted to seek enforcement of civil rights through court injunctions and civil damage suits. The bill would also create a commission to investigate civil rights problems and complaints and set up a civil rights division in the Justice Department.

Southerners Win Delay In Rights Scrap

News + Observer Wed. 3-6-57 Raleigh N.C.

WASHINGTON, March 5 (AP) — Southern congressmen today won a week's postponement of House committee action on civil rights legislation. But they made no immediate move to extend Senate hearings on the same subject.

Chairman Celler (D-NY) of the House Judiciary Committee said he accepted a Southern request to hold off further consideraiton of the bill until next Tuesday. Celler told newsmen "nothing would be gained" by balking because there was "no chance of finishing today."

Not a Party.

But Rep. Keating of New York, senior committee Republican, said he was "not a party to any such agreement." He termed it "part and parcel of a strategy of delay."

Southern congressmen have sought to extend consideration of the controversial legislation, particularly in the Senate where chances of killing the bill by filibuster would be better late in th session.

The Senate subcommittee on constitutional rights today wound up its scheduled hearings on civil rights proposals wouthout receiving any demands for an extension.

Such a request still may be made, though, Sen. Ervin (D-NC) said he is considering asking for more hearings either before the subcommittee or the parent Senate Judiciary Committee.

Ervin said "some more good folks" from the South were unable to appear before the hearing windup.

The Senate group heard Mississippi's Gov. James P. Coleman testify that enactment of civil rights legislation would spark "agitation, uproar, tumult and domestic discord."

Coleman and Sen. Neuberger (D-Ore) were the last scheduled witnesses.

Coleman said he fears the authority which the attorney general would have to seek federal court injunctions against any civil rights violations.

"Trial by jury and similar constitutional rights are to be discarded" under this procedure, he argued.

Neuberger said, in reply to a question from Ervin, that government by injunction wouldn't disturb him "as much as the denial of basic human rights to thousands of American citizens."

Ervin said Neuberger was assuming that such rights were being denied to thousands. The Oregon Democrat replied that he has to make such an assumption in view of what he called "the comparatively small" number of Negroes who vote in some parts of the South.

Next Tuesday.

The House committee, when it meets next Tuesday, will first consider amendments to the administration measure, approved earlier by a subcommittee.

Celler said, after a three - hour closed - door meeting of the full committee, that he is determined "to have the bill completed and voted on next week."

"If there is any dillydallying or obstructionism, a motion can be made to close debate and the chair will encourage such a motion," he said.

Keating said later in a statement that opponents of the bill "will resort to any device they can think of to delay consideration."

He said the measure is high on President Eisenhower's "must" list but added that Republicans "simply do not have the votes in this Congress."

The administration b8ll would permit the attorney general to seek enforcement of civil rights through court injunctions and civil damage suits, create a commission to investigate civil rights problems and complaints, and set up a civil rights division in the Justice Department.

South Wins Delay on Civil Rights; End to Hearings Put Off 12 Days

Herald-Tribune New York N.Y.
Thurs. 2-14-57

WASHINGTON, Feb. 13 (AP)—Southerners, battering at civil-rights legislation as evil, dangerous and a "bunch of garbage," wrung fro ma House Judiciary subcommittee today a twelve-day respite before hearings are halted.

The time element is important to chances of passing such legislation. Delaying tactics at every turn are a Southern stratagem.

Twice before the subcommittee had yielded to Southern protests and kept the hearings going. Now, instead of ending tomorrow, another round of testimony is set for Feb. 25-26.

But "under no circumstances," Rep. Emanuel Celler, D., N. Y., the chairman, declared, will there be anothe rextension.

Rep. Celler and other backers of civil rights measures aimed at first at no hearings at all, contending every possible argument had been brought forth in previous years.

They want to push a bill through the House as quickly as possible, on the basis that the sooner they hustle it to the Senate the better the chances of defusing the big Southern weapon, the filibuster. A filibuster, or talking the legislation to death, would have increased prospects of success late in the Congressional session.

What the subcommittee is considering are bills to give the Federal government stronger powers to combat any violations of civil rights in the states.

Rep. E. L. Forrester, D., Ga., shook a finger, banged a fist on the witness table, quoted the Bible at times and called the legislation backed by the Eisenhower administration "a monstrosity, a bunch of garbage" and an effort to "beat the Democrats to the punch."

Tennessee's Attorney General, George F. McCanless, said it would increase racial tensions which are growing already, endanger the peace of communities, and "set in motion an inquisition that could accomplish nothing except to intensify distrust and misunderstanding."

Southern Bloc Wins New Delay in Hearings On Civil Rights Bills

Inquirer P. 5
Philadelphia Pa.
Thurs. 2-14-57

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SEEK QUICK ACTION

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The subcommittee is considering bills to give the Federal Government stronger powers to combat any violations of civil rights in the States.

Southerners contend this would trample on the rights of the States; that they already are handling the problem adequately. An array of them appeared before the subcommittee today.

BANGS FIST ON TABLE

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South Wins Civil Rights Bill Delay

Advertiser
Montgomery Ala.
Wed 3-6-57

House Committee Head Grants Plea For Postponement

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DELAY SOUGHT

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Ervin said Neuberger was assuming that such rights were being denied to thousands. The Oregon Democrat replied that he has to make such an assumption in view of what he called "the comparatively small" number of Negroes who vote in some parts of the South.

The House committee, when it meets next Tuesday, will first consider amendments to the administration measure, approved earlier by a subcommittee.

Celler said, after a three - hour closed - door meeting of the full committee, that he is determined "to have the bill completed and voted on next week."

"If there is any dillydallying or obstructionism, a motion can be made to close debate and the chair will encourage such a motion," he said.

VIOLATION ASSUMED

Keating said later in a statement that opponents of the bill "will resort to any device they can think of to delay consideration."

He said the measure is high on President Eisenhower's "must" list but added that Republicans "simply do not have the votes in this Congress."

The administration bill would permit the attorney general to seek enforcement of civil rights through court injunctions and civil damage suits, create a commission to investigate civil rights problems and complaints, and set up a civil rights division in the Justice Department.

Advertiser 12-A

Civil Rights Bill

Dallas Tex. Herald
Free Press

Civil rights legislation fared badly in Congress last year, but is getting off to a better start this year. In 1956 the House passed a bill on July 23 and Congress adjourned four days later, without any Senate action.

On Wednesday a House Judiciary subcommittee approved a bill much like last year's, and Rep. Joseph W. Martin, R., Mass., the minority leader, predicted that the House would pass it in two or three weeks, which would put it four months ahead of the 1956 schedule.

Sun 3-3-57

The program is essentially that put forward by President Eisenhower, and is a moderate one. It would: (1) Create a Federal commission to investigate the field of civil rights and violations of them; (2) Set up a new division of the Department of Justice to handle civil rights matters; (3) Give the Attorney General power to use court injunctions against violations; and (4) Provide for civil damage suits where civil rights have been adjudged violated.

The bill is not a sweeping or drastic one. Its immediate objective would be to assist Negroes in getting the vote in regions of the South where they have trouble casting ballots. Nevertheless, Southern critics have assailed it as an invasion of states rights.

The worst hazard which the bill faces is a possible filibuster by Southern Senators later in the session.

CIVIL RIGHTS ACTION IS DELAYED FURTHER

Commercial Appeal P. 1
Memphis Tenn.

Committee Lacks Quorum—Meeting Canceled

From The Commercial Appeal Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, March 15.—Southerners won another day in their fight to delay civil rights legislation as the House Judiciary Subcommittee failed to attract a quorum.

Sat 3-16-57

Representative Kenneth B. Keating (R., N.Y.) said the House committee members had made an "air-tight" agreement to complete action on the Administration's bill Monday. Southern members, however, demurred.

The Southerners have been bombarding the bill with amendments all week in the House committee and the committee is now finished with only the first section of the four-part bill.

Mr. Keating, Chairman Emanuel Celler (D., N.Y.) and other proponents of the measure had hoped committee action would be completed on the bill two days ago.

The Senate Judiciary Subcommittee also has the Administration's bill before it and Chairman Thomas C. Hennings Jr. (D., Mo.) has been pressing for a favorable vote.

He complained that the subcommittee was "unable to transact this business because of a lack of a quorum, although the members present waited for nearly an hour."

The absence of two Southerners and two Republicans deprived the subcommittee of a quorum. Only Senators Hennings, Arthur V. Watkins (R., Utah) and Roman L. Hruska (R., Neb.) showed up, Senator Hennings complained.

10 1957

Carolinians Blast Civil Rights Bill

Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. Tues. 3-5-57

WASHINGTON, March 4 (AP)—A South Carolina lawyer today pictured Atty. Gen. Brownell as "the greatest enemy of the South" in either political party in the last 90 years.

This characterization of Brownell was made by Thomas H. Pope of Newberry, in testimony before a Senate Judiciary subcommittee conducting hearings in civil rights legislation. Pope spoke as a representative of the South Carolina Bar Assn.

He said the South has had no greater enemy since Thaddeus Stevens, a Pennsylvania Republican who led the forces in Congress demanding stringent punishment for the South after the Civil War.

Pope said civil rights legislation was devised by Brownell "to circumvent the plain language of the constitution."

If Congress passes such legislation, Pope said "It will have been sired in prejudice, conceived in ignorance and its birth will be unconstitutional."

Sen. Thurmond (D-SC), former Sen. Wofford (D-SC) and several others from South Carolina testified. It will close its hearings tomorrow after testimony by Sen. Neuberger (D - Ore) and Gov. James P. Coleman of Mississippi.

Pope said the South Carolina Bar. Assn. is opposed to civil rights legislation because, he said, it violates the spirit and letter of the Constitution, is unnecessary, unwise and is an unwarranted extension of federal jurisdiction into states rights.

"The legislation is born of the desires of certain politicians who think that the people of local communities are not to be trusted," he said.

The people who believe in constitutional government, Pope said, are beginning to distrust the federal government and to believe that it is misusing its power.

The subcommittee is considering various civil rights, among them the Eisenhower program which was approved last week by a House subcommittee.

Sen Olin D. Johnston (D-SC), acting subcommittee chairman, promised he would do all in his power to defeat civil rights legislation.

"No civil rights legislation ever presented to Congress could be more dangerous than the bills now before us, as endorsed by the Eisenhower administration and so-called liberals in Congress," Johnston said.

"Nothing short of a police state in which the people will be stripped of their bill of rights will result if this so-called civil rights legislation is forced upon us."

CIVIL RIGHTS BILL GAINS IN CONGRESS

Times 4-7

New York

Passes House Judiciary Unit With Minor Change—Clear Sailing to Senate Seen

Thurs. 2-28-57

By JOHN D. MORRIS

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 27—President Eisenhower's civil rights program easily cleared its first Congressional hurdle today.

A slightly amended version of the Administration's bill was approved, 6 to 0, by a House Judiciary subcommittee, which acted less than twenty-four hours after having completed hearings. The measure will be taken up Tuesday by the full committee with excellent prospects of favorable action.

Tuesday is also the day fixed for the completion of hearings by a Senate Judiciary subcommittee. Prompt approval is expected there, too. However, the program faces possible delay in the full committee and a filibuster by Southern opponents when it reaches the Senate floor.

Hope to Break Filibuster

Senate sponsors are hopeful of getting a bill out in time to break a filibuster—the tactic of dilatory debate to prevent a vote—by the end of April.

In the House, operating under strict limitation of debate, little difficulty is expected once the bill clears the Judiciary and Rules Committees. Some delay, now regarded as inconsequential, is expected in the latter body.

Representatives Emanuel Celler, Democrat of Brooklyn, and Kenneth B. Keating, Republican of upstate New York, announced after the subcommittee action that they were "well satisfied" with the amended version.

Mr. Celler, chairman of both the full committee and the subcommittee, originally sponsored a more far-reaching bill. Mr. Keating, senior Republican member of both groups, was the sponsor of the Administration bill. The approved mesaure bears Mr. Celler's name but embodies Mr. Keating's text.

The subcommittee accepted without significant change Administration-backed provisions for appointing an Assistant Attorney General in charge of civil rights and for new Federal enforcement powers.

Times

Prosecution Powers

The new powers would authorize the Justice Department to prosecute anyone who had intimated or coerced voters in an election involving Federal office.

P. 20 C

In addition, the department would be authorized to institute civil damage suits and seek Federal court injunctions against violations of voting and other constitutional guarantees. Citizens would be allowed to take denial-of-rights complaints directly to Federal courts.

The subcommittee added a proviso to prohibit the department from instituting a damage suit without the written consent of the aggrieved person. Other amendments called for a bipartisan commission to study rights problems and investigate complaints.

Thurs. 2-28-5

The new language would have the following effects:

¶Restrict investigations of alleged violations to cases based on sworn or affirmed complaints.

¶Prohibit the commission, in exercising subpoena powers, from requiring a witness to travel from judicail circuit to another to testify.

¶Require the commission to adhere to rules of procedure now specified by the House for investigations by its committees.

Under the applicable House rules, witnesses would have the right to advice of counsel during hearings. No hearing could be conducted without at least two commission members present. A person complaining that he had been injured by testimony would be permitted to testify in reply if a majority of the commission so decided. A majority could also subpoena other witnesses at his request.

Mr. Celler said the amendments were designed to make the bill "less unplatable" to Southern opponents.

G.O.P. CHIEFS VOICE CIVIL RIGHTS HOPE

Times 4-19-C

New York

Knowland and Martin See Passage of Eisenhower Measures as Assured

Wed. 2-27-57

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 26—Republican Congressional leaders forecast today early Congressional approval of the Administration's civil rights program.

Representative Joseph W. Martin Jr. of Massachusetts, the House Republican leader, thought the House would act first.

Wiliam F. Knowland of California, the Senate Republican leader, hoped the Senate would follow suit "before the Easter recess," which comes late in April.

The Californian said he thought the Senate could reach a vote even under present anti-filibuster rules, which require a two-thirds vote of the entire Senate—64 votes—to pass a motion to limit debate.

The comments came after the regular weekly meeting of Republican legislative leaders with President Eisenhower.

Senator Knowland and the Democratic Senate leader, Senator Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, are allied in a move to revise the anti-filibuster rule to permit limitation of debate by two-thirds of the Senators present and voting.

But Senator Knowland said action on this would not be sought until after the civil rights measure had been considered.

Program Is Limited

The Administration's civil rights program is not so far reaching as some other measures, proposed in the past, which have provoked filibusters by Southern Democrats so lengthy as to force pigeonholing of the bills.

Among these were proposals for a Federal fair employment practices act banning discrimination among races in hiring and in promotions.

The main points of the Administration bill that passed the House last year but died in the Senate are:

¶Creation of a bipartisan commission to investigate and make recommendations concerning alleged violations of civil rights.

¶Establishment in the Department of Justice of a civil rights division headed by an assistant attorney general.

¶New provisions of law to strengthen the voting rights of Negroes.

¶Authority for the Federal Government to seek from the Federal courts preventive civil injunctions in rights cases.

Representative Martin said he expected the House would pass the civil rights bill by mid-March. House rules provide for the limitation of debate by a simple majority. This makes passage of such legislation easier than in the Senate.

School Aid Rider Backed

In a related development, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People asked Congress to bar Federal school funds to states that defied the Supreme Court's decision against racial segregation in public schools.

The association's spokesman, Clarence Mitchell, declared that "teaching the doctrines of racial superiority or maintaining segregated schools is as dangerous as teaching the doctrines of communism."

He appeared before a House Education subcommittee that is studying bills to provide Federal aid for school construction.

Meanwhile, witnesses before a House Judiciary subcommittee attacked the Administration's civil rights proposals. Senator Strom Thurmond, Democrat of South Carolina, called the proposed legislation a form of "tyranny" that should not be "foisted on the American people."

J. Lindsay Almond Jr., Attorney General of Virginia, charged that the legislation was "motivated by political expediency" and "aimed insultingly at the Southern states."

RIGHTS BILL FACES SNAG ON RELIGION

Times 4-29

New York

Deletion From List of Unfair Bases for Discrimination Brings a New Battle

Fri. 3-8-57

By C. P. TRUSSELL

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, March 7—A new fight has broken out in Congress on the civil rights program. It is over the elimination by a House Judiciary subcommittee of the word "religion" from the measure it has approved.

Originally the bill would have assigned a six-member commission to investigate allegations of denials of rights to citizens because of color, race, religion or national origin. Elimination of "religion" was accompanied by arguments of both sides.

The action was taken at a closed session of the House subcommittee, which is headed by Representative Emanuel Celler, Democrat of Brooklyn. Members of the group were reluctant to discuss that had happened in the subcommittee room.

Stress on Voting

But is was disclosed that the principal purpose of the bill is to insure voting rights of all citizens in all sections of the country.

The bill is not a version of fair employments practice measures, which have failed to pass in previous sessions.

One aim now is to get something through instead of trying to cure all discrimination in one swoop with a bill sure to be defeated.

The word "religion" was proposed, not in Congress but by a suggested draft from the Executive branch, it was said.

There appeared to be a strong feeling within the Celler subcommittee that the injection of the word "religion" into the legislation would open the door to the adoption of amendments giving the proposed commission authority in labor disputes, discriminations because of sex and other matters not contemplated by the civil rights program.

An attempt to restore "religion" to the bill will be made, perhaps next Tuesday when the full Judiciary Committee meets again to study the subcommit-

tee's bill. Mr. Celler also heads the full committee. He said tonight that he would try to restore the word. But he said he was not certain that it would be reinstated.

Meanwhile, it was charged from outside Congress that the deletion of the word "religion" was "an appeasement" to Southern Democrats opposed to civil rights legislation.

Members of the House Judiciay Committee have received appeals from the American Jewish Congress and other organizations to restore the word to the legislation.

TEXAN CHARGES 'RIGHTS' BILLS BASICALLY BAD

Daily Tribune
Tues. 2-26-57
Chicago, Ill.

Would Encourage Tax Waste, He Says

P. 5

Washington, Feb. 25 (AP)— Assistant Atty. Gen. Davis Grant of Texas today denounced proposed civil rights bills as "basically bad legislation" encouraging "shameful waste" of tax money and arbitrary abuse of power.

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If enacted into law, he declared, they would "excercise a corrosive effect upon the sovereignty of the states of the United States."

Grant, appearing in behalf of Gov. Price Daniel of Texas, told a house judiciary subcommittee that the American philosophy of government, as stated by the Supreme court itself, is built on the concept of distinct and separate federal and state governments.

"Defense of Free Men"

It is the duty of everyone, he said, "to see to it that this philosophy of government, established as fundamental law by our founding fathers, is defended—for it is the defense of free men."

Attacking civil rights proposals in detail, Grant said the President already has the powers—thru executive order—which would be vested in a civil rights commission.

He also urged that "arbitrary powers" would be given the commission to summon citizens before it from any distance "to answer any charges whatever, no matter how ridiculous," and impound any and all records.

"Thus, he said, "the commission could indefinitely impound in Washington the entire records of the state of Texas if the commission 'deems it advisable.'"

Sets Up "Legal Clinic"

He said the proposal to provide an additional assistant attorney general with authority to institute civil actions for individuals in rights cases would "make a legal clinic" of the justice department for all who would seek free legal assistance.

"One amazing feature of this section of the bill is the fact that apparently it authorizes the attorney general to file a lawsuit in behalf of an individual without that individual's consent or even knowledge," he said.

Rep. Williams [D., Miss.] told the subcommittee the proposed legislation was "aimed at the white people of the south" to subject them to "persecution" by minority pressure groups.

Rips Racial Acts in North

He said southerners have enough allegations of racial discrimination in the north to "keep the commission busy for the next 112 000 years."

"I can assure you," he said, "we of the south could keep the commission so busy investigating allegations in your own back yard it won't have time to get south of the Potomac river."

For example, Williams said "we could intercede to learn why Mrs. [Franklin D.] Roosevelt discriminated against white people when she fired all the white members of the White House staff and replaced them with Negroes."

Re-settlement plan urged—

News P. 32

Andrews speaks against 'rights' bill

Thurs. 2-14-57

BY JAMES FREE, News Washington correspondent

B'ham, Ala.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 14—Rep. George Andrews (D., Ala.) told a House judiciary subcommittee that passage of pending civil rights bills would "help outside agitators who have caused all the racial trouble the South has had since the Supreme Court decision on school segregation."

The Alabamian said that, if the group wants to do something constructive to help Southern Negroes, it should urge passage of Andrews' bill to set up a "human re-settlement" program. This would provide long-term, low-interest loans to help dissatisfied persons move from one part of the country to another.

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ANDREWS SAID he did not think many Alabama Negroes would choose to move out under such a program, but that both Negroes and whites there would be helped by the departure of those who don't like the local laws, customs and traditions.

There is precedent for this kind of resettlement, Andrews said, in the transfer of "Oakies" from the "Dust Bowl" to the Far West and in the displaced persons program.

Chairman Emanuel Celler (D., N. Y.) of the judiciary committee protested that the displaced persons program was for "persecuted persons or for persecutees."

"Well," replied Andrews, "many people outside the South think that the Negroes down there are persecuted."

THE ALABAMIAN added that he does not think that many Alabama Negroes, or Southern Negroes, feel that they are being persecuted.

And he asked Chairman Celler if any Southern Negro has come to the committee in support of the proposed civil rights bills. There was some consultation with staff members, and the answer was "no."

(Fred Gray or M. L. King, Montgomery Negroes, who were leaders in the bus boycott in that city, have been expected to testify in favor of the civil rights bills. But so far neither has appeared. It is reported that they will testify before the Senate judiciary committee on the same subject later.)

BIAS BILL IS VOTED BY ALBANY SENATE

Times P. 24-C

Attorney General Would Get $100,000 for Prosecution of Civil-Rights Crimes

Thurs. 3-14-57

By CLAYTON KNOWLES

Special to The New York Times.

ALBANY, March 13—The State Senate divided along party lines today pass a bill giving the Attorney General $100,000 to prosecute civil rights violations. The vote was 37 to 20.

New York

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The action was taken after the Republican majority rejected by the same margin a Democratic move to give the State Commission Against Discrimination authority to initiate enforcement proceedings.

Senator Joseph Zaretski of Manhattan, the Democratic leader, charged the Republicans with using "pork barrel tactics" in refusing to expand commission authority while giving it to the Attorney General, Louis J. Lefkowitz, a Republican.

He said the $100,000 appropriation would mean "twenty jobs at $5,000 each—and the Democrats won't get one of them."

Both he and Senator James L. Watson of Manhattan, the Senate's only Negro member, defended Charles Abrams, the commission chairman, against the charge by Speaker Oswald D. Heck of the Assembly that Mr. Abrams was a "zealot" on the civil rights issue. Both contended Mr. Abrams merely was doing the job assigned to him.

Confusion Is Feared

Mr. Zaretski and other Democrats charged that, in giving the Attorney General an assignment that the commission should perform, the Republicans were impairing the commission's usefulness and creating confusion.

In defending the bill, which requires Assembly approval, Senator Walter J. Mahoney, the majority leader, said that the commission's appropriation, rather than being cut $45,000 as the Democrats charged, had been enlarged by $150,000.

He said that if the commission were given enforcement authority it might be misused.

Earlier in the day at his news conference, Governor Harriman said the bill undoubtedly would serve to "undermine" the commission. When asked if this indicated a veto, he said: "I don't make it a custom to threaten vetoes in advance."

Another bill approved by the Senate, also requiring Assembly concurrence, would permit Sunday sporting events to start at 1:05 P. M. They now cannot begin before 2 P. M. This has led to many baseball doubleheaders being concluded at a late hour. It passed by a vote of 51 to 4.

Still another measure that won approval and still needs Assembly action would strike at the Liberal party practice of designating its own members for public office and then, when the Democrats nominate, substituting the Democratic nominees.

This measure, sponsored by Senator Frank McCullough, Republican of Westchester, passed on a 37-20 party vote.

In the assembly, a concurrent resolution authorizing a $250,000,000 increase in the state debt for State University expansion was approved without dissent. If passed by the Senate, it will be submitted to the voters for approval this fall.

Republican absenteeism contributed to the temporary defeat in the Assembly of a bill to not require a house-to-house check on permanent personal registration in cities of 100,000 or less.

Rights Bill 'Showdown' Is Coming

Post-Herald
B'ham, Ala.
Wed. 3-13-57

Judiciary Committee Majority Wants It Before House Soon

P. 4

By JACK STEELE
Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

WASHINGTON, March 12—The House Judiciary Committee began a "showdown" drive today to report out a civil rights bill this week over the opposition of Southern segregationists.

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Chairman Emanuel Celler (D., N.Y.), said he will hold the committee in "continuous" daily sessions until it acts on the administration's civil rights program.

Southern committee members were reported to be ready to offer nearly 100 amendments to the bill—many of them obviously designed to delay action as long as possible.

But the committee's Northern majority, led by Chairman Celler and ranking GOP member Kenneth B. Keating (N.Y.), appeared confident that drafting of the bill will be completed this week—perhaps by Thursday.

House approval of the civil rights bill once it clears the judiciary committee is a foregone conclusion. A similar measure passed the House last year by about a two-to-one majority.

Major aim of the House drive is to send a civil rights bill to the Senate early in the session. The measure faces more formidable obstacles in the Senate, including the possibility of a filibuster on the floor.

An attempt also will be made today to get the civil rights bill before the Senate Judiciary Committee headed by Sen. James O. Eastland (D., Miss.).

Sen. Thomas C. Hennings Jr. (D., Mo), who heads a Senate subcommittee which also has completed hearings on the bill, will make the move.

He is expected, however, to run into a series of delaying moves led by Senator Eastland and other Southern members of the Senate group.

Civil rights advocates believe once the bill has passed the House they will be in a stronger position to pressure the Senate committee for action.

The administration's civil rights program already has been watered down slightly by a House judiciary subcommittee to make it more palatable to Southerners.

But committee members from Dixie are far from satisfied. Among the major changes they will propose in committee—and later again on the House floor—are amendments which would:

Guarantee jury trials for persons accused of criminal contempt for violating federal court orders.

Block federal courts from taking jurisdiction in civil rights cases until they have been passed upon by state or local courts.

Deny subpena powers to the Civil Rights Commission which would be set up under the bill to investigate complaints.

A hassle also is expected to develop over the elimination of the word "religion" from the subcommittee's draft of the bill. Some committee members want to restore the word to make certain that the bill will apply to discrimination on religious as well as racial grounds.

10 1957

FBI Report In Negro Vote Probe Cited At Odds With Testimony Of Louisianan

Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. P. 1
Tues. 2-26-57

WASHINGTON, Feb. 25 (AP)—The Justice Department today made public some FBI findings which the department said were at variance with testimony of a Louisiana official on the methods used in registering the state's Negro voters.

Asst. Atty. Gen. Warren Olney III said the FBI data indicates that testimony by Louisiana Atty. Gen. Jack P. Gremillion to a House Judiciary subcommittee "might have left a misleading impression in a number of respects."

Olney made public a letter to Chairman Celler (D-NY) who presided at hearings in which Gremillion testified against the Eisenhower administration's civil rights proposals. The subcommittee had requested information on FBI investigations into Louisiana voting registration practices.

A copy of Olney's letter went to Gremillion, who was advised that Olney and his staff "feel that some of the impressions left by your testimony were inconsistent with facts that we had in our files as a result of the investigations by the FBI into these same cases."

Olney noted that Gremillion had said "some difficulty with respect to voting" had occurred in Ouachita Parish but that he thought this was "more or less an exception," and that Louisiana should not be judged by that incident.

The Justice Department official asserted that the FBI had investigated the handling of registrations in 10 Louisiana parishes. He said it found a total of 8,552 Negroes had been challenged in those parishes when they tried to register to vote in the 1956 elections.

As for Ouachita Parish, Olney said there were some 4,000 registered Negro voters in early fall but that after a "purge" of such voters in October, "there were in excess of 3,000 Negro voters deprived of the right to vote in the general election of Nov. 6."

Olney challenged a number of Gremillion's statements item by item. One was the state attorney general's claim that persons seeking to register had a free choice in selecting the section of the U.S. Constitution they wished to interpret as part of an educational test.

"In none of the 10 parishes," Olney said, "is there any evidence that the registrar permitted the applicant to choose which clause of the Constitution he wishes to interpret."

"Specifically," Olney wrote the committee, "in the case arising from Ouachita Parish, the investigation by the FBI disclosed that the registrar of voters in examining applicants used a card on which was written an excerpt from the Constitution, which card was given to the registrar by the Citizens Council of Ouachita Parish."

Advertiser

COMPLETE RECORD

Gremillion had said that when a registered voter was challenged, the registrar forwards a complete record of the challenge to the registrant, including a reply form, giving him 10 days in which to appear and establish his right to remain on the rolls through supporting statements from three bonafide voters registered in the same parish.

P. 2-A

Olney said that in the areas investigated, this did not appear to be the general practice. In a half dozen parishes, he said, the registrars "did everything to discourage the filing of reply affidavits in the statutory form and generally refused them when offered."

Tues. 2-26-57

He reported that the FBI had found instances where the registrar had refused to accept white persons as supporting witnesses for Negro voters on the grounds that they were of a different race.

Olney said there appeared to be a concerted effort in October by White Citizens Councils in Louisiana and other Southern states to get Negro registrants off the rolls or to prevent their registration.

Civil Rights Backers Win March 5 Vote

Post-Herald B'ham, Ala.
Tues. 2-19-57

Supporters Succeed In Fight To End Hearing On Proposal

P. 1

WASHINGTON, Feb. 18 (AP)—Backers of civil rights legislation won a victory today in a 4-2 decision by a Senate Judiciary subcommittee to take a showdown vote on the bill March 5.

The subcommittee has been considering various proposals, mainly the legislation submitted for the Eisenhower administration by Atty. Gen. Brownell.

Today's vote was reported to have lined up Chairman Hennings (D., Mo.) of the subcommittee and Sens. O'Mahoney (D., Wyo.), Watkins (R., Utah) and Hruska (R., Neb.) in favor of cutting off hearings and taking a vote March 5. Opposed were Sens. Olin Johnston (D., S. C.) and Ervin (D., N. C.).

The legislation is aimed against what its sponsors call the deprivation of Negroes of their civil rights, including voting rights in some states. Southern critics have said it is unnecessary and would undercut states rights.

Last year the House passed a bill patterned after the administration's request, and a Senate judiciary subcommittee did likewise, but it never got out of the full Senate Judiciary Committee. The House didn't pass it until July 23, four days before Congress adjourned.

This year backers of the legislation moved early, in the hope of getting a bill before the Senate well ahead of adjournment, to weaken the force of an expected Southern filibuster.

If the Senate subcommittee approves a bill March 5 the legislation would still have to go through the full judiciary committee. The committee chairman is Sen. Eastland (D., Miss.) who opposes it.

Sens. Johnston and McClellan (D., Ark.) said they would call for public hearings by the full committee. Ervin said he would want the full committee to hold hearings if those held by the subcommittee were not adequate. He said it seems apparent that adequate subcommittee hearings could not be held in the time allotted.

Johnston said that the subcommittee majority, by limiting hearings, was "taking away the constitutional rights of the people, both colored and white, to be heard."

The House Judiciary committee plans to end its hearings on similar legislation by Feb. 26.

Some additional pressure was brought over the week-end when the new advisory Council of the Democratic Party, meeting at San Francisco, adopted a resolution urging Congress to pass civil rights legislation at this session.

The Eisenhower program calls for a federal commission to consider civil rights complaints, a new civil rights division in the Justice Department, and authority for the attorney general to bring injunctions to protect voting rights and other civil rights.

The Senate granted permission to the subcommittee to meet this afternoon, while the Senate was in session, although a single objection could have blocked this.

Ervin told the Senate the subcommittee action in cutting off hearings "would stand as a precedent for a majority of a subcommittee to practice tyranny."

He said the situation was "without precedent" but Sen. Dirksen (R., Ill.) said it has been rather common practice to set a cutoff on testimony on controversial legislation.

Cook Warns Rights Plan Would Lead To 'Gestapo'

Advertiser Thurs. 2-21-57 P. 1
Montgomery, Ala.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 20 (AP) — Georgia's attorney general today pictured President Eisenhower's civil rights program as leading to "a federal gestapo" that would cater to Negro pressure groups "inspired by the Communistic ideologies of the police state."

Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook said enactment of the bills would lead to intimidation of a majority of Americans "to appease the vociferous minorities" which have "now apparently wrested control of our government from the people."

Cook, in a 24-page brief filed at a public hearing of a Senate Judiciary subcommittee, didn't say just what "politically powerful minority pressure groups" he was accusing of police state leanings. But he indicated that one group he had in mind was the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People.

"Save only the Communist party," he said, "the most aggressive proponent of these civil rights measures is the NAACP."

Cook said the Eisenhower program would "inevitably destroy the states" and lead to the stirring up of civil rights litigation to justify the cost of a "new board of bureaucrats" which would oversee the program.

The Georgia official couldn't appear personally at the hearing on civil rights legislation. Confined to a hospital by a virus infection, he assigned an aide of Sen. Talmadge.

Charles J. Bloch of Macon, Ga., a past president of the Georgia Bar Assn., testified in opposition to the bills. He said he appeared

CIVIL RIGHTS BILL FURTHER WEAKENED

Commercial Appeal P. 1

Conservative Republicans, Dixie Democrats Pass On Two Amendments

Memphis, Tenn.

By MORRIS CUNNINGHAM
From The Commercial Appeal Washington Bureau

Fri. 3-15-57

WASHINGTON, March 14. A coalition of Southern Democrats and conservative Republicans Thursday stripped the proposed Federal Civil Rights Commission of its power to investigate "unwarranted economic pressure" against minorities.

The action came in the House Judiciary Committee as the Southerners continued their persistent battle to weaken the Administration's Civil Rights Bill with amendments, and marked their most important victory to date.

Fear FEPC Formation

Eight conservative Republicans joined with the 32-member committee's nine Southerners to adopt the amendment by a 17-to-14 vote.

The same coalition also put across an amendment barring the proposed commission from studying "economic" and "social" developments affecting civil rights.

A New York Republican, Representative William Miller, sponsored the amendments and was joined by seven other Republicans as well as the solid bloc of Southerners.

Proponents of the first amendment argued that investigations of "unwarranted economic pressure" could lead to a form of Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC) which could affect business nationwide.

Commercial

'Weakened Somewhat'

And on the second amendment they argued that if the

New Votes For Civil Rights

Worth Star-Tel. 3-2-57 P.8

(From The Christian Science Monitor)

For 70 years opponents of civil rights legislation have maintained a firm blockade in Congress. Often Southern Democrats have been able to sidetrack proposals in committee. Sometimes they have had Republican help in voting such measures down in one house or the other. As a last resort it has always been possible to stage a Senate filibuster. But at this moment political observers give the Eisenhower civil rights program a fair chance of success.

B'ham, Ala.

The President's vast prestige is a help. So is the fact that advocates are getting their bills started early in the first session of the new Congress. But the biggest reason for the changed situation flows from one of the most striking lessons of the 1956 election — Negro voters have become very important to both major parties. At the same time the civil rights question has become very important to many Negro voters.

While traditionally the Republican Party had appeared as the friend of the American Negro, all during the New Deal period the great bulk of the Negro vote went to Democrats. For Negroes became persuaded that the Democratic Party would do more to help them, through jobs, social security, or housing. Particularly for the rapidly growing Negro communities in northern industrial cities these things often loomed more important than civil rights legislation which appeared unlikely to make much change in their situation.

But there have been some changes. The Democrats have lost 18 per cent of the 1952 Negro vote, according to the Gallup Poll. In the North they retained a majority in that racial group, and civil rights was only one of the issues affecting those who did switch. But in the South — where about 500,000 Negroes voted — it was a prime consideration in a strong protest vote against segregation. In one or two states this vote is believed to have tipped the scales to the Republicans.

Possibly the most significant aspect of the situation is the growing and conscious independence of Negro voters. Their leaders are pointing out that they can get more consideration from both parties if neither takes them for granted. This attitude has begun already to produce results, especially among politicians in both parties in areas where a racial bloc can wield decisive weight at the polls.

Of course the civil rights issue appeals to millions of other voters, and the controversy over school desegregation has sharpened it up. It is going to be much more difficult for either party to escape a clear record on it in Congress. Already 35 Republican senators are lined up behind one bill embodying the Eisenhower program. Added to the Northern Democrats this should be enough. But devices of delay and diversion could block it once more unless the White House pushes firmly.

Offical P.7

bill is intended to assure voting rights to minorities it should not go far afield into economic and social matters.

Approval of the second amendment left the commission's field of studies limited to "legal developments" that deny equal protection of the laws.

And, generally, the two amendments limit it to investigating only allegations that citizens have been denied the right to vote because of color, race, religion or national origin.

The word "religion" was restored by another amendment. Its earlier deletino by a subcommittee has aroused strong protests in New York City.

Representative Kenneth B. Keating (R., N. Y.), ranking Republican on the Judiciary Committee and strong proponent of the Administration bill, conceded the two Dixie-backed amendments "weaken the bill somewhat."

Fri. 3-15-57

Assistants Limited

The Southerners were defeated in an effort to eliminate the commission's subpena powers. However, they did succeed in limiting its staff of unpaid assistants to not more than 15 at any one time.

Chairman Emanuel Celler (D., N. Y.), another advocate of the measure, had expressed hopes the committee would finish with the bill Thursday. But at the end of the day it had only gotten through the first part of the four-part measure.

Mr. Celler said he would try to get a final vote on the bill Friday. However, he arranged for the committee to meet all next week if it becomes necessary.

Thursday afternoon's session was adjourned early because Mr. Celler was unable to obtain a quorum.

Witch Hunting, Southern Style

Advertiser P.4-A

Fri. 2-15-57

Montgomery, Ala.

The bipartisan civil rights commission which the Administration proposes be authorized by Congress would have vast inquisitorial powers.

The bill which spells out the President's civil rights program sets out these duties of the commission:

The commission shall—

¶ Investigate the allegations that certain citizens of the United States are being deprived of their right to vote or are being subjected to unwarranted economic pressures by reason of their color, race, religion or national origin.

¶ Study and collect information concerning economic, social, and legal developments constituting a denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution . . .

In doing this, the commission would have the power of subpoena against any person in the U.S. who could be hailed to Washington or wherever the commission saw fit to "produce evidence if so ordered, or . . . give testimony touching the matter under investigation." Failure to comply would be punishable as contempt. The question of contempt would be decided by the district court of the jurisdiction in which the hearing or the alleged contempt takes place.

So far the outcry of the "liberals" who attacked the witch hunting of congressional committees investigating subversion and communist activities has been notably lacking. It all depends, apparently, on the kind of witches being hunted. There's no closed season on Southern witches.

Civil Rights Bill Bombarded By Southerners' Amendments

Commercial Appeal P.1

By MORRIS CUNNINGHAM

Memphis, Tenn.

From The Commercial Appeal Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, March 12—Southern Democrats began bombarding the Administration's civi lrights bill with amendments Tuesday as the committee began closed-door consideration of the measure.

Wed 3-13-57

The only two Southern amendments voted upon were defeated, but the Southerners gained another day in their general delaying tactics.

Armed with about 50 amendments, the Southerners are hopeful they can stave off a final vote until the end of this week.

They are confident this can be done unless Chairman Emanuel Celler (D., N. Y.), a strong advocate of the measure, shuts off debate.

Representatives J. B. Frazier Jr. (D., Tenn.) and E. L. Forrester (D., Ga.), leaders of the Southern group, were encouraged that the two amendments defeated Tuesday lost by only a 15 to 10 margin.

The committee's 32 members includes only eight Southern Democrats and one Florida Republican.

Strict Regulation

One of the amendments would have struck out all sections of the bill except the one that would create a Federal civil rights commission to air racial grievances.

The other would have prescribed strict rules for the commission in its investigations of "unwarranted economic pressures" on persons because of their race or color. It would have required persons accused of such actions to be given a copy of the charges against them at least 48 hours before a hearing.

When the committee broke up, it was considering another amendment by Representative Robert Ashmore (D., S. C.) which would have specified no one would be required to leave his state, without his own consent, to appear before the commission.

'Still Too Broad'

Originally, the Administration measure would have permitted witnesses or accused persons to be called from anywhere in the nation. A subcommittee, however, amended this to limit the commission's subpena powers to Federal judicial circuits.

Mr. Ashmore argued, however, this is still too broad since the Federal judicial circuits embrace several states apiece. Tennessee, for instance, is in a circuit that also includes Kentucky, Ohio and Michigan.

Mr. Forrester said the Southerners are basing their amendments on legal arguments rather than emotional attacks.

"All of the amendments we are offering are meritorious," he said, "and they (the bills proponents) can't brush them off.

Respect Is Cited

"They are suddenly respecting the amendments we are offering. They may not vote for them, but at least they are understanding that we are approaching this issue as lawyers and not as politicians."

Mr. Forrester said the objective of the Southerners is to try to convince the bill's proponents the measure would affect not just race matters in the South, but that it actually would jeopardize constitutionally-guaranteed rights of citizens everywhere in the nation.

Still to be considered is an amendment to guarantee defendants in contempt of court cases the right of trial by jury. The bill's failure to provide this guarantee already has raised serious questions in the minds of some of its supporters.

A report—prepared by the committee counsel with Justice Department assistance—discussing the legal questions involved in the bill's denial of trial by jury in contempt cases was presented to the committee members for study.

Also pending is a non-Southern amendment to restore "religion" as one of the prohibited reasons for violating another persons civil rights.

A storm of protest arose in New York City after the subcommittee, headed by Mr. Celler and including no Southerners, struck this, leaving only "race" and "color."

Representative Lester Holtzman (D., N. Y.), sponsor of the amendment to restore "religion" to satisfy the complaints from New York, has since suffered a heart attack and is now hospitalized. His office said he will have to remain in the hospital for six weeks.

However, Representative Kenneth B. Keating (R., N. Y.), one of the four New Yorkers on the subcommittee, said he will submit Mr. Holtzman's amendment.

From the House Judiciary Committee, the Administration measure will go to the House Rules Committee, the House floor, the Senate Judiciary Committee, and the Senate floor, in that order. Southerners have served notice they will fight it all along the route.

10 1957

Dropping Word 'Religion' in Rights Bill Stirs Fight by Both Sides in Congress

Constitution Fri. 3-8-57 Atlanta Ga.

P. 5

By C. P. TRUSSELL

(Copyright 1957 by The New York Times Co.)

WASHINGTON, March 7 — A new fight has broken out in Congress over the civil rights program. It is over the elimination by a House Judiciary subcommittee of the word "religion" from the measure it has approved.

Originally the bill would assign a proposed six-member commission to investigate allegations of denials of rights to citizens because of color, race, religion, or national origin. Elimination of "religion" was acompanied by arguments on both sides.

The action was taken at an executive session of the subcommittee, headed by Rep. Celler (D-NY). Members, in the light of closed session debate and decision, are reluctant to discuss what happened in the subcommittee room. But as a storm broke over the decision this much came out:

1. That this civil rights bill is not a fair employment practices measure, such as had failed to pass in Congress before, and the move now is to "get something through."

2. That it is directed largely at giving voting rights to all citizens in all sections of the country.

3. That trying to cure all of the ills of discrimination with one fell swoop wrote defeat on the bill.

The word "religion" was proposed, not in Congress, but by a suggested draft sent to the Capitol from the executive branch, it was said.

There appears to be a strong feeling within the Celler subcommittee that the injection of "religion" into the legislation will open the door to adoption of an amendment that might seek to give the proposed commission authority in labor disputes, discriminations because of sex, and other matters not contemplated by the civil rights program.

An attempt to restore "religion" to the bill will be made, perhaps next Tuesday when the full Judiciary Committee meets again to study the subcommittee's bill. Celler also heads the full committee. He said tonight that he would try to restore the religious element. But he said he is not certain that it would be reinstated.

Rep. Keating (R-NY), author of the original bill backed by the administration, said he believes the full Judiciary Committee will put the word "religion" back into the bill. If it does not, he added, he will support any amendment that would call for its reinstatement.

Meanwhile it was charged from congressional sidelines that the deletion of the word "religion" is "an appeasement" to Southern Democrats who oppose the civil rights legislation in an attempt to soften their opposition.

It was said, too, that including the word "religion" might draw opposition from various religious denominations who conduct their own schools. It was suggested they might be intruded upon if the religious element is brought under possible civil rights "policing."

Sponsors of the legislation contend that this could not happen, as the commission would be only an advisory group with no enforcement powers.

Individual members of the House Judiciary Committee have received direct telegraphed pleas from the American Jewish Congress and other organizations to restore the religious phase to the legislation.

South Gains More Time in Rights Fight

Constitution Wed. 3-6-57 Atlanta Ga.

P. 1

By ALBERT RILEY

Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, March 5—Southern congressmen won another week's respite today as they relentlessly waged a delaying action against civil rights legislation.

The House Judiciary Committee, headed by Rep. Celler (D-NY), had been expected to approve the administration's civil rights bill at a closed meeting today. But the committee agreed to postpone action until next Tuesday at the request of the Southern minority.

By winning this additional skirmish, the Southerners now appear to be gaining a glimmer of hope that they may yet be able to prevent passage of the bill at this session of Congress.

One of the leaders and top strategists of the Dixie forces is Rep. E. L. (Tic) Forrester of Leesburg. Ever since Congress convened in January, Forrester has been rallying his Southern colleagues in an effort to get them to throw off a defeatist attitude.

The outlook is still for eventual passage of the bill which not only has President Eisenhower's support but strong bipartisan backing from the North and West.

But the Southerners have bought time and obviously hope to delay House action long enough so that the legislation may again be sucessfully bottled up in the Senate as it was last session.

When Congress met in January, Rep. Celler and his Republican colleague from New York, Rep. Keating, were openly predicting House passage of civil rights before the end of February.

There was even talk that no public hearings would be necessary since the ground was covered at the last session.

DIXIE WITNESSES P. 7

But the Southerners managed to get hearings and bring witnesses to air the Dixie opposition to the bills. And then they got the hearings extended before Celler's subcomittee finally voted out the administration bill to the whole committee.

Today's action means that the House committee will not act before March 12, and at that time amendments will be in order.

Then the bill must go to the Rules Committee, headed by a Virginian, Rep. Howard Smith.

AFTER EASTER

It is conceivable now that House floor action might be put off until after the customary Easter recess.

Meanwhile the Senate Constitutional Rights subcommittee wound up civil rights hearings with testimony by Sen. Richard L. Neuberger (D-Ore) and Gov. James P. Coleman of Mississippi. However, it left open the record until Friday to permit additional statements.

Coleman said the administration's proposals would be "a continuous source of agitation, uproar, tumult and domestic discord—and the intended beneficiary will be its first victim."

BASIC RIGHTS

But Neuberger said a federal law appeared necessary because Southern legislatures would not protect the "basic rights of colored citizens."

He said that when he sponsored similar legislation in the Oregon Legislature "it was recklessly predicted . . . that it would lead to strife between the races, to wholesale desertion of jobs by white workers and to industrial chaos."

"None of these wild prophecies ever materialized," Neuberger said.

EASTLAND FLAYS BILL ON RIGHTS AS 'MONSTROUS'

Times-Picayune New Orleans La. P. 1

Lists Amendments He Will Offer in Senate

Tues 3-5-57

By EDGAR POE

(Times-Picayune Staff Correspondent)

WASHINGTON, March 4—The chairman of the Senate judiciary committee Monday strongly assailed pending civil rights proposals as a bold attempt to strike at the liberty of the American people.

Describing the provisions of the pending bills as "monstrous," Sen. James O. Eastland said the far-reaching measures are designed to deprive Southern people of the right of trial by jury, the right to be confronted by their accusers and the right to cross-examine any witnesses who may appear against them.

The Mississippian issued a statement setting forth his position in the controverial proposals which are now being considered by Senate and House subcommittees. The senator has expressed the belief that the Senate may this session invoke cloture that would shut off debate, thus permitting a direct vote on the bills. The civil rights bills appear fairly certain of House passage as they did in 1956 when they died in the Senate.

Plans Amendments

Asserting that nothing so far reaching was ever attempted in the Reconstruction era following the War Between the States, as is attempted under the pending bills, Sen. Eastland said he plans to offer a series of amendments that would water them down. He said such far-reaching proposals were never attempted in Germany under Hitler or in Russia under Stalin.

"While we have a large number of conscientious men on the district federal court benches," said Sen. Eastland, "it is unfortunate that these courts are not completely filled with judges who can be trusted to use their considerable power at all times with judicial restraint. These bills contain too much power to give to any group of men. No good man would want it, and no bad man should have it.

"No individual should ever be permitted to serve as prosecutor, judge, jury and executioner. No people can be free when the judge becomes lawmaker, prosecutor, judge, jury and executioner.

Series of Charges

"I shall oppose these bills in their entirety. As chairman of the Senate judiciary committee, I shal loffer a series of amendments. These amendments will provide: 1. In order to prevent abuses there must be probably cause of criminal acts to initiate proceedings under the bills and not the unsupported affidavit of a racial agitator, imported troublemaker or political opportunist. 2. The government of the United States shall not be a party to any such proceedings. 3. No injunsction, temporary or permanent, shall be issued without notice, hearing and the right to trail by jury. 4. No person shall be convicted of contempt without being accorded the right of trial by jury.

Times-Picayune

"These amendments, if adopted, will remove a part of the iniquities of the civil rights proposals. Even so, they will remain very vicious instruments of oppression and must and will be fought to the finish. I am very aprehensive that we will see attempted in many parts of the South what already has happened in the judicial proceedings at Clinton, Tenn. It appears that at Clinton, an attempt is being made to intimidate by the abuse of the powers to arrest the people of that area, and in addition, to deny them freedom of speech and freedom of assembly.

Trial By Jury P. 2

"I hope no attempt will be made to deprive the accused there of the right of trial by jury. Such efforts are adhorent to all decent Americans.

"Even if trial by jury should be obtained in these proceedings, nonetheless, through the abuse of powers of arrest, the right of free speech and of freedom of assembly still would have been effectively destroyed at Clinton, Tenn. However, the procedures at Clinton are merely a prelude to what is planned for every section of the South if these monstrous legislative proposals are enacted. And they will, although aimed at the South, can be used in the hands of evil men to oppress other minority groups, racial and religious, in other sections of the country."

Tues 3-5-57

Civil Rights Dispute Centers On Right Of Negroes To Vote

Commercial Appeal P. 30

Brownell Tells Senator Ervin What Might Happen If Bills Are Passed—Argument Unsettled—Issues Will Be Debated Again

Thurs. 3-7-57

Special to The Commercial Appeal

WASHINGTON, March 6.—What is the Southern case against President Eisenhower's civil rights proposals?

Memphis, Tenn.

Backers of the measures contend Southern opposition simply is an emotional resistance to change in the sensitive area of Negro-white relations. But opponents say Administration bills designed to protect civil rights of minorities actually would endanger the constitutional rights of all Americans.

Understandably, most of the comment in the North and South has been about the main goal of the proposals — assuring the Southern Negro's right to vote, says Congressional Quarterly, a private research organization.

But when Senator Sam J. Ervin Jr. (D., N.C.), a former state Supreme Court justice, and Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell Jr. debated the measures for three days before the Senate Judiciary Constitutional Rights Subcommittee, they argued not about the goals of the legislation but about its procedures.

In the protracted questioning, Senator Ervin obtained Mr. Brownell's agreement to a description of what might happen if the bills were passed:

John Jones seeks to register to vote and is asked a number of questions by the registrar, acting under the provision of the Constitution that gives his state the authority to fix "qualifications" for its voters. His application to register is refused.

Could Intervene

The attorney general hears of the incident and suspects the registration procedure has been used to deny Jones the right to vote "on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude" in violation of the 14th Amendment.

The attorney general, under the proposed legislation, could intervene in the situation, with or without Jones' permission. He could, in fact, intervene before Jones even tried to register if he thought the registrar was "about" to deny Jones his rights.

Without regard to the administrative or judicial procedures provided by the state for determining voting rights, the attorney general could ask the Federal District Court to consider Jones' case.

He could seek, and the Federal Court could grant, an injunction ordering the state to permit Jones to register and vote. The injunction could be granted on the basis of affidavits only, without an opportunity for either side to present evidence or cross-examine witnesses.

Could Be Summoned

If the registrar still refused to permit Jones to vote, he could be summoned before the Federal judge who issued the injunction and tried for contempt of court, without the grand jury indictment or petit jury trial guaranteed in ordinary criminal procedures.

Mr. Brownell called this "one extremity" to which the requested legislation could be pushed. "We are, however, faced with the fact that without this authority in the Federal Government people are disenfranchised en masse by reason of their color."

Granting this new authority, Mr. Brownell said, would spare future attorneys general the duty of undertaking "unduly harsh" criminal prosecutions against "respected local officials" who deny Negroes the right to vote.

"No amount of criminal punishment" after the election, he added, "can rectify the harm which the national interest suffers when citizens are illegally kept from the polls."

What about the state's interests under the Constitution? asked Senator Ervin. "Don't the provisions in these bills contribute very much to the theory that the states ought to be destroyed instead of preserved?"

"At the present time," Mr. Brownell said, "all we can do in this area is to use the criminal sanctions against state and local officials. That does not contribute to the proper functioning of our Federal system."

Argument Unsettled

"In doing what you consider to be legally righteous," Senator Ervin observed, "you would supplant existing remedies which give him (the election official) a right to be . . . indicted by a grand jury and tried before a petit jury and be confronted and have the right to cross-examine his accusers."

"You would rather have us send him to jail than to get an injunction against him?" Mr. Brownell asked.

"I would rather have a man given an opportunity to have the spirit and the letter of his constitutional rights promoted," said Ervin.

Their argument was left unsettled Feb. 16, but the issues will be debated again when—and if—the Senate considers the civil rights bills.

First Step For Civil Rights

Journal & Guide Sat. 3-9-57 Norfolk, Va. P. 1

From The New York Herald Tribune

With the approval of a House Judiciary subcommittee the Administration's civil rights program has passed its first—and easiest—test in Congress. Its supporters plan to bring the bill to a floor vote in the House by the middle of this month, and, if last year's voting is repeated, they will win. This is an encouraging prospect, for passage of the civil rights bill in this session of Congress depends on an early start. If it can get through the House, and out of Senate committee in good season, there will be that much less chance of a last-ditch filibuster by Southern Senators.

It is, of course, in the Senate that this bill will face its most serious obstacles. There is not only the threat of a filibuster, but there is the Senate Judiciary Committee, of which Senator Eastland of Mississippi is chairman. Through this committee the civil rights bill must pass. Senator Eastland succeeded in blocking a similar bill last year. In fact, no civil rights bill has been reported out of the Judiciary Committee since 1949. Hearings are being held on the bill by a Judiciary subcommittee and will end next week, but the full committee has yet to consider it. Civil rights advocates believe that a majority of the committee is on their side. Nevertheless, Senator Eastland wields great power. It would be foolish to underestimate him.

There has already been much testimony on this bill, particularly from Southern officials. Some of it has been conscientious and some of it hysterical. None of it, however, can obscure the moderate and constructive nature of the civil rights program. It would do no more than protect the voting rights of "minority" citizens, and especially of Southern Negroes. "It is intended," in President Eisenhower's words, "to preserve rights without arousing passions, and without disturbing the rights of anybody else."

The point is that although the states are responsible for the voting procedure, the Federal government has an equal interest in the exercise of the franchise, and equal jurisdiction in protecting it. So much, then, for Southern arguments that civil rights legislation would "invade" states' rights. The fact that thousands of Southern Negroes were prevented by local pressures from voting in the election last fall is surely a more relevant subject in this controversy. This is what citizens of this country think about when civil rights legislation is discussed. Congress should, too.

Senate Fight Now Shaping—

Post-Herald P. 34

South Has Delayed 'Rights,' Says Selden

Thurs. 3-7-57

B'ham, Ala.

BY GENE WORTSMAN

Post-Herald Correspondent

WASHINGTON, March 6—Southern congressmen have already delayed civil rights action from House passage, Rep. Armistead Selden Jr. (D., Ala.) said.

But he admitted that House approval is just a matter of time.

"It is no secret here on Capitol Hill," he said, "that at the beginning of the session an agreement was reached by leaders of both parties to allow early passage of a civil rights bill by the House . . .

"Feb. 15 was set as the deadline . . .

"Although the odds are stacked heavily against us," he declared, "Southern members of Congress have refused to capitulate . . . (our) demands . . . resulted in hearings that have extended over a period of more than a month."

Selden said "behind the scenes" maneuvers are continuing.

He pointed out that even after the House Judiciary Committee approves the bill, the House Rules Committee will slow it down again.

Two Southerners play important roles on the rules committee.

They are Chairman Howard Smith (D., Va.) and Rep. J. P. Colmer (D., Miss.), Selden said.

"Yet," he added, "even the most avid opponents of the legislation realize that it cannot be delayed indefinitely . . .

"They also realize that, since House debate is limited, the measure finally will receive House approval . . .

"The hope for its defeat lies in the rules of the Senate which permits extended debate," Selden said. "Southern senators already are preparing for an all-out fight."

10 1957

Cook and Bloch Warn Congress Of 'Gestapo' Peril in Rights Bills

Constitution Thurs. 2-21-57 Atlanta, Ga.
P. 1

WASHINGTON, Feb. 20—Spokesmen for the State of Georgia denounced the civil rights programs today as being prospective instruments for "a federal Gestapo" operating under pressures from minority groups.

The hospitalized attorney general of that state, Eugene Cook, sent a lengthy and scathing statement to the Senate consitutional rights subcommittee. Charles J. Bloch, a specialist in constitutional law, appeared on request from Gov. Marvin Griffin.

Bloch also is first vice president of Georgia's States' Rights Council. For hours he cited Supreme Court and northern state court decisions to support his predictions that the pending legislation would be held unconstitutional if enacted.

Further, he held it would give

By C. P. TRUSSELL

(Copyright 1957 by The New York Times Co.)

the U.S. attorney general powers unusual in that office. He contended it would allow harassment of individuals and business houses, even though the individual allegedly discriminated against had not requested such legal support.

The decision as to when or whether the proposed law would operate, Bloch contended, would rest with a nod from the attorney general, no matter who he might be, in present or incoming administrations.

There was an interruption of Bloch's morning and afternoon testimony. Sen. Dirksen (R-Ill) appeared as a surprise witness. Dirksen urged that the proposed powers of an attorney general be increased rather than lessened.

Supported by 37 other senators, he proposed that an attorney general, present or in the future, be permitted to step into any case where coercion or intimidation might have crept in to defeat the spirit of the civil rights laws. He made other recommendations for a strengthening of enforcement powers.

Attorney General Cook's statement warned of intimidation from minority blocs that "have now apparently wrested control of our government from the people." He intimated that one such bloc was the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

"Save only the Communist Party," he stated, "the most ag-

Committee voted 18 to 0 to pass the bill outlawing integration in Georgia baseball and other sports and entertainment activities.

Constitution P. 10

Rep. Frank Cheatham of Chatham, one of several committee members who abstained from voting on Rep. Carl Cloud's motion to pass the measure, led an unsuccessful attempt to have the bill relegated to a subcommittee.

Opponents of the bill declared that it would deal a death blow to the South Atlantic League, a Class A baseball organization with teams in Macon, Augusta, Savannah and Columbus. Some 10 or 12 Negroes play in the league.

Rep. Colbert Hawkins, administration floor leader in the House, argued for passage of the bill and said "the governor wants it."

Rep. M. M. (Muggsy) Smith said that Earl Mann, owner and president of the Atlanta Crackers, will confer with Gov. Griffin on the bill Thursday morning. He said that Mann had been "worried" about the consequences of the bill and that Wednesday Mann was contacted by representatives of two major league teams and by George Trautman, president of the nation's minor league organization.

"They are all worried about it," he said.

GEORGIA ATTACKS CIVIL RIGHTS PLAN

Times 2-21-57 New York

At Senate Hearing, Officials Call Program Instrument for 'Federal Gestapo'

Thurs. 2-21-57

By C. P. TRUSSELL

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 20—Spokesmen for the State of Georgia denounced the civil rights programs today as being prospective instruments for "a Federal Gestapo" operating under pressures from minority groups.

The Attorney General of that state, Eugene Cook, sent a lengthy statement to the Senate Constitutional Rights Subcommittee. Charles J. Bloch, of Macon, Ga., a specialist in constitutional law, appeared on request from Gov. Marvin Griffin. Mr. Cook is in a hospital with a virus infection.

Mr. Bloch also is first vice president of Georgia's States' Rights Council. He cited Supreme Court and northern state court decisions to support his predictions that the pending legislation would be hled unconstitutional if enacted.

Further, he held that it would give the United States Attorney General powers unusual in that office. He contended it would allow harassment of individuals and business houses, even though the individual allegedly discriminated against had not requested such legal support.

The decision as to when or whether the proposed law would operate, Mr. Bloch said, would rest with the Attorney General.

Dirksen Is A Witness

There was an interruption of Mr. Bloch's morning and afternoon testimony. Senator Everett M. Dirksen, Republican of Illinois, appeared as a surprise witness. Mr. Dirksen urged that the proposed powers of the United States Attorney General be increased rather than lessened.

Supported by thirty-seven other Senators, he proposed that an Attorney General, present or in the future, be permitt— to step into any case where coercion or intimidation might creep in to defeat the spirit of the civil rights laws. He made other recommendations for a strengthening of enforcement powers.

Mr. Cook's statement warned of intimidation from minority blocs that "have now apparently wrested control of our government from the people." He intimated that one such bloc was the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

"Save only the Communist party," he stated, "the most aggressive proponent of these civil rights measures is the N.A.A.C.P."

Hennings at White House

Mr. Block contented that the proposed law would lead to "a Government by injunction." For years, he said, Congress had been stepping away from wholesale applications of injunctions against this or that practice, and had tried to settle problems with a minimum use of injunctions.

Mr. Cook declared that enactment of the civil rights program would destroy the rights of sovereign states. Mr. Block agreed. So did Senator Sam J. Ervin Jr., Democrat of North Carolina, who sat as temporary chairman at the morning hearing.

Senator Thomas C. Hennings Jr., Democrat of Missouri, the chairman, had been called to the White House conference on the Middle East situation.

Mr. Cook held that the proposed commission assigned to the investigation of civil rights violation complaints, though bipartisan, could hold needless inquiries. The hearings would tarnish those called before it even though there was no foundation for the charges against them, he insisted.

The commission, he said would have to pry, perhaps publicly, into the affairs of states and their citizens, "and intimidate a majority of our citizens."

Georgian sees threat of 'gestapo' in civil rights

News B'ham, Ala. Wed. 2-20-57

WASHINGTON, Feb. 20—(AP)—Georgia Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook said today the Eisenhower administration's civil rights program would "inevitably destroy the states" and result in creation of "a federal Gestapo."

"Save only the Communist Party," he said, "the most aggressive proponent of these civil rights measures is the NAACP (National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People)."

COOK

Cook said enactment of the legislation would lead to the intimidation of "a majority of our citizens solely to appease the politically powerful minority pressure groups inspired by the Communistic ideologies of the police state."

Confined to a hospital by a virus infection, Cook was unable to appear personally before a Senate judiciary subcommittee conducting hearings on the administration's proposals.

However, a 24-page brief prepared by Cook was filed with the subcommittee by an aid of Sen. Talmadge (D., Ga.).

Eisenhower's program calls for the creation of a six-member commission to investigate complaints of civil rights violations, the establishment of a civil rights division in the Justice Department, and authority for the federal government to seek injunctions and other civil remedies to protect voting rights and other civil rights.

Associated Press Wirephoto

DECRIES HURRY-UP

Sen. Ervin

Rights Panel

Constitution

Hearing Will End March 5

Atlanta Ga. Tues 2-19-57

By C. P. TRUSSELL

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P. 1

WASHINGTON, Feb. 18 — A Senate subcommittee taking testimony on civil rights bills voted 2-to-1 today to terminate hearings March 5.

The constitutional rights panel of the Judiciary Committee, headed by Sen. Hennings (D-Mo), thus made impotent the recent addition of two Southern members.

The fight on civil rights legislation has been going on for years. The House has passed civil rights bills but the Senate has not.

UNDER SENATE RULES

Senate rules permit filibuster. This is the exercise of the privilege of unlimited debate to talk a bill to death by delaying voting to a point where it is abandoned to get general legislative programs and required appropriations through Congress.

Today's subcommittee action was taken as the Eisenhower administration was pressing hard for the enactment of civil rights measures. Nearly 20 bills were before Congress. It seemed the administration would accept any one of them, in a pinch.

The fight was getting bitter. It appeared the Hennings subcommittee was in control. And its two new members, Democratic Senators Johnston of South Carolina and Ervin of North Carolina, seemed ineffective against the civil rights tide.

MUST FACE COMMITTEE

However, even though, as expected, the Hennings subcommittee approves a civil rights bill, the measure still must face the full Judiciary Committee. This is headed by Sen. Eastland (D-Miss), unrelenting foe of any civil rights measure.

Johnston and Ervin indicated they would demand that the full committee hold hearings that would provide "adequate" testimony. They held that the Hennings panel had not given this.

Ervin and Johnston complained they were at early breakfasts

when the news came that the Hennings panel was about to vote on a limitation of hearings. Ervin didn't stop to shave.

Hennings implied that the subcommittee hearings were nearing a point of filibuster. The vote was taken, with four proponents of civil rights legislation drowning out the two new Southerners on the panel.

Long lists of Southern governors, attorneys general and Southern experts on the Constitution were clamoring to be heard. If all were heard, it was suggested by some proponents of civil rights, the hearings might last the entire current session of Congress, and perhaps longer.

Leaders meanwhile were giving a long-distance look at prospects of perhaps a record filibuster if civil rights legislation reached the Senate floor, and what it could do to the legislative program.

In some high quarters it was estimated that a filibuster, if one set in, might last from four to six weeks. Conceding that such an event would mean a hard setback to other legislation, it was figured that if a filibuster set in not later than May 1 it could be overridden with time left for a clean-up of the general legislative program.

There was an outburst on the Senate floor this afternoon. Sen. Johnson of Texas, Democratic floor leader, asked unanimous consent for a meeting of the Hennings subcommittee while the Senate was in session.

Recently there have been Southern objections to such meetings.

Democratic Council Asks Congress To Pass 'Rights' Laws This Term

SAN FRANCISCO, Feb. 17—The Democratic Advisory Council today issued its first series of pronunciamentos since it won from the party's national committee full powers to formulate and interpret Democratic policies between conventions.

The body, new to the American political scene, acting theoretically on behalf of the nation's many millons of Democrats, called upon Democratic members of Congress to enact civil rights legislation at this session.

It deplored the Eisenhower administration's conduct of foreign policy and the President's Middle East resolution on prevention of Communist aggression as failing to meet the problems in that area.

In a third statement it recommended favorable committee action on statehood for Alaska and Hawaii, followed by granting of statehood by Congress "without undue delay."

Paul M. Butler, Democratic national chairman, announced the appointment of a five-member steering committee for the council that appeared to have a liberal, pro-civil rights complexion.

Its makeup includes one from the deep south—National Committeeman Camille F. Gravel Jr. of Louisiana, chairman of the Southern Conference of members of the national committee.

His colleagues on the steering committee, which, as the name implies, will direct the organization of details and the staff of the council, will be Adlai E. Stevenson, the party's nominee for president in 1952 and 1956; Gov. Harriman of New York, Gov. Williams of Michigan, and national committeeman Paul Ziffren of California.

The council had considered its statements at two sessions, behind closed doors, since the Democratic National Committee gave the body its blessing Friday morning.

Chairman Butler informed reporters that the civil rights resolution had been adopted with one dissenting vote. He said Mrs. Lennard Thomas of Alabama had opposed the adoption of any statement on civil rights "whether it conforms to the 1956 party platform or not."

Butler refused to interpret the resolution as meaning the council was "prodding members of Congress" into action.

"The council," he suggested, "is advising all Democrats of the policy of our party in these areas."

In response to a further query he said it remained to be "determined how the resolution would be greeted in congressional quarters." The Democratic leadership in Congress has rejected invitations to council membership.

PENDING LEGISLATION

The civil rights legislation that the resolution called for was "pending legislation introduced by Democratic members in their unflagging efforts to eliminate discriminations of all kinds in relation to the right to vote and to engage in gainful occupations; and the other specific discriminations mentioned in the planks on civil rights embodied in Democratic platforms."

The 1956 platform plank mentioned specifically, in addition to discriminations in voting and accupations, those relating to "security of the person" and "education in all publicly supported institutions." The party's convention in Chicago by voice vote refused to demand implementation of Supreme Court decisions outlawing segregation in public schools and banning segregation in transportation. The council's recommendations thus were considered to be within the framework of the 1956 platform.

Butler said he felt the resolution did "no violence" to the Democratic party.

DISAGREE ON ISSUES

"We can disagree on an issue without being disagreeable," he asserted. "That was clear in the council meeting when Mrs. Thomas firmly registered her opposition to any civil rights resolution."

He added that "no member of the Democratic party" would be justifying exception to the resolution as drafted.

Both this resolution and the foreign affairs statement were critical of President Eisenhower. The latter statement commended Democrats in Congress for their "searching examination" of events that had brought affairs "to this unhappy state."

As Stevenson had done in a speech last night at a $50-a-plate dinner the statement accused the American press, as well as the administration, of failure to report the facts fully.

Arkansans Warn Of Chaos, Lash At Civil Rights Program

By MORRIS CUNNINGHAM

From The Commercial Appeal Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, Feb. 25.—Atty. Gen. Bruce Bennett of Arkansas declared Monday proposed civil rights legislation "would create chaos in every state in the nation."

He said the Administration's four-point program in particular would "give further power to Washington" and is "bad legislation."

Mr. Bennett and J. L. Shaver of Wynne, Ark., a former lieutenant governor of the state, were among witnesses testifying before a House Judiciary Subcommittee.

The seven-member subcommittee—which includes no Southerners—is slated to end its hearings Tuesday. It is scheduled to meet in executive session Wednesday and at that time is almost certain to approve the Administration's program and to start it on its way through the House and Senate.

'Loose Wording' Claimed

Mr. Bennett said one proposal is "so loosely worded" that police officers will hesitate to make arrests for fear of violating the arrested person's civil rights.

He urged the subcommittee to seek testimony on this possibility from FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, the National Police Officers Association, and the National Sheriffs Association.

"A criminal would merely have to call upon the Federal Government to proceed against the local officer, on some trumped-up charge," Mr. Bennett said, "and could thereby intimidate any officer who dared arrest him.

"The penitentiaries and jails of our country are filled with 'guardhouse lawyers' and this bill would be a godsend to every confirmed criminal behind bars."

He said some police officers already are becoming apprehensive about arresting Negroes for fear of becoming involved in civil rights proceedings.

Opposed By Association

Representative Byron G. Rogers (D., Colo.), a member of the subcommittee, noted that the National Police Officers Association is opposed to the proposed legislation.

Mr. Bennett said police must question suspects for long periods of time and "once in a while" must use clubs. This "practical" police method, he said, would be obstructed by the proposed legislation.

Representative Kenneth B. Keting (R., N. Y.) said he did not believe such practices were widespread.

"I agree they don't stomp them and beat them to death," Mr. Bennett responded, "but they question them and once in a while hit them—they've got to get the information."

Mr. Bennett said he knew of no disenfranchisement of Negro voters in his state and he said there has been no racial violence in Arkansas even though three school districts have desegregated.

"The people of Arkansas are industrious, peace-loving, and have a sincere desire to work out the problems generated by the desegregation decision of 1954," he said. "The responsible people of this state are making progress. I can, with all good conscience, say neither Arkansas nor any other state needs this legislation. We feel it would be a further encroachment by the Federal Government and would be harmful to the progress that is being made in Arkansas and in the south."

Would Hurt School Boards

Mr. Shaver, introduced by Representative E. C. Gathings (D., Ark.), said the legislation would "absolutely destroy the rights of local school boards to operate the schools as they see fit."

"If we're allowed to proceed in our own way," he said, "I think we can do a lot better job than the Federal courts could do."

Representative Rogers agreed "It's a judge-made law that presents us with the integration problem." But he asked whether it would be more orderly for Congress to enact legislation dealing with the problem or to leave it to the Federal courts.

"We don't need any legislation," Mr. Shaver replied. He noted the Supreme Court itself stressed "equitable" and "flexible" handling of the school desegregation problem and allowed for it to be solved "with all deliberate speed."

He said the solution must "come from the hearts of the people" and cannot be legislated. "If it is done with legislation," Mr. Shaver said, "it will take a police state to carry it out."

He said Gov. Faubus had asked him to tell the subcommittee that "we have peace and harmony in Arkansas." And, also, that the state has just raised taxes to provide another 15 million dollars for public schools.

Texan Hits Legislation

Davis Grant, assistant Texas attorney general, called the civil rights proposals "basically bad legislation that would exercise a corrosive effect on the rights of states."

With the appearance of the Texan, every Southern state has now presented a spokesman opposing the legislation.

Representative James C. Davis (D., Ga.), another witness, called the bills "unconstitutional, absurd, and unnecessary."

The Georgian, under questioning, declined to say whether he intends to file impeachment proceedings in the House against six United States Supreme Court justices as recommended by both houses of the Georgia Legislature.

Subcommittee Chairman Emanuel Celler (D., N. Y.) said the Georgia Legislature "went too far" and that such a motion has "no chance" of passing the House.

Later in the day, members of the Georgia congressional delegation announced they would not attempt the impeachment action.

Final Action Delayed In Two Civil Rights Hearinas

Defender Sat. 2-16-57 Chicago, Ill. P. 1

NEW ORLEANS — (INS) — Courts in Louisiana and Alabama last week delayed final action on criminal and civil suits stemming from the broiling segregation controversy.

In Baton Rouge, Negroes seeking to have a Louisiana segregation law, designed to keep members of their race from attending white colleges, declared unconstitutional were told by a federal court that they would have to wait 10 to 20 days before a decision could be reached.

At the same time, a Montgomery, Ala., city court decided to turn over the case of seven white men accused of hurling bombs into Negro churches and homes to the next county grand jury.

OTHER SUITS

Also pending court action are identical suits in New Orleans and Baton Rouge seeking a federal declaratory judgment on bus segregation in both cities.

In the federal court action in Baton Rouge, a two-judge panel continued a temporary injunction restraining four state colleges from denying admission of Negroes who do not have so-called "eligibility certificates" for at least 10 days.

The court held the additional time was needed to allow both the Negro plaintiffs and state officials to file additional pleadings. The court also ordered another 10 days to allow both sides to submit additional briefs in the case.

TEST OF LAW

The court action stemmed from a state law, passed last year, which requires all students, both Negro and white, to submit "certificates of eligibility and good moral character" to officials of colleges they wish to attend.

The certificates are to be signed by officials of the students' graduating high schools. But a companion law makes any such official signing the documents on behalf of Negroes liable to dismissal from his job. The law states that any school official can be fired if he "aids integration."

Louisiana State university, in following to the letter the federal court's injunction, last week accepted 30 Negro students for registration. The injunction ordered school authorities to cease enforcing the law in regard to one Negro student, "and all others similiarly situated." This was interpreted as a blanket application to prospective Negro students.

WHITES BARRED

School officials, however, advised some 200 white students who sought to register last week that they could not be accepted because they did not furnish the certificate of good moral character.

This was expected a part of the state's defense — that the law is not unconstitutional, because it applies to Negro and white students.

Defender

In Washington, Georgia Attorney General Eugene Cook warned that civil rights proposals will "sow the fatal seeds of disunion" and "seriously endanger our national existence."

OPPOSE BILL

Chicago Ill

Cook's testimony highlighted a day of hearings in which the House Civil Rights subcommittee was told by another Georgian, Attorney Charles Bloch, that the legislation would be declared unconstitutional because it is too big.

P. 2

Bloch, representing Gov. Marvin Griffin, said powers that would be given a proposed civil rights commission are so indefinite that federal courts will almost surely declare them illegal.

Alabama Attorney General John Patterson said he believes the legislation was drawn up deliberately to include "everything from a traffic violation to murder." He said they were designed to "undermine our system of government."

Another witness, Rep. John J. Flynt (D) Ga., said the bills were developed after "maliciously-inspired" lies were spread about conditions of the Negro in the South.

Sat 2-16-57

GEORGIA ACTION

Meanwhile in Atlanta, the Georgia senate asked the Congress to declare the 14th and 15th amendments to the U. S. Constitution invalid.

The post-Civil War amendments, guaranteeing due process and universal suffrage, were approved, the Georgia senate resolution claims, by congressional sessions from which duly elected representatives from Georgia and ten other southern states were barred.

The amendments were ratified, the Georgia senate resolution claimed, by "puppet governments" set up "by use of military force."

The 14th amendment is the article under which most court actions to end segregation in the outh have been brought.

Committee Hears Civil Rights Foes

Afro american Sat. 2-23-57 P. 6

Baltimore, Md.

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON (NNPA)—Opponents of civil rights legislation were again put on the defensive in their testimony Wednesday before the House Judiciary Committee.

Rep. E. L. (Tic) Forrester (D., Ga.), a member of the Judiciary Committee, defended his state against charges of police brutality made in civil rights testimony in July, 1955, by Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP.

Jack J. F. Gremillion, attorney general of Louisiana, denied charges that thousands of colored voters had been illegally purged from voting lists in his state before the 1956 Presidential election.

At the beginning of the hearing, Chairman Emanuel Celler of New York announced that the hearings would be continued on Feb. 25-26, but they definitely would be closed as of midnight Feb. 26.

Mr. Celler said the subcommittee will meet on Feb. 27 to vote on reporting to the full committee one of the 45 civil rights bills which is before it.

* * *

IN HIS testimony, Mr. Forrester referred to the testimony of Mr. Wilkins on July 27, 1955, concerning William H. Owens, a 16-year-old boy, who was driving his employers, an elderly white couple, from Kentucky to Florida.

Mr. Wilkins testified that Georgia State Trooper J. W. Southwell stopped the car near Ellaville, Ga., ordered Owens to pull over to the side of the road and get out of the car and began beating him.

When the Mattinglys, his employers, protested, he told them to keep quiet or they would be included in the beatings also.

Mr. Forrester, who was a member of the subcommittee which heard Mr. Wilkins' testimony in 1955, said Wednesday was the first opportunity to answer the charges made by Wilkins against the State of Georgia and the congressional district which he represents.

Mr. Wilkins also testified that Southwell had said "beating n----s is all in a day's work," that Owens had not been charged with any traffic violation, and that a justice of the peace was reported to have said Owens was lucky to get out for what he did.

"IF THAT charge was well founded, then it would be to the everlasting shame of my state," Forrester said. He added that he had hoped Wilkins would retract it but he was not surprised that he had not done so.

Forrester presented a certified copy of the charge filed against Owens in the City Court of Ellaville. The youth pleaded guilty to operating an automobile on U.S. Highway No. 19 on the wrong side of the road and resisting arrest.

He also presented a certified copy of the sentence imposed, showing Owens had been fined $33.

Forrester said Georgia State Trooper Southwell was a cripple who had had both legs broken and could not whip anybody.

* * *

THE GEORGIA congressman also inquired of the FBI concerning Wilkins' charges. The FBI office in Atlanta sent his letter to J. Edgar Hoover, director of the FBI, to reply, and Hoover sent it to Warren Olney 3rd, Assistant Attorney General in charge of the criminal division of the Justice Department.

While the FBI does not permit inspection of its investigative files, Mr. Olney informed Mr. Forrester that an investigation was conducted of allegations that Federal civil rights statutes had been violated and the file was closed in August, 1955.

Mr. Olney also said the U.S Attorney for the Middle District of Georgia, Frank Evans, concurred in the decision to close the file without prosecution.

(Editor's Note: The Olney letter neither confirms nor denies the charges of police brutality in the Owens case. The FBI may find that allegations are true but the Justice Department may decide against prosecution because it does not believe a conviction can be obtained).

* * *

WILKINS SHOULD have exhausted all the avenues open to him for information, Forrester said, before making his charges.

Forrester also denied Wilkins' charges that vigilante groups were operating in Georgia and that one of these groups was the National Association for the Preservation of the Rights of the Majority White People of America.

If there is any such organization in Georgia, Forrester said, Wilkins knows more than he does.

The only organization he knows about, Forrester said, is the States' Rights Council, of which Charles Block, a Macon, Ga., lawyer, who testified against civil rights legislation, is vice chairman.

* * *

FORRESTER DESCRIBED members of the States' Rights Council as the "cream of the crop" in Georgia. He said they do not believe in violence and know that violence would rebound to their injury.

When people like that start organizing, Forrester said, it was time to try to find out the reason.

Forrester also asserted that Attorney General Herbert Brownell had made a speech in Columbua, Ohio, in 1956, in which he charged that in some southern states applicants to register to vote were asked to explain what is mandamus and how cases are appealed.

* * *

HE SAID he remembered he had read the identical language used by Mr. Brownell in a magazine, The Nation, of Oct. 6, 1920, in an article written by the late William Pickens.

He charged that Mr. Pickens' "affinity and enthusiasm for communism has never been excelled."

Mr. Pickens, who served as a field secretary of the NAACP, was an employee in the bond division of the Treasury Department until his retirement shortly before his death.

* * *

WHILE ATTORNEY General Gremillion was testifying, Mr. Celler called his attention to testimony given earlier in the hearing that the White Citizens Council had conducted a campaign to purge colored voters from voting lists in Louisiana.

He also added that Assistant Attorney General Olney had testified in Oct. that over 3,000

voters had been illegally removed from the rolls of Ouachita Parish (County).

Mr. Gremillion replied that he did not know about activities of the White Citizens Council, but he did know that in Monroe, which is located in Ouachita Parish, there had been some difficulty about voting.

Two Federal grand juries in Ouachita, he said, have failed to return any indictments. His office cooperated with the FBI, he said, in explaining the Louisiana election laws.

"Did you resent the FBI coming in?" Rep. Kenneth B. Keating (R., N.Y.), a committee member, asked.

"No, I did not," Gremillion replied. He said he did not think the FBI investigation was necessary and that the cooperation between Federal authorities and local officers was not what he thought the relationship should be.

* * *

GREMILLION SAID about 99 per cent of the people whose names were removed from the voting lists have been put back on.

"Somebody has run afoul of the law if they were put back," Celler said. "Has any action been taken against the individuals who did that?" he asked.

"No," replied Gremillion.

"Has there been any such wholesale purging in other parishes?" Keating asked.

"No, that is the only incident I know of," Gremillion replied.

Gremillion would not admit that the FBI investigation had anything to do with the names being restored to the voting lists. He said it was due to the operation of the Louisiana election laws.

* * *

"HOW MANY members of the Federal grand jury were members of the White Citizens Council?" Keating asked.

"I have no way of knowing that," Gremillion replied.

Asked about integration in Louisiana schools, Gremillion said there had been some integration in the universities, resulting from court orders, but no integration in the elementary and high schools.

"But I want to go on record, so far as my state is concerned, that we are for segregation in the schools," Gremillion added.

Gremillion testified that Louisiana will implement the Supreme Court decision against segregated schools only insofar as it is ordered to do so by Federal courts.

"Leave us alone," Gremillion said when Celler asked him what were members of Congress to do when they see states waiting until suits are brought and injunctive decrees are issued against them, which might take years and years.

* * *

"WE KNOW how to run our own business," Gremillion said. "Let each state handle its own situation."

He added that five suits are now in Federal courts involving racial segregation in Louisiana public schools.

He said he believes that five cases will be settled by the decision in the case from New Orleans, if a judgment is rendered declaring Louisiana segregation laws unconstitutional.

Other witnesses who testified in opposition to civil rights legislation Wednesday included Rep. George W. Andrews (D., Ala.); George F. McCanless Attorney General of Tennessee; And also Ernest W. Goodrich and John J. Wicker Jr., both of Richmond, Va., representing the Defenders of States Sovereignty and Individual Liberties, a pro-segregation group.

Set Date To End Senate Hearings

Call 4-1
Kansas City Mo.

Brownell On Stand Three Days, Would Expose FBI Records

By Rose McKee

Fri. 2-22-57

WASHINGTON. — (INS) —A Senate judiciary subcommittee has decided to end hearings and vote March 5 on civil rights legislation but southern senators protested the action on the floor.

One of them, Sen. Sam J. Ervin, Jr., (D) N. C., said the deadline allows inadequate time to consider "such momentous" legislation which he charged would bring about "government by the whims of one man," the attorney general.

Sen. John McClellan (D) Ark., said the full judiciary committee, of which he is a member, should hold its own hearings on the hotly disputed bills. Sen. Olin D. Johnston (D) N. C., charged that the cut-off in subcommittee hearings would deprive witnesses of their "constitutional right to be heard."

Chairman Thomas C. Hennings (D) Mo., announced that his subcommittee voted 6 to 2 for the termination date. There appears no question but that the Hennings group will approve a civil rights program, probably along the lines proposed by President Eisenhower.

Fri. 2-22-57

Advocates of the legislation have enough strength in the full committee to approve a bill overwhelmingly provided they can bring it to a vote. Delay is the major weapon of opponents and once the bill reaches the senate floor, a formal filibuster is expected.

Debate over the legislation broke out on the senate floor when Democratic Leader Lyndon Johnson, Texas, acting for the subcommittee, asked and obtained permission for the unit to sit late Monday while the Senate is in session.

Ervin, who has been fighting the bill in subcommittee, declared that it gives the attorney general the right to determine if action against civil rights offenders is to be taken. Ervin said that if the attorney general decides to put the legislation into operation, "then state laws fall and we do not have government by laws or government by men but government by the whims of one man."

Both Ervin and Johnston complained that they were not notified until 8:15 a.m. Monday of the subcommittee meeting at 9 a.m. at which the March 5 deadline was set.

Ervin said he didn't even have time to shave or eat breakfast but had to rush to the meeting. He charged that the deadline was "unprecedented" and he said the practice could be used in the future by "a majority of a subcommittee to practice tyranny."

Johnson told the Senate that if he had been a member of the subcommittee, "I would not have voted for the motion." He said that in asking permission for the unit to sit while the senate is in session, he was merely carrying out his duties as Democratic leader.

Sen. Francis Case (R) S. D., challenged Ervin's appraisal of the bill. The GOP senator declared that Attorney General Herbert M. Brownell, Jr., was not advocating a bill that would "result in the denial of certain fundamental rights."

Ervin retorted: "I do not think that until Saturday, the attorney general knew what his bill provided."

Sen. Everett M. Dirksen (R) Ill., who introduced the administration's bill, also differed with Ervin. Dirksen said the civil rights issue had been explored at length last year both in the subcommittee and the full committee.

Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., said Saturday that he would like to make secret FBI reports public to back up his testimony that Negroes have been deprived of voting rights in certain southern states.

Brownell made the surprise statement before the Senate judiciary subcommittee when Sen. Sam Ervin (D) N. C., suggested that if committee members saw the FBI documents, they might "draw different conclusions" from them than Brownell.

In many clashes with Congress, the executive department has refused to make FBI reports public. But Brownell said he would put the FBI papers in question into the committee's public record if he can get permission from persons who complained they have been deprived of voting rights.

Not 'Cricket'

The attorney general confessed he was "nettled" after Ervin said that "I feel it is not too much cricket, as the English say," for government officials to look at the FBI reports and testify to inferences from the reports "which we cannot see."

Brownell said: "I'm nettled a little by your inference. If I can get the permission of the persons, I'd like to put them into the public record. I don't want the inference that I make statements I can't back up."

Ervin told Brownell that "I'll help if I can" to get permission of the complainants. Brownell accepted the offer and said that if he was unable to get the authority, he would ask Ervin to write to the persons asking permission.

"Read Same Books"

As a preface to bringing up the question of the FBI reports, Ervin noted that in the last three days, he and Brownell have disagreed widely on interpretations of the law although "we read the same books." Ervin is a former North Carolina supreme court justice.

The FBI reports Brownell wants to make public applied to three North Carolina voting districts—Court House township precinct in Camden county, Bolivia precinct in Brunswick county and Snow Hill precinct in Green county.

Brownell, in his opening testimony Thursday, declared that Negroes were deprived of their voting rights in these precincts. Ervin replied that this was the first time he had ever heard of anyone in North Carolina being denied the right to vote.

The administration's civil rights bill, like other measures before the committee, would protect voting rights by giving the government the right to seek an injunction against election officials who discriminate against Negroes.

Chairman Thomas C. Hennings (D) Mo. reprimanded Ervin after one and a half hour questioning by the Senator. Hennings accused his colleague of holding up proceedings with a "repetitious argumentative form of debate."

Ervin protested that for three days he had been unsuccessful in getting Brownell to answer one question: Could the attorney general under the proposed legislation deny defendants the right to a grand jury investigation in criminal cases and to a hearing by petit or grand jury in criminal and civil cases?

Brownell, making no attempt to hide his pique, angrily retorted: "no."

On Thursday, Brownell urged the committee to reject anti-lynching proposals which, it said, would only endanger passage of its "middle-of-the-road" civil rights program.

Brownell said that President Eisenhower's program provides civil rights remedies which could be useful in school segregation cases, such as that in Hoxie, Ark.

He pointed out that the Hoxie school was proceeding peacefully with desegregation when outside individuals came in and threatened the superintendent and members of the school board with violence.

The attorney general said that the proposed legislation would enable his department to seek an injunction against such individuals to prevent them from interfering with school authorities.

Brownell said that the administration feels that inclusion of anti-lynching proposals would "destroy" any chance for senate approval of civil rights legislation this year.

He declared: "We feel that any attempt to press for the anti-lynching bill would serve only to divert attention from the basic, middle-of-the-road program which we have proposed."

Sen. Irving M. Ives (R) N. Y., who followed Brownell to the stand, called the President's program "mild" compared to legislation sponsored by Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D) Minn.

However, Ives noted that he is a co-author of the bill to carry out the President's program as well as of the Humphrey bill.

He said he is hopeful the Senate "is at last in a position to adopt meaningful civil rights legislation."

Others scheduled to testify Saturday included Sen. Herman E. Talmadge (D) Ga. In a statement prepared for delivery, he criticized the Commission on Civil Rights proposed by the administration.

Talmadge said: "Under the broad, loose and ill-defined powers it would possess, the Commission could summon a minister to explain one of his sermons; an editor, one of his editorials; a political candidate, one of his speeches; and a government official, one of his official acts."

The committee already is far behind in hearing scheduled witnesses. Of the 11 slated to testify Friday, only three, in addition to Brownell, were heard. They were Sens. Paul H. Douglas (D) Ill., Joseph C. Clark, Jr. (D) Pa., who supported the legislation, and John Stennis (D) Miss., who opposed it.

Douglas said that both Republican and Democratic proposals are incorporated in the measure. He said passage would represent the "first direct gains by federal legislation" in the civil rights field since 1877.

Clark said the Senate "is on trial before the whole free world." He added that other countries will be awaiting the outcome.

Ervin centered his opposition on a provision permitting the federal government to seek injunctions against offenders.

He said the pending bill would deprive a person of a jury trial if he disobeys a court order. He urged the group to approve the right of a jury trial. All citizens, he said, "should be fed out of the same legal spoon."

Stennis said the bill would enflame passion and encourage outside agitators to invade the South.

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COLEMAN DEPLORES RIGHTS LEGISLATION

Commercial appeal

Senate Group Also Given Facts Refuting Claims Of Gus Courts

Wed. 3-6-57

From The Commercial Appeal Washington Bureau

P. 1

WASHINGTON, March 5. — Gov. J. P. Coleman of Mississippi declared Tuesday that civil rights legislation will hurt rather than help Negroes.

The Mississippian declared the Administration's proposals will creats "agitation, uproar, tumult and domestic discord—and the intended beneficiary will be its first victim."

Memphis, Tenn

Was Final Witness

Governor Coleman was the final witness as a Senate Judiciary Subcommittee ended nearly three weeks of hearings on civil rights proposals. The subcommittee is expected to vote next week.

Commercial appeal

The Judiciary Committee, meanwhile, postponed until next week a inal vote on the Administration's program—already approved and slightly modified by a House subcommittee.

In a new attack on the testimony last week of Gus Courts, a Belzoni Negro now living in Chicago, Governor Coleman placed in the Senate subcommittee record a message citing the official records of the Mississippi Tax Commission.

Few Returns Filed

Contradicting Courts' testimony that he was orced to flee Mississippi because he tried to register to vote, leaving behind a $15,000-a-year grocery business, the state records showed he had never paid any Mississippi state income taxes.

The records showed he filed no tax returns from 1947 through 1952, filed a return claiming a net income of $298.88 in 1953 and one claiming a net income of $357.51 in 1954. He filed no return for 1955. For last year, he has merely filed, for state sales tax purposes, a statement that his gross receipts were $5,592.70 in the first 11 months of the year.

Wed. 3-6-57

Senator James O. Eastland (D., Miss.) has demanded that Courts be returned from Chicago, placed under oath, and questioned again, particularly about his statement that "lots" of Mississippi Negroes have been murdered for trying to vote.

Refuting this charge, Governor Coleman supplied official figures on murders in Mississippi in recent years. P. 4

"In 1954 in Mississippi," the Governor testified, "we had eight white people who were killed by Negroes, and only six Negroes who were killed by whites. One hundred and 82 Negroes killed each other.

"In 1955, we had two whites killed by Negroes, four Negroes killed by whites, and 159 Negroes killed each other.

"In 1954," he pointed out, "the ratio was 30 to 1. In 1955, it was 40 to 1."

'National Politics'

"Why all the fuss about the one when the 40 are wholly ignored?" he asked. "The answer is there are some national politics in the one, and only heartbreak and economic loss are involved when Negroes kill each other.

"In any event, I think I am entirely justified in the belief that the white people of Mississippi do not deserve a blanket indictment just because there are four Negroes killed by the whites in that state in 1955, while the Negroes were busily engaged killing 159 of their own number.

"Blessed is the politician," he scornfully added, "who can strain valiantly at a gnat and swallow a camel."

In response to a question sparked by Clarence Mitchell, Negro Washington director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Governor Colemand vigorously defended the Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission as a necessary instrument to help maintain racial peace in these troubled times.

Pledges Recalled

He recalled that in his inaugural address he pledged himself to maintain law and order in the state and he pointed out that the population of Mississippi is 45 per cent Negro.

He said flatly that no Federal power can force the people of Mississippi to integratee their public schools. He said if any serious atteempt is made that the people merely will respond by closing schools for both races.

In the absence of such attempts, he pointed out that there have been no serious racial disturbances in Mississippi, comparable to those in other states, since the Supreme Court decision.

He said, however, that Mississippi has the potential for far greater racial violence than has ever been experienced in this country.

FBI Reports Demanded

Meanwhile, Senator Sam J. Ervin Jr., D., N. C.) renewed a demand that Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell give the Senate subcommitee FBI reports on three North Carolina voting cases.

The North Carolina Democrat wrote Mr. Brownell that state election officials had advised that the registration incidents had been corrected in conformance with state laws a short time after the complaints were filed in 1956. They occurred in Camden, Brunswick and Greene Counties.

Mr. Brownell had cited them in testifying last month in support of the Administration's civil rights legislation.

Senator Ervin said that if the information gotten from state officials was correct, the incidents "afford no factual foundation whatsoever" for Mr. Brownell's testimony.

NEGRO MOOD MIGHT CHANGE, CONGRESS TOLD

Daily Tribune Chicago, Ill.

Wed. 2-20-57

Action on Civil Rights Urged by Leader

P. 23

Washington, Feb. 19 (AP)—A Negro leader testified today he "cannot predict what mood might be engendered" among southern Negroes if they do not get "a minimum guarantee" of constitutional rights.

Up to now, he said, they have followed a course of "nonviolence in the face of extreme provocation."

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People [N. A. A. C. P.], testified at a senate judiciary subcommittee hearing on civil rights legislation.

"Show Great Patience"

He said Negroes have shown great patience tho recent months "have been marked by almost continuous violence directed at Negro citizens and groups in the south who seek elimination of discrimination and segregation."

But he indicated this mood might change if Congress does not approve President Eisenhower's civil rights proposals. These measures are "meaningful," he said, and would serve as a starting point for congressional action in this field.

Mr. Eisenhower's program would permit the attorney general to seek injunctions to protect voting rights and allow the justice department to initiate civil suits in cases involving alleged denial of civil rights.

Speaks for 26 Groups

It also calls for creation of a civil rights division in the justice department and a special Presidential commission to investigate complaints of rights violations.

In a move to speed subcommittee hearings on the program, Wilkins served as spokesman for 26 organizations allied in their support of the proposals.

Wilkins said, however, that the separate groups would ask to be heard separately should the senate hearings develop "into a forum for . . . anti-law and order forces."

Sen. Hennings [D., Mo.], subcommittee chairman, said yesterday's decision by the group to wind up hearings on March 5 was "a great victory" for supporters of civil rights legislation. And he said he would oppose any move to force more hearings before the parent judiciary committee.

"Ghettoes of the North"

Backers of the bills want to get the proposals to the senate floor early in the session, when there would be less chance of a successful southern filibuster against them. Southern lawmakers have adopted a strategy of delay.

Two southern senators, Ervin [D., N. C.] and Johnston

CLOSE TO IKE'S REQUEST

Advertiser

Civil Rights Bill Clears House Committee Barrier

Tues. 3-19-57 Montgomery, Ala.

P. 1

WASHINGTON, March 18 (AP)—Overriding the unrelenting opposition of Southern legislators, the House Judiciary Committee today approved a civil rights bill that conforms closely to what President Eisenhower asked.

Chairman Celler D-NY said about 15 amendments were offered and nearly all were defeated in the committee's closed door session. He said no roll calls were taken but there were "no surprises" in the voting division and the margin was about three-fifths to two-fifths.

The approval came after hearings prolonged many weeks by Southerners trying to delay action on the legislation. The measure now goes to the Rules Committee, where the opponents are expected to make another stand.

'EXPECT TO GET IT'

Saying he was applying to the Rules Committee for an order sending the legislation to the House floor for a vote, Celler told reporters:

"I expect to get it. The Democratic leadership wants it—it is very anxious to have this bill passed in the House."

Celler and Rep. Keating of New York, senior Republican on the Judiciary Committee—who introduced the administration's proposals—said "We have a good bill." They predicted quick clearance by the Rules Committee and overwhelming passage by the House.

Northern and Western legislators supporting the bill have been trying hard for quick House passage so that pressure would build up in the Senate for similar action. The backers figure that under such circumstances the Southerners would find it more difficult than in the past to talk the measure to death.

Separate hearings on civil rights legislation have been going on before a Senate Judiciary subcommittee. The group's chairman, Sen. Hennings (D-Mo) called a meeting tomorrow to try to whip into shape a bill for the Senate.

The House bill approved by the Judiciary Committee would set up a presidentially appointed, six-member bipartisan commission. That group would investigate complaints of individual voting right violations, study legal developments constituting "a denial of equal protection under the laws." and look into the adequacy of present civil rights laws.

The measure also would set up

Violence Feared If Congress Rejects Bias Bill

Inquirer

WASHINGTON, Feb. 19 (AP).—A Negro leader testified today he "cannot predict what mood might be engendered" among Southern Negroes if they do not get "a minimum guarantee" of Constitutional rights.

Up to now, he said, they have followed a course of "non-violence in the face of extreme provocation."

Philadelphia, Pa. Wed. 2-20-57

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, testified at a Senate Judiciary subcommittee hearing on civil rights legislation.

He said Negroes had shown great patience although recent months "have been marked by almost continuous violence directed at Negro citizens and groups in the South who seek elimination of discrimination and segregation."

But he indicated this mood might change if Congress did not approve President Eisenhower's civil rights proposals. These measures are "meaningful," he said, and would serve as a starting point for Congressional action in this field.

Mr. Eisenhower's program would permit the Attorney General to seek injunctions to protect voting rights and allow the Justice Department to initiate civil suits in cases involving alleged denial of civil rights. It also calls for creation of a civil rights division in the Justice Department and a special Presidential commission to investigate complaints of rights violations.

In a move to speed subcommittee hearings on the program, Wilkins served as spokesman for 26 organizations allied in their support of the proposals.

Wilkins said, however, that the separate groups would ask to be heard separately should the Senate hearings develop "into a forum for . . . antilaw and order forces."

Chairman Thomas C. Hennings (D., Mo.) said yesterday's decision to wind up hearings on March 5 was "a great victory" for supporters of civil rights legislation. He said he would oppose any move to force more hearings before the parent Judiciary Committee.

[D., S. C.], debated with Wilkins for more than an hour at today's hearing. The discussion was without acrimony and Ervin told Wilkins later, "I have enjoyed this discussion with you."

Wilkins conceded, under questioning by Ervin, that there are some "ghettoes of the north" in which Negroes are more segregated than in some southern communities. But Wilkins said there are "some compensations" for Negroes who live in them—"they know they can always get out . . . and go to other sections . . . to a theater or a restaurant."

Place Trust in Law

The Negro leader also told Ervin he was sure Negroes have more rights in North Carolina than in the south generally. Ervin's state, he said, is a "golden example by comparison with many of its sister southern states."

Wilkins read a statement which referred to recent "shootings and bombings of homes and churches . . . mobs and threats of bodily harm" and "inflammatory speeches" by public officials in the south.

Despite this, he said, Negroes have been patient and "have placed their trust in the law, the courts, in legislative bodies, and in the orderly process of government," but added:

"Mr. Chairman, I cannot predict what mood will be engendered if the system which has prevailed for 80 years should, thru machinations of any sort, be perpetuated in this enlightened middle of the 20th century."

Civil Rights Bill Nearing Debate

Post-Herald Wed. 3-20-57

Senate Judiciary OKs Ike Measure

B'ham, Ala.

WASHINGTON, March 19 (AP)—A Senate Judiciary Subcommittee overrode Southern opposition today and approved the Eisenhower administration's civil rights bill.

By a 4-2 vote, the group sent the measure to the full Judiciary Committee. Subcommittee Chairman Hennings (D., Mo.) said he would press there for quick action.

The vote divided Northern and border state Senators against the subcommittee's two Southern members.

Reportedly for the bill were Hennings and Sens. O'Mahoney (D., Wyo.), Watkins (R., Utah) and Hruska (R., Neb.). Against it were Sens. Ervin (D., N. C.) and Olin Johnston (D., S. C.).

A similar measure has been recommended by the House Judiciary Committee, and is awaiting Rules Committee clearance for floor debate.

Harrisburg Dateline

Leader Plans Equal-Rights Bills

Inquirer Philadelphia Pa.

Inquirer Harrisburg Bureau

HARRISBURG, Feb. 19.

Wed 2-20-57

GOV. GEORGE M. LEADER said today his administration would submit two bills this week "aimed at helping Pennsylvania women secure equal rights with men."

One bill would prohibit discrimination in pay against women doing the same work as men. The other would permit a married woman to sell or mortgage real estate on the same basis as a married man.

"There is no earthly reason why a married woman shouldn't enjoy the same legal rights as a married man, in the management of her own property," Leader said. "Yet, oddly enough, she doesn't.

"As for a bill guaranteeing women equal pay for equal work, the time has come to incorporate this principle into our law.

"With more and more women among our working force, we must see to it that salary discrimination because of sex is ended. Women working shoulder to shoulder with men, at the same jobs, deserve the same pay, and I hope the General Assembly will see that they get it."

Watered-Down Civil Rights Bill Okayed

Call

By Arthur Kranish

WASHINGTON. —(INS)— The House Judiciary committee Monday approved a slightly watered-down version of the administration's civil rights bill.

Chairman Emanuel Celler (D) N. Y., said he would immediately ask the rules committee to clear the legislation for floor action.

The 32- member committee reported out the bill by an approximately three to two majority.

Celler told newsmen after the closed-door session broke up that he thought the committee had reported out a "good bill."

The bill as it now stands provides for a presidentially-appointed study commission to investigate civil rights and a new section in the justice department with power to bring injunctions against violations or possible violations of civil rights and voting laws.

Celler and the ranking Republican committee member, Rep. Kenneth Keating, N. Y., said the committee defeated a southern-sponsored move to require a jury trial in all contempt cases arising from the injunction authorized by the bill.

Call

The southerners did win committee approval for an amendment forbidding the attorney general to bring damage suits for aggrieved parties in civil rights violations.

3-22-57

Earlier, the committee had eliminated "social and economic pressures" against minorities as part of the study commission's field of work.

Celler said the southerners presented approximately 15 amendments to the bill during Monday's session but that most were voted down.

He predicted that the rules committee would send the bill to the House floor under an open rule within a short time, because "the leadership wants this bill out."

He said he would "try the best I can" to get a rule for House debate on the measure this week.

The chairman said he believed that the measure would "be overwhelmingly passed on the floor."

Sen. Knowland Predicts Passage of Civil Rights Bill

News & Observer Raleigh N. C.

WASHINGTON, March 23 (AP) — Sen. Ervin (D-NC) said today he feels opponents of the administration's civil rights bill have made "some headway." But Sen. Knowland (R-Calif.) predicted passage of the legislation at the present session.

The measure is up for consideration at a closed meeting of the Senate Judiciary Committee called for Monday morning. A Judiciary subcommittee approved it last Tuesday by a 4-2 vote.

Knowland, the Senate Republican leader, told newsmen he hoped that the full committee would act on the bill in the coming week and that the legislation might be brought up for debate in the Senate before an Easter recess late next month.

No Prospect

Sun 3-24-57

However, Judiciary Committee members on the both sides of the civil rights fight said they saw no prospect of any final action at the group's meeting on Monday.

Sen Watkins (R-Utah), one of the chief sponsors of the administration bill, said he hoped the committee might at least begin consideration of some of the amendments proposed by Ervin and others.

At the Judiciary subcommittee meeting last Tuesday, Ervin offered half a dozen amendments. All of them failed of adoption, including one to provide for jury trials in contempt cases growing out of civil rights enforcement.

Ervin, a leader of the Southern opposition, has been hammering away at a contention that the administration legislation provides for what he called "government by injunction." He also says it would deprive citizens of their constitutional right to trial by jury.

While Ervin said he thinks opponents have made headway with this argument, Knowland said he didn't believe administration forces would have to accept a jury trial amendment to get the bill through Congress.

Sen. Ellender (D-La) said tonight the bill would "make a shambles of the constitution and place basic individual rights at the whim of whoever may occupy the position of attorney general of the United States."

In a speech prepared for broadcast over a New Orleans radio station, Ellender said, like other opponents, that the legislation would destroy "such precious constitutional safeguards as trial by jury."

Under present law, the government can enforce civil rights only through criminal prosecutions. The administration bill would empower the government to sue for injunctions or to seek other civil remedies.

Other parts of the administration bill call for the creation of a presidential commission to investigate complaints of civil rights violations and for establishment of a civil rights division in the Justice Department.

Knowland predicted the measure would pass "eventually" at this session. But he said that if its consideration by the Senate is delayed until early June, when money bills and other legislation begin to pile up, it will be "highly vulnerable" to a possible Southern filibuster.

The house judiciary committee has approved a civil rights bill substantially in line with the administration's recommendations, but indications are that it won't be acted on in the house until after the Easter recess.

10 1957

Civil Rights Calendar For 1957

Afro-American *Baltimore* *Sat. 1-12-57* *P. 13* *10*

By JOSEPHUS SIMPSON

I read an article this week in which a NYC sportswriter "went out on a limb" and predicted a number of things happening in the world of sports during the current year.

Taking his cue, I shall also go out on similar limb and predict the following happenings during 1957 in the field of human relations, especially human rights:

JANUARY

None of the 16 persons cited for contempt in the Clinton (Tenn.) school integration case will be jailed but will receive a stern warning; the citations will have a salutary effect, however.

Schools in at least four cities in Virginia will have integrated classes before the end of the year. Virginia officials will appeal the U.S. Circuit Court decisions against Arlington County and Charlottesville.

They know the appeal is futile, but it will be taken as a delaying action.

FEBRUARY

President Eisenhower still trying to get his civil rights program through congressional committees.

MARCH

Schools in several North Carolina cities and counties will be integrated. Segregation on buses throughout the South will have died a natural death.

APRIL

President Eisenhower will make an unprecedented appointment of a colored person to a high post in the Executive Department of the government.

MAY

Most of the larger cities of the nation—including Richmond, the capital of the old Confederacy—will be employing bus drivers of both races in transit operations. There will also be a few on interstate bus lines.

JUNE

Colored players will blossom out on nearly all of the major league baseball teams in force. Even staid old Boston will have one or more.

JULY

Nearly every major college and university in the nation (state controlled) can bost of having some colored students. This includes the University of Georgia, University of Alabama and University of Florida.

AUGUST

A number of suits will be filed throughout the South seeking to implement the decision of the Federal courts outlawing segregation and or exclusion in state and city owned recreational facilities.

SEPTEMBER

More than half of the children in the South will return to school this month and enter unsegregated classes.

That will include such states as Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana and South and North Carolina.

OCTOBER

President Eisenhower's civil rights program will finally reach the floor of the House.

It will still be bottled up in committee in the Senate. Republican leaders will be predicting bright prospects for eventual passage by both houses.

NOVEMBER

A bumper crop of colored athletes will be playing with football teams of the major colleges in the South, many of them to see action in the year-end bowl games.

There will be no secessions on the part of southern white colleges from bowl game participation because of the presence of colored players on opposing teams. That move died with 1956.

DECEMBER

Colored Americans looking forward to the most peaceful Christmas season in history; one in which they will not have to ride in the back seats of buses in the South and many churches having opened their doors to all.

America will be nearer her ideal of a Christian republic than she has ever been in her history. The Yuletide season will see more manifestations of good will than in any previous year.

Some southern governors will be sulking in their "tents"—or in jail.

4 Virginians See No Action On Civil Rights

Star P. 18-a *Wed. 1-2-57* *Washington D.C.*

RICHMOND, Jan. 2 (AP).—Four Virginia Congressmen have predicted Congress won't enact any major civil rights legislation in its approaching session.

Representative Gary, Democrat said the major fight on "so-called civil rights legislation" probably will occur soon after Congress opens tomorrow.

Mr. Gary, in referring to threats from nothern Democrats to change Senate rules allowing filibusters, said "if that attempt is successful, it will pave the way for passage of civil rights legislation.

"From the information I have, however, it appears that the attempt to change the rules and the attempt to pass civil rights legislation at this session will fail."

Virginia has two members on the House Judiciary Committee—Representative Poff, Republican of Radford, and Representative Tuck, Democrat of South Boston.

Mr. Poff predicted passage of civil rights laws by the House but foresaw ultimate defeat "by filibuster, if necessary" in the Senate.

Mr. Tuck promised to "work in diligent opposition to the enactment of the so-called civil rights proposals" and expressed the hope that "these destructive and iniquitous proposals can at least be watered down and delayed in the House . . . so that the . . . Senate, operating under broader rules, may be able to prevent passage."

Representative Broyhill, Republican, said "there will be much talk on civil rights proposals but in my opinion no major civil rights measures will be passed in 1957."

The four made the comments in reply to a Richmond News Leader survey.

RUSSELL SEES STIFF FIGHT ON RIGHTS BILLS

Journal + Constitution *Sun. 1-13-57*

Political Pressures To Be Defied, Says Georgia Senator

Atlanta Ga. *P. 1*

WASHINGTON, Jan. 12 (AP)—Sen. Russell (D-Ga) Saturday threw down the gauntlet to advocates of civil rights legislation who contend this is their victory year.

Russell, leader of the Southern forces and an acknowledged master of parliamentary tactics, told a reporter that he is "well aware of the fact that there is great political pressure for the passage of these misnamed civil rights bills."

But he said that if the measures reach the Senate floor, they will run into resolute opposition from senators who, he said, are determined to defend "the constitutional rights of the states and the people."

Past attempts to pass civil rights measures have been defeat by Southern filibusters, or the threats of filibusters, but Sen. Humphrey (D-Minn) and other supporters of the legislation say they have excellent prospects of victory this year.

* * *

EARLIER THIS week, a highly influential Senate Democrat, who was unwilling to be quoted by name, said the outlook is that civil rights legislation will be passed fairly early in the present Senate session.

This source, who has not been known as an advocate of such measures, predicted that a Southern filibuster—the use of dilatory debate and parliamentary maneuvering to prevent a vote—will be broken after a month or so.

Russell said he had told Georgia constituents even before the session started that there was "greater danger" of civil rights legislation this year than in the past, but he emphasized he was not conceding defeat or compromising the issue.

Last year, the House passed but the Senate Judiciary Committee, headed by Sen. Eastland (D-Miss), never acted on the civil rights program advocated by President Eisenhower.

* * *

THIS PROGRAM provides for federal court action to protect voting and other rights, the establishment of a civil rights division in the Justice Department, and the creation of a presidential commission to investigate complaints of civil rights violations.

These measures have been reintroduced in the present Congress, and Eisenhower urged them anew in his State-of-the-Union Message two days ago.

PRESIDENT PUSHES CIVIL RIGHTS PLAN AT G. O. P. PARLEY

Times P. 1 *New York* *Tues. 1-1-57*

Calls Again for a Moderate Anti-Bias 'Package' as Part of Legislative Program

TAX CUT SEEMS DOOMED

Balanced Budget Indicated —Democrats Will Join in Foreign Policy Talk Today

By WILLIAM S. WHITE

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 31—President Eisenhower put before the Republican Congressional leaders today a proposed legislative program contemplating moderate civil rights legislation and no cut in taxes.

The discussion was wholly in the domestic area and the President sought no innovations in any field. Rather he called again mainly for action on matters left undone by the last Congress.

The great issues of foreign and defense policy, and specifically the Administration's developing plan for intervening powerfully in the Middle East, were left for tomorrow.

At that time the President will meet the Senate and House leaders of both parties to consult on world questions that are likely to engage the oncoming Congress far more formidably than any domestic issue.

Renews Earlier Request

Today's meeting, in fact, was notable primarily because it showed the President to be consolidating and limiting, rather than expanding and increasing, his purposes in national legislative matters.

He told his Congressional callers that he would ask for the civil rights "package" sought in 1956.

He kept aloof, however, from what some civil rights advocates contend is the most vital aspect of the civil rights fight.

This involves the effort being prepared by a liberal bipartisan group of Senators to harden the chamber's rule to halt the filibuster, the time-killing tactic of talking at length to avoid a vote. Through this device the Southerners have halted all civil rights legislation since the decade just after the Civil War.

The present rule requires that sixty-four of the ninety-six senators vote to limit debate and thus kill a filibuster. The liberal group would reduce this requirement, perhaps to two-thirds of the members present.

Brownell Urges Action

The Republican Senate leader, William F. Knowland of California, told reporters in effect that this was exclusively a "problem of the Senate" and that the President had wisely stayed out of it.

James C. Hagerty, white House press secretary, disclosed that Herbert Brownell Jr., Attorney General, had taken the lead at the meeting in pressing for civil rights legislation.

Mr. Hagerty added that the Republican leaders had promised to press for it, regardless of the inevitable Southern filibuster.

Senator Knowland and Representative Joseph W. Martin Jr. of Massachusetts, the House Republican leader, were less urgent in tone and manner.

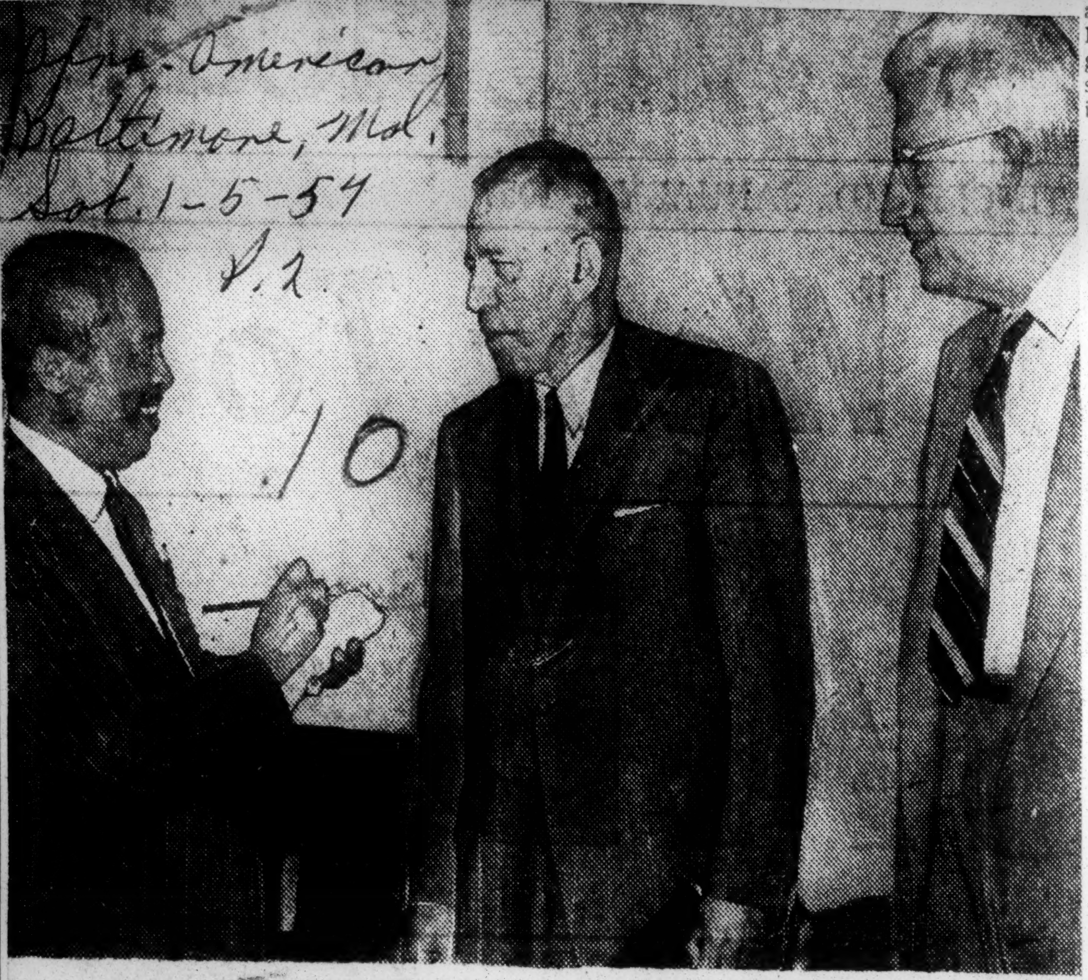
Mr. Martin observed that he expected the civil rights bill to be passed early in the session in the House, as they were in the last Congress.

Senator Knowland commented only that civil rights legislation should have "a good chance."

Specifically to be sought, as it was in the last Congress, is legislation to:

¶Set up a bipartisan commission to investigate civil rights

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.
Sat. 1-5-57
P.2



CIVIL RIGHTS DRIVE LAUNCHED— Senators Irving M. Ives (Rep., N.Y.) and Paul H. Douglas (Dem., Ill.) on Wednesday launched a drive designed to get civil rights legislation through the Senate. The Senators are shown telling NNPA correspondent Louis Lautier "We're in this fight to the finish."

Sat. 1-1-57

problems.

¶Establish a special civil rights division in the Department of Justice.

¶Permit Federal prosecution of individuals for intimidating voters in an election for Federal office.

¶Permit the Attorney General to bring civil injunction proceedings in behalf of aggrieved persons.

¶Authorize individuals to take their civil rights grievances direct to Federal courts.

¶Permit the Attorney General to bring civil suits against conspiracies to deprive citizens of their civil rights.

Two Senate civil rights backers, Irving M. Ives, Republican of New York and Paul H. Douglas, Democrat of Illinois, asserted publicly last week that no "meaningful" civil rights bill could be passed unless the filibuster rule was altered.

The sense of the White House meeting was that while the President would continue to press for civil rights legislation as such, he did not intend to attempt to intervene to have the rule altered.

As to fiscal matters, Mr. Hagerty's summaries of the discussion, plus the comments of Senator Knowland and Representative Martin, came to this:

¶The Administration expected to maintain a balanced budget.

¶There was no foreseeable chance for tax reductions in the corporate, excise (sales) or individual income field.

Representative Martin indicated as well that while the Republicans 'would like" to provide some special tax relief to small business, the outlook for even that was most gloomy.

Details Not Fixed

Senator Knowland emphasized that the discussion had not fixed the details of all the President's forthcoming legislative requests. These will be embodied in his State of the Union message to the Democratic Eighty-fifth Congress on Jan. 10.

The Californian observed, moreover, that the Congressional leaders had given President Eisenhower "frank reactions" and that modifications in some Presidential plans might result before the message was delivered

These were the items in the President's legislative program as they were brought up in discussions with the leaders that began at 9 o'clock this morning and ended as dusk was falling:

Federal aid to public school construction.

Civil Rights.

Liberalization of the immigration and refugee laws.

Amendments to the Atomic Energy Act to have the Federal Government assume some of the liabilities of private contractors in the atomic energy program.

Farm legislation.

Assistance to small business.

Amendments to the Taft-Hartley labor act.

Increase in postal rates.

Water conservation and Federal-state "partnership" projects in power development.

Housing.

Civil Service legislation .

Constitutional amendments to lower the voting age to 18 from 21.

Home rule for the District of Columbia.

Area redevelopment (slum clearance).

Statehood fo Hawiia and Alaska.

Nothing was new in this complex of requests.

"There was agreement among the Congressional leaders," Senator Knowland said, "that the President has a substantial program. We hope to achieve a substantial batting average for it in Congress."

Legislating Civil Rights

Times P.30-C

Meaning of Senate's Refusal to Change Filibuster Rule Discussed

Wed. 1-9-57

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

New York

Once again the Senate has refused to change Rule XXII. This means that our civil rights policies will continue to be made not by the elected Representatives of the American people but through Executive action and judicial review. For more than eighty years the Congress has taken no steps toward the attainment of racial equality.

Most comments claim that the successful tabling motion by Senator Lyndon Johnson seems to indicate a failure of the Democratic party to live up to its platform pledge, or a reassertion of the exclusiveness and uniqueness of the United States Senate, or both. Either explanation is incomplete.

The Democratic party can hardly be blamed for the failure of the Senate to change its rules. The party's Southern wing, including Senator Johnson, was of course committed to the continuation of the present Rule XXII. Non-Southern Democrats voted overwhelmingly in favor of a change.

The Republicans, none from the South, voted almost two to one in favor of the status quo. They were thus clearly responsible for the maintenance of a rule which they themselves had made more rigorous in 1949 under the leadership of Senator Kenneth Wherry, and which they had succeeded in upholding in 1953 under the leadership of Senator Robert A. Taft.

But to exonerate Northern Democrats and to blame Republicans is only part of showing the true record. The success of Senator Johnson and Senator William F. Knowland also indicates the state of American feeling on civil rights. Civil rights is the concern of urban, large-state, Presidential America. It is not, as yet at least, the concern of rural, small-state, Congressional America.

Vice President Nixon, the leader of the Presidential wing of the Republican party, was known to favor a rules change. The majority of Republicans probably would have upheld a Nixon ruling to the effect that the Senate can adopt rules de novo. Therefore, Johnson and Knowland contrived to deprive Nixon of the chance to make a ruling which would have enabled the Congress to legislate civil rights.

Such a ruling, incidentally, would have placed Mr. Nixon in a prominent spot in our history, and we may surmise that Senator Knowland, his arch rival, was eager to prevent this.

Congressional America, represented largely by men who do not have to worry about the Negro vote, simply placed its prerogatives in policy making, enforceable by the filibuster, ahead of efforts to attain racial equality. This is the chief meaning of the events of Jan. 4.

FREDERICK C. ENGELMANN,
Associate Professor of Political Science, Alfred University.
Alfred, N. Y., Jan. 5, 1957.

See Passage Of Civil Rights Bill

Defender
Chicago Ill.
Sat. 1-19-57

By THOMAS J. FOLEY

WASHINGTON — (INS) — Top members of the House Judiciary committee said last week civil rights legislation will be ready for House action by the end of this week.

Chairman Emanuel Celler (D) N. Y., and Rep. Kenneth Keating (R) N. Y., ranking minority member, both predicted the committee will shoot the bill through this week with no hitch expected.

The two also agreed the Judiciary committee is more likely to approve President Eisenhower's suggestions rather than the broader proposals offered by Celler.

Keating, noting growing sentiment in the Senate for changing rules that would ease passage of rights bills, predicted the legislation will be passed by the House next month and will be the law of the land before the end of the 1957 session.

The House passed President Eisenhower's civil rights program last year, but it failed to get through the Senate Judiciary committee, headed by Sen. James O. Eastland (D) Miss., outspoken foe of integration of the races.

Previous attempts to pass civil rights legislation have failed to pass the senate because of southern filibusters.

'Every Person Desires Full-Fledged Freedom'

Constitution
Thurs. 2-14-57

Atlanta—I am sure that all human beings desire freedom and at the same time there are those who want to hold the slave whip, but as time passes people change and look for the better things of life.

Those who fight against civil rights grab at every straw but none will save a drowning person. No homemade law will stop the fight for freedom now.

Atlanta, Ga.

It is bad when lawmakers make laws of hatred and then call them the will of the people. It is the will and hope of every good citizen that men live together as brothers.

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MARION BILLUPS.

10 1957

Robinson; "He Is A Great Competitor"

Rickey Urges An All-Out Crusade For Civil Rights

Daily World Sat. 1-26-57 P. 1

Atlanta, Ga.

BY JOHN GOLIGHTLY

PITTSBURGH — (INS) — Branch Rickey, Sr., a still vigorous man of 75 who is credited with helping to break the color line in Major League Baseball, urges an all-out crusade for Civil Rights.

Controversy was the meat of his life during 29 years as a baseball executive, first with St. Louis, later with Brooklyn and more recently with the Pittsburgh Pirates. He has not changed his diet during retirement.

"We must get rid of colonization in our own land." He said, before we charge unclean hands abroad. I say to the Negro people:

"Use discretion, yes, and patience and certainly understanding. Above all wage the struggle for civil rights. Use every method short of violence."

SEEMINGLY FREE

Rickey stated that the Negro people are seemingly free in every way in this country "on paper" and then added:

"But I see no purpose in standing back and being patient at the denial of these rights. If it was so important to achieve freedom and to expend so many lives in making it stick, how much more important it is in our current situation."

This forthright declaration came about after Rickey shared the speaker's rostrum twice with Jackie Robinson in Pittsburgh this week. Robinson, now retired from baseball, is touring the nation to raise one million dollars for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

WANTS NO CREDIT

He and Rickey broke baseball's color line in 1946. Rickey wants no credit for the ... "the decision and subsequent action on my part," he said, "are not worthy of praise or honors and I have refused both. Rendering to another citizen equal rights or human rights does not require praise."

He explained that before signing Robinson with the Brooklyn organization he deliberated patiently to avoid any action which would "delay the advance of the Negro."

Rickey said that he consulted sociologists, the presidents of three Negro colleges, publishers of Negro newspapers and others close to the race relations situation. Then he acted.

Sat. 1-26-57

ADEQUATE EXCUSE

"I had an adequate excuse," he explained. "I wanted to win a pennant."

P. 4

He praised Robinson as the possessor of "rare intelligence, a gentleman who assented to undertake the task because he was able to grasp the difficulties."

"Jackie was a difficult person for the role forced on him," Rickey explained. "He is a great competitor who resents insult by nature. He is also by nature tremendously aggressive. A man of that character has temper. He was a great ballplayer."

BRANCH RICKEY

Daily World

BACKED BY CALIFORNIAN

Advertiser

Move Pressed To Put Demos On Record For Civil Rights

Montgomery, Ala. P. 1

Sun. 1-27-57

WASHINGTON, Jan. 26 (AP) — A controversial move to put the Democratic National Committee on record for congressional action on a specific civil rights program was launched today by Paul Ziffren, California committeeman.

Ziffren said on a visit to Washington he will ask the newly formed party advisory committee to act on specific civil rights proposals at a Feb. 15 meeting in San Francisco.

"If the advisory committee comes up with a program for action on this issue, I'll ask the national committee to approve it," Ziffren said.

Chairman Paul M. Butler has called meetings of the National Committee and the Policy Advisory Committee in San Francisco in connection with a two-day party conference on social and economic issues.

Adlai E. Stevenson, the party's defeated presidential nominee, is expected to outline in his first major speech since November his ideas about how the party ought to go about efforts to stage a comeback in 1960. Stevenson has said he will not be a candidate again.

Ziffren's proposed effort to obtain an endorsement of specific civil rights bills from the policy advisory and national committees stirred immediate Southern opposition.

Sen. Sparkman of Alabama, the party's 1952 vice presidential candidate, said he doesn't see much to be gained by bringing the civil rights issue before the party committees.

Advertiser

Democratic leaders of Senate and House have declined membership on the advisory group, but promised to listen to any advice it might give about party policy.

"I don't see how the National Committee can go beyond the party platform in any stand it takes," Sparkman said. "The committee certainly has no right to write a new platform."

P. 2-A

Democrats pledged in their platform to try to eliminate "illegal discriminations of all kinds, in relation to full rights to vote, full rights to engage in gainful occupations, full rights to enjoy security of the person, and full rights to education in all public supported institutions."

Sun. 1-27-57

Their platform mentioned but did not endorse the Supreme Court's decision against school segregation.

Ziffren and others have contended that unless the party takes a firm stand for specific civil rights legislation it stands to lose permanently the support of racial groups which appeared to have gone over to President Eisenhower in last year's election.

Sen. Humphrey (D-Minn), who shares this belief, predicted that regardless of what the party committees do civil rights advocates among the Democrats in Congress will get behind a program.

Humphrey said he thinks such a program will be built primarily around a "right to vote" bill.

"We should try to accomplish one major objective in our program," he said. "If we concentrate our efforts to make one major advance, I think we are going to get something passed by this Congress."

Committee Asked To End Hearings On Civil Rights

Daily World

Fri. 1-25-57

Atlanta, Ga.

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Today Senator Thomas C. Hennings, Jr (D-Mo.), at a meeting of the full Judiciary Committee, called upon the Committee to complete its hearings on civil rights legislation prior to February 18, 1957.

P. 1

Senator Hennings, who is chairman of the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights and author of four civil rights bills, seated that there was no necessity for long, drawn-out hearings as both the Senate and the country are aware of the various points of view on these issues.

The Committee did not have sufficient time to pass upon Senator Hennings' motion, but he promised to raise the question at the Committee's next meeting on January 28, 1957.

Daily World

The full text of Senator Hennings' statement to the Committee is as follows:

Fri. 1-25-57

"Mr. Chairman, I am asking the Senate Committee on the Judiciary to adopt immediately the resolution I have proposed today for setting a definite date for terminating civil rights hearings and proceeding to vote civil rights legislation to the Senate early in this session so that there will be a real opportunity for the United States Senate to act on this pressing matter.

"I sincerely believe that there is absolutely in necessity for long drawn-out hearings; I really feel that we are all aware of the various points of view which prevail in our country today and, therefore, further hearings are not necessary; however, I am perfectly willing to agree to a reasonable amount of hearings in the full Committee immediately, with the definite understanding that undue delay in getting down to a vote on the legislation will not be permitted.

P. 1

"In attempting to reach a decision bout what 'a reasonable amount' of time for hearings may be, I am suggesting that a period of two weeks should be ample time to hear witnesses presenting differing views on the subject.

"By setting a definite deadline for the completion of civil rights hearings, we should be able to pro-

ceed in an orderly and expenditious manner to a vote in Committee on the legislation in order that is may go to the Senate Calendar at a date sometime in February.

"I hope this motion passes by a substantial majority."

The text of Senator Hennings' motion was as follows:

"RESOLVE, that the Committee on the Judiciary of the United States Senate, favoring the early enactment of civil rights legislation in the First Session of the 85th Congress, hereby agrees to take the following action:

(a) To complete and all hearings on the subject of civil rights prior to February 18, 1957; and

(b) To vote on civil rights legislation and to report to the Senate within one week after the conclusion of said hearings."

South Pledges Hearing Battle On Civil Rights

Evening Star Washington D.C. Thurs. 1-24-57

By the Associated Press

A leader of the Southern congressional group opposed to Federal civil rights legislation today promised "formidable" hearings before the issue goes to the House.

Representative Willis, Democrat of Louisiana, said in an interview there will be "witnesses of substance" opposing the legislation. He said not all of them necessarily will be from the South.

Reversing previous plans to speed a civil rights bill to the House without hearing witnesses, a Judiciary Subcommittee yesterday voted in closed session to conduct hearings for four days beginning February 4.

Doubts Material Delay

Chairman Celler, Democrat of New York, invited House members to suggest names of witnesses for the subcommittee.

Afterwards, he said he does not think the bill will be held up materially by the hearings.

Mr. Willis, a Judiciary Committee member, said he and others had asked for hearings on the issue this year. Now that their request has been granted, he said, "we will have some formidable hearings."

Mr. Celler said he did not feel he could refuse the Southern request for opportunity to present the testimony of State officials and other witnesses. However, he said persons who testified last year will not again be heard in person, though they will be allowed to file statements.

Representative Abbitt, Democrat of Virginia, described as "much too short" the four days of committee hearings voted by the subcommittee.

"There will be demands to give us sufficient time to point out the true nature of this iniquitous bill," he said.

Smith Withholds Comment

Representative Smith, Democrat of Virginia, a key figure in the fight to slow down House action, said he had no comment on the subcommittee's plans for a four-day hearing.

Meanwhile, Gov. Stanley and Virginia Attorney General J. Lindsay Almond, jr., have been asked by Mr. Smith to insist on full hearings before the subcommittee. Mr. Smith said similar requests are being made by other Southern Congressmen to their Governors and attorneys general.

P.A. 10

Civil-Rights Plans Pressed, Decision Up to Committees

Herald Tribune New York Tues 1-8-57

By Don Irwin

WASHINGTON, Jan. 7.—Moves to curb filibusters and promote civil rights were proposed in both houses of Congress today, but the final decisions appeared likely to rest with Senate committees.

Three proposals to revise the Senate's seldom-invoked rule on limitation of debate were unveiled in the wake of the chamber's 55-to-38 vote Friday to kill a motion that would have brought the matter directly to the floor. The Senate Rules Committee will decide which, if any, of today's proposals is to go to the floor.

Committee to Get Bill

On civil rights, thirty-two Senate Republicans joined in cosponsoring a bill reviving the Administration's four-point civil rights program that stalled last year in the Senate Judiciary Committee after passing the House. The new bill will go to the same committee. A more comprehensive eight-point civil rights program was introduced in the House by Rep. Emanuel Celler, D., N. Y., the Judiciary Committee chairman.

The filibuster and civil rights issues are interwined because the threat of extended debate by Southern members has militrated for years against Senate consideration of civil rights measures.

While Friday's move, aimed at adoption of new Senate rules, was defeated in the Senate, the size of the vote in support of a rule change was symptomatic of a changed frame of mind. It has lead some seasoned Senate observers to believe action at the current session is possible if agreement on formulas can be reached by the Northern and Weseern Senators who support civil rights legislation.

Knowland to Offer Plan

Highest powered of the measures to curb filibusters uncorked in the Senate was not formally introduced today. It was offered by Sen. William F. Knowland, R., Calif., the minority leader, who left if on the Senate desk for introduction Wednesday. He said he hoped it would get "substantial bipartisan support" on introduction.

The Knowland proposal would do away with a section of the Senate's present anti-filibuster rule—called "unconstitutional" Friday by Vice-President Richard M. Nixon—which now forbids curtailment of debate on motions to amend Senate rules. It would also permit imposition of cloture on debate by two-thirds of the Senators "present and voting." The present rule says cloture can be imposed only by two-thirds of the full Senate—sixty-four votes.

A variant was offered by Sen. Paul H. Douglas, D., Ill., and twelve others—including two Republicans. It would permit cloture by two-thirds of the Senators present after two days of debate and by a majority of the full Senate—forty-nine votes—after fifteen days of debate.

Morse Proposes Cloture

Sen. Wayne Morse, D., Ore., proposed imposition of cloture by forty-nine votes, with ninety-six hours of debate—one for each Senator—to be allowed after the cloture vote.

The Administration's civil rights package was reintroduced by Sen. Everett M. Dirksen, R., Ill. It would guarantee minority voting rights, guarantee other civil rights, create a civil rights commission to be named by the President and establish a civil rights division in the Justice Department.

The Celler bill provides for additional rights for minorities.

BACKED BY CALIFORNIAN

Advertiser 1-27-57

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Montgomery, Ala.

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Ziffren's proposed effort to obtain an endorsement of specific civil rights bills from the policy advisory and national committees stirred immediate Southern opposition.

Sen. Sparkman of Alabama, the party's 1952 vice presidential candidate, said he doesn't see much to be gained by bringing the civil rights issue before the party committees.

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Advertiser P.A.

10 1957

Efforts On Civil Rights Stalled

Daily World Fri 1-25-57
Atlanta, Ga. P.1

By LOUIS LAUTIER
Washington Correspondent, Atlanta Daily World and NNPA News Service

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (NNPA) — Efforts of Senator Thomas C. Hennings, Democrat, of Missouri, to get civil rights legislation off to an early start stalled Tuesday when the convening of the Senate broke up a Senate Judiciary Committee meeting.

Senator Hennings, a member of the committee, had read a statement asking the committee to adopt a resolution fixing a date for the end of hearings on civil rights bills and a time to vote for reporting such measures to the Senate.

He had begun to read the resolution when the Senate's buzzer system (a bell system) announced that the Senate was in session.

Without waiting for a formal vote to end the committee meeting, several Senators exclaimed: "The Senate's in session," and walked out.

Senate rules forbid a committee to hold a meeting while the Senate is in session without permission.

The text of the resolution, the adoption of which **Senator Hennings moved, follows:**

"Resolved, that the Committee on the Judiciary of the United States Senate, favoring the early enactment of civil rights legislation in the first session of the 85th Congress, hereby agrees to take the following action:

"(a) To complete any and all hearings on the subject of civil rights prior to February 18, 1957; and

"(b) To vote on civil rights legislation to report to the Senate within one week after the conclusion of said hearings."

Senator Hennings said he will offer the same resolution at the next meeting of the Judiciary Committee.

Before the meeting broke up Senator Hennings asked the committee to adopt the resolution for setting a definite date fo rending civil rights hearings and voting to report civil rights bills to the Senate "early in this session so that there will be a real opportunity for the United States Senate to act on this pressing matter.

"I sincerely believe that there is absolutely no necessity for long-drawn out hearings," Hennings said, adding:

Daily World

"I really feel that we are all aware of the various points of view which prevail in our country today and, therefore, further hearings are not necessary.

Fri 1-25-57

"However, I am perfectly willing to agree to a reasonable amount of hearings in the full committee immediately, with the definite understanding that undue delay in getting down to a vote on the legislation will not be permitted.

P.6

"In attempting to reach a decision about what 'a reasonable amount' of time for hearings may be, I am suggesting that a period of two weeks should be ample time to hear witnesses presenting differing views on the subject.

"By setting a definite deadline for the completion of civil rights hearings, we should be able to proceed in an orderly and expeditious manner to a vote in committee on the legislation in order that it may go the Senate calendar at a date sometime in February."

Originally, Senator Hennings had planned to report from the Constitutional Rights subcommittee, of which he is chairman, the four civil rights bills which that subcommittee reported last year but which were kept bottled up in the full Judiciary Committee along with the Administration's civil rights program and all other civil rights bills.

Daily World

Hennings said he did not plan to hold a meeting of his subcommittee but would simply telephone the other two members — Senators Joseph C. O'Mahoney, Democrat of Wyoming, and William Langer, Republican of North Dakota — and get their consent for reporting the bills.

Fri, 1-25-57

O'Mahoney and Langer are co-sponsors of the Hennings bills, which would.

P.6

1. Protect the voting rights of all citizens in Federal elections, including primaries.

2. Establish a civil rights division in the Justice Department.

3. Protect members of the Armed Forces against bodily attack.

4. Outlaw lynching and mob violence.

Senator James O. Eastland, Dixiecrat, of Mississippi, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, apparently has thwarted Hennings' plan.

The meeting of the Judiciary Committee Tuesday was an organizational one. Eastland reappointed Hennings chairman of the Constitutional Rights subcommittee and also reappointed O'Mahoney and Langer to membership, but he enlarged the subcommittee from three to seven members.

Two of the new members are Senators Olin D. Johnston of South Carolina and Sam J. Ervin of North Carolina, both Democrats, and both hostile to civil rights legislation.

The two Republican members were Senators Arthur V. Watkins of Utah and Roman L. Hruska of Nebraska. Watkins and Hruska are regarded as favorable to civil rights legislation.

Johnston is certain to seek to delay any action on civil rights bills by the subcommittee. Ervin and Hruska are new members of the Judiciary Committee and may insist on hearings before the subcommittee acts.

The subcommittee reported the four Hennings bills last year without having held hearings, but the full committee voted to hold hearings on them and all other civil rights bills, including the Eisenhower's civil rights program.

Eastland with the aid of Johnston and other anti-civil rights Senators was able to keep the hear ings going until Congress recessed late last July.

Eastland told newsmen after the committee meeting that he had increased the membership on the Constitutional Rights subcommittee because about 60 civil rights bills have been introduced.

Three members of the Constitutional Rights subcommittee all signed the four same civil rights bills, he said. "The authors of the other bills should be given representation," he added.

Ervin Attacks Deadline For Civil Rights Action

Evening Star P.1
Wed 1-23-57

By the Associated Press

In a new flareup over civil rights legislation Senator Ervin, Democrat of North Carolina, today assailed as "inexcusable" a proposed deadline for action by the Senate Judiciary Committee.

Senator Hennings, Democrat of Missouri, author of the proposal, said in a seperate interview that his aim was to prevent a repetition of what he called the "filibuster in committee" that took place last year.

The committee held lengthy hearings last year on civil rights measures, including the Eisenhower administration's program which the House approved, but it took no action.

When the committee met yesterday to organize for the present Congress, Senator Hennings urged that it fix a deadline next month for concluding its hearings and voting on civil rights bills.

Washington, D.C.

But before he could offer a motion to this effect, the day's Senate session began and the committee meeting ended.

Fixed Vote Date Sought

Senator Hennings' proposed motion called for completion of the committee's civil rights hearings before February 18 and a vote on the legislation within one week thereafter.

Senator Ervin protested later that this "would be like a judge starting to try a case on Monday and saying that at 2:15 p.m. tomorrow, we are going to submit it to the jury regardless of whether the arguments are in."

He said civil rights bills require "considerable study" and that "to my mind it is inexcusable to put a time limit on anything of such major importance to the country."

Senator Hennings said the committee members were "all aware of the various points of view on these issues" and that no more eharings were necessary. He said, however, that he would agree to limited hearings if a time were fixed for a showdown vote.

He said he will try to offer his motion at the next meeting of the Judiciary Committee.

Subcommittee Enlarged

After yesterday's organization meeting of the Judiciary Committee, Chairman Eastland, Democrat of Mississippi, announced that the group's constitutional rights subcommittee had been enlarged from three to seven members.

Added to the subcommittee, which Senator Hennings heads and which regularly handles civil rights measures, were Senators Ervin, Johnston, Democrat of South Carolina; Watkins, Republican of Utah, and Hruska, Republican of Nebraska.

Senator Johnston is an opponent of civil rights bills and said he was opposed to limiting hearings or fixing any deadline for a vote. Both Senator Watkins and Senator Hruska are among the sponsors of a bill to carry out President Eisenhower's civil rights program.

Senator Watkins said he would like to see the administration measures "move along with reasonable speed" but declined to say whether he favored the Hennings' effort to fix a deadline.

Senator Hruska said he would be "reluctant to foreclose any reasonable request to be heard," adding it seemed "premature" to put a specific time limit on hearings now. But, he said, he didn't think hearings should be "needlessly dragged out."

Senate Bill Stalls Civil Rights Move

Post & Times Herald P.2
Wed. 1-23-57

By John A. Goldsmith
United Press
Washington, D.C.

Sen. Thomas C. Hennings Jr. (D-Mo.) was blocked by the bell yesterday when he moved to speed up Senate Judiciary Committee action on civil rights legislation.

Meanwhile Committee

Chairman James O. Eastland (D-Miss.), an outspoken foe of such measures, took steps that may prolong Committee study of civil rights bills.

The Hennings resolution, calling for an end to hearings by Feb. 18 and a vote a week later, was being read when a bell sounded signaling the start of the Senate session.

Rules prohibiting committee meetings while the Senate is in session often are loosely enforced. But in this case the meeting promptly dispersed and the Hennings proposal was left dangling.

A subcommittee headed by Hennings approved four civil rights bills last year. He now wants the full Committee to proceed with this legislation without further subcommittee action.

But Eastland announced that he had appointed four additional members to the subcommittee, including two southerners who are expected to oppose any civil rights legislation.

Eastland commented that three members of the group sponsored bills which were approved last year. He said sponsors of other pending measures should be "given representation."

It is expected that the move will lead to demands for additional action by the subcommittee. Eastland noted that about 60 civil rights bills have been introduced in the Senate.

Added to the subcommittee were two southern Democrats—Sam J. Ervin Jr. (N. C.) and Olin D. Johnston (S. C.)—and two Republicans—Arthur V. Watkins (Utah) and Roman L. Hruska (Neb.).

Watkins and Hruska are cosponsors of President Eisenhower's civil rights program as introduced in the Senate by Sen. Everett M. Dirksen (R-Ill.).

CIVIL RIGHTS PLAN SUFFERS REBUFFS

Times P.15-C

Move by Hennings to Speed Senators' Action Fails to Come to a Vote

Wed. 1-23-57 *New York*

By JOHN D. MORRIS
Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 22—Senate proponents of civil rights legislation received two apparent setbacks today in their attempts to speed the program to the floor.

These were the developments:

¶Four members were added to the Senate Judiciary subcommittee that has jurisdiction. This may mean lengthy hearings.

¶Senator Thomas C. Hennings Jr., Democrat of Missouri, failed to get a decision in the full Judiciary Committee on a proposal to fix Feb. 25 as the deadline for action there. The committee adjourned before his motion came to a vote.

The subcommittee's new members are equally divided on the civil rights issue. But their appointment raised a probable obstacle to Senator Hennings' plan to bypass the panel, of which he is chairman, to save time.

One of them, Senator Olin D. Johnston, Democrat of South Carolina, immediately served notice that he would insist on full hearings by the subcommittee, without any time limit.

For Subcommittee Hearings

Another, Senator Roman L. Hruska, Republican of Nebraska, said he, too, was inclined to favor subcommittee hearings. He added that he would rather not set any time limit in advance.

The other appointees are Senators Sam J. Ervin Jr., Democrat of North Carolina, and Arthur V. Watkins, Republican of Utah. All were named by the full committee's chairman, Senator James O. Eastland, Democrat of Mississippi, a militant civil rights opponent. The committee accepted the appointments at today's session.

Senators Watkins and Hruska are among the co-sponsors of a bill embodying President Eisenhower's civil-rights recommendations. The Southerners, Senators Johnston and Ervin, are of course opposed to those and other civil-rights proposals.

Holdover members of the subcommittee, besides Senator Hennings, are Senators Joseph C. O'Mahoney, Democrat of Wyoming, and William Langer, Republican of North Dakota.

Bills Were Shelved

Last year the three-man panel unanimously approved a four-bill civil-rights program, similar in some respects to the proposals later submitted by the Eisenhower Administration. Delaying tactics by Senator Johnston and other Southerners prevented a vote by the full committee.

In seeking a quick showdown this year, Senator Hennings moved today for immediate hearings by the full committee. His resolution called for termination of the hearings by Feb. 18 and a committee vote on civil-rights bills within the following week.

But he had barely made the motion when bells sounded summoning members to the Senate's noon meeting and the committee session broke up.

Senator Hennings said he would press the motion at the committee's next meeting, yet to be set.

The day's developments prompted speculation among some civil-rights advocates that stalling tactics, successfully employed by opponents last year, were being resumed in the Judiiary Committee. They noted that committees do not ordinarily adhere so strictly to rules prohibiting metings while the Senate is in session.

The program being pushed by Senator Hennings calls for protection of minority voting rights in Federal primaries and elections and creation of a civil-rights division in the Justice Department. Similar proposals are a part of the President's program.

The President's other recommendations include the creation of a bipartisan civil-rights commission and measures to strengthen the Federal Government's hand in dealing in with civil-rights violations.

Backers of Civil Rights Drive Fail

New Orleans, La. *Wed. 1-23-57* *P. 5*

WASHINGTON, Jan. 22 (AP) — Backers of civil rights legislation failed Tuesday, for lack of time, to win Senate judiciary committee vote on hastening the proposals to the Senate floor.

They doubtless will make another effort later.

At the same time, chairman Eastland (D-Miss.) announced an action which may have the effect of dealing another setback to the drive for early action on civil rights bills.

Eastland said four new members are being added to the subcommittee which handles civil rights legislation. This could lead to demands for extensive civil rights hearings for the benefit of the newcomers.

Supporters of the proposals want abbreviated hearings so the bills can go to the Senate floor early in the session and lessen the chances of a successful Southern filibuster against them.

Sen. Hennings (D-Mo.) was calling for such action at a closed judiciary committee meeting Tuesday when the bell rang signaling that the full Senate was meeting.

This washed out Hennings' move for the present, since Senate rules bar a committee from meeting while the Senate is in session, unless it obtains the Senate's permission.

Speed Civil-Rights Laws, Brownell Urges Lawmakers

Courier-Journal P.8 *Mon. 1-28-57* *Louisville, Ky.*

Washington, Jan. 27 (AP)—Attorney General Brownell called on Congress today to "get right down to business and pass" the Administration's civil-rights bill.

"There hasn't been any important civil-rights legislation for many, many years, and it's overdue," he said.

Brownell made the statement in a filmed television interview with Representative Ostertag (R., N. Y.).

President Eisenhower has called upon Congress this year to enact the four-point civil-rights program he recommended last year.

Brownell said he does not see "any necessity for extended hearings" on Eisenhower's recommendations, inasmuch as they have been before Congress more than a year.

Secret Ballot Gets Priority

Brownell told Ostertag that the right to cast a secret ballot is "the most important of all civil rights." He said enactment of the Administration's program would "give us the tools" and enable the Department to protect that right.

He said a bipartisan commission would study the over-all problem, "because we have had a lot of charges which say that Negroes especially are deprived of their right to vote."

"We can't afford to have this kind of a charge rest unanswered," he said. "We'd like to get the facts."

Our Opinions

Defender P.9 *Sat. 1-26-57* *Chicago, Ill.*

Eisenhower And Civil Rights

The politically explosive civil rights issue was given only a ceremonial dusting off in President Eisenhower's state of the union message to the Congress of the United States last week.

The four-point program to which Mr. Eisenhower alluded is a repetition of the proposals he submitted to the legislators last year during the expiring moments of the 84th Congress. The Senate rejected his recommendations and adjourned for the summer.

The only noticeable difference is that the language in which this year's program is couched is less rhetorical and, we believe, intentionally less forceful than that contained in the previous message.

Some of the recommendations overlap. But we have no quarrel with that, though we see no need for a bi-partisan commission to investigate "asserted" violations of civil rights when there is created a civil rights division in the Department of Justice in charge of an assistant attorney general.

Enactment by Congress of "new laws to aid in the enforcement of voting rights;" and "amendment of the laws so as to permit the federal government to seek from civil courts preventive relief in civil rights cases" are the other facets of the Eisenhower civil rights program.

His declaration of these points was voiced in such a monotone as to occasion not even the slightest ripple from his Congressional audience. He introduced his civil rights program by saying: "We have much reason to be proud of the progress our people are making in mutual understanding." . . ."Steadily," he said, "we are moving closer to the goal of fair and equal treatment of citizens without regard to race or color."

While Mr. Eisenhower was speaking, in utter contradiction to his assurances of mutual goodwill, Negro homes and churches were being bombed by the Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens Council in Montgomery, Alabama, while police in Atlanta were jailing Negro preachers for their defiance of segregation in public transportation.

If the schools that refuse to comply with the integration order of the Supreme Court are to benefit unconditionally from the passage of this bill, the net result would amount to upholding and financing segregated schools. This dilemma is of the President's own making. You cannot discourage segregation on the one hand and perpetuate the very policy that fosters it on the other.

What is still more distressing is the impression given by the President that he is more concerned about the school construction bill than he is with compliance with the school integration order. This inconsistency must be resolved if the President's leadership is not to negate the whole concept of equality under the law which the Supreme Court took fifty years to assert.

10 1957

Alabama Editors Are Saying

Advertiser P. 1-a
Wed. 1-2-57

Right Of States To Govern

Montgomery, Ala.

The Troy Messenger

SIGNIFICANT and important indeed is the announcement made by Congressman George Grant that he would introduce legislation aimed at restoring to the states the right to govern themselves.

These rights have become seriously jeopardized in the emotionalism of segregation and "civil rights."

First, Grant will introduce a law requiring that federal district judges be elected rather than obtain lifetime jobs through presidential appointment. A federal judge with a lifetime sinecure, is likely to be far removed from the will of the people, Grant contends.

Second, Grant expects to introduce a joint resolution spelling out that the states have the power over their educational systems. He claims that the Congress never took this power away from the states in the first place and that the Supreme Court erred in meddling in school systems of the states.

Third Grant hopes that members of the House and Senate will join him in legislation designed to curb what he says is the abuse of the federal court injunction. These injunctions are being used by federal judges, as was the case in Clinton, Tenn., to bring citizens to trial without recourse to jury. Grant notes that this is in direct violation of the Bill of Rights, cornerstone of our constitution.

"If judges make the laws, there is no Bill of Rights," Grant challenges.

Sen. John Sparkman, concurrently, announced that he would battle to the last ditch efforts to limit debate in the Senate. Such limits would end the filibuster and open the way for all kinds of adverse legislation aimed at the South.

The legal attacks on the erosion of states rights are heartening. To rock calmly like sitting ducks is no way to win a fight.

Washington merry-go-round—

News P. 8-7

Ike 'dead serious' about civil rights

Sun. 1-6-57

BY DREW PEARSON

WASHINGTON, Jan. 5—President Eisenhower, at his conference with Republican leaders last week, was deadly serious when he talked about civil rights and schools.

B'ham, Ala.

"No American, certainly in these times, should be denied the fundamental rights granted to all our citizens," he said.

"If local or state governments do not properly safeguard his right to vote and protect him from violence, it is the duty of the federal government to do so."

"The House passed four civil rights safeguards, embodied in the Brownell program, in the last session of Congress," spoke up House GOP Leader Joe Martin of Massachusetts, "And I think we can do it again."

"Unfortunately, our rules in the Senate make passage more difficult," intoned stern-voiced Bill Knowland of California, the Senate GOP leader who always sounds like he is talking from the bottom of a rain barrel. He added that if the issue comes to a vote, he thought the Senate would also enact a civil rights measure.

PEARSON

Martin and Knowland also said they would do their best for another bill which the president included in the broad category of "civil rights" — namely, the "home rule" measure to enfranchise the voteless citizens of the District of Columbia.

Trouble on schools

BUT BOTH LEADERS predicted "possible trouble" for the president's school construction program, which will be aimed chiefly at relieving school shortages in "congested" metropolitan areas.

School legislation always encounters rough weather in Congress, partly because of religious controversy and the opposition of some Catholics. Lately this has been compounded by the bitter issue over school integration.

"Well, I am hopeful that Congress can work it out," declared Eisenhower. **"The federal government must help those people in areas which cannot raise the money locally for school needs. Many states have excellent school systems, but this is something that rises above local indifference. For the good of the country, every boy and girl should have the opportunity for an adequate education.**

Sam gets his way

THE PUBLIC DIDN'T KNOW IT, and not even most of the congressmen attending the New Year's Day session with Eisenhower knew it, but Speaker Sam Rayburn proved himself the one man in America who was able to make the President rearrange his schedule.

What happened was that the White House conference with congressional leaders originally was proposed for mid-December. When he learned this, Speaker Rayburn, living with his sister in Bonham, Tex., sent a polite but firm note that he would not be present. It's his custom to spend Christmas at home, and he simply was not going to Washington before Christmas, then shoot back to Texas for Christmas.

The White House promptly changed the date to Jan. 1 and fixed the time at 10 a.m.

At this point Mr. Sam sent word that he would not be present at 10 a.m. His sister, Mrs. Bartlett, doesn't like to fly. Neither does Sam. Their train was not due until after 10 a.m.

Again the White House bowed. The meeting was changed to 2 p.m.

Civil Rights Plan Will Be Pressed. GOPs Vow to Ike

Journal + Constitution P. 1
Tues. 1-1-57 - Atlanta, Ga.

Southerners Again Eying Filibuster

By J. W. DAVIS

WASHINGTON, Dec. 31 (AP) — President Eisenhower called today for action on the new Congress on his civil rights program, and Republican leaders said they would get behind it.

This word came from Presidential press secretary James C. Hagerty after Eisenhower had talked for more than three hours with the GOP Congress leaders.

Presumptively, Southerners were again toning up the filibuster whip to use again on rights legislation.

Most members of the Cabinet sat in on the morning meeting, which also covered government finances and other matters.

ECONOMIES PROMISED

Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey and Budget Director Percival Brundage gave a report on expected expenditures and receipts, Hagerty told reporters, without giving any figures:

"Both the secretary and the budget director expressed the belief that continuing economies in the operation of the government, coupled with no loss of existing revenue, would result in continuation of a balanced budget."

Hagerty said there was no discussion of a possible tax cut. Humphrey and other administration leaders have not been giving much if any encouragement to the idea there might be one.

DEMOCRATS CALLED

Today's talks were given over largely to domestic matters. Eisenhower will hold another White House meeting tomorrow, with Democratic as well as Republican congressional leaders, to discuss the international situation.

Congress will reconvene on Thursday, again under the control of the Democrats, who have their own ideas about what laws should be passed. Eisenhower asked in vain during the 1956 election campaign for a Republican Congress, saying he needed one to carry out his program.

On the matter of civil rights legislation, Hagerty recalled that in the last session Congress shelved a program submitted by the administration.

That program called for a special civil rights division in the Justice Department, new power for federal officials to get injunctions against denials of voting rights, and a system to permit easier access to the federal courts for persons claiming to have been deprived of their civil rights. It also called for creation of a civil rights commission.

After Hagerty reported that Eisenhower had announced his intention to press for civil rights

Ike Will Fight For Civil Rights

Herald Tues. 1-1-57
Miami Fla.

WASHINGTON — (UP) — President Eisenhower Monday unveiled a 1957 legislative program based on his "modern Republicanism" and including proposals for federal school aid, civil rights, and liberalized immigration laws.

P. 1

The GOP program, which the President will submit to the Democratic - controlled 85th Congress next month, visualizes a continued balanced budget and no tax cuts.

Mr. Eisenhower and his top aides gave eight Republican congressional leaders a preview of their new legislative proposals at a day-long briefing at the White House.

The meeting dealt mainly with domestic problems facing the Congress which convenes Thursday. The President and his aides will discuss defense and foreign policy proposals Tuesday with congressional leaders of both parties.

This group is expected to hear a more detailed explanation of the new "Eisenhower Doctrine" for the protection, by force if necessary, of the Mideast against Soviet aggression. The doctrine already has come under attack from some Democrats.

Presidential Press Secretary James C. Hagerty said Treasury Secretary George I. Humphrey and Budget Director Percival Brundage briefed the congressional leaders on the fiscal and tax aspects of the President's domestic program.

Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell Jr. called on the law-makers to apply pressure for passage of the administration's civil rights program which passed the House last year, but died in the Senate.

The program calls for creation of a civil rights division in the Justice Department, a presidential commission on civil rights, and federal protection for the voting rights of minorities.

Brownell also renewed his recommendations that immigration quotas be increased by 64,000 persons a year. Only 219,000 immigrants now are permitted to enter the United States each year for permanent residence.

legislation, and that the GOP leaders had said they would work to that end, he was asked:

"Filibuster or no filibuster?"

Hagerty replied: "They said they would press for it."

TALK WEAPON READY

Filibustering — or talking to death—has been a device used by Southern senators to head off federal civil rights legislation which they say infringes on state rights.

Presumably, these Southerners are ready to use the filibuster weapon again. A group of Northern and Western senators is planning another effort to change the Senate rules so as to make it easier to shut off debate and reach a vote. This question is expected to come up almost at once. The House does not permit unlimited debate.

ON CLASSROOM DEARTH

The discussions today, Hagerty said, also covered school aid, immigration and atomic matters. He related:

Secretary of Welfare Folsom presented administration views on what to do to help eliminate a shortage of schoolrooms. Congress took no action last session on either Republican or Democratic school aid programs, getting tangled up in a controversy on a proposed antisegregation amendment.

Chairman Lewis L. Strauss of the Atomic Energy Commission outlined legislation desired in the atomic field, particularly in connection with insurance against accidental damage to outside parties in the operation of atomic plants.

Atty. Gen. Brownell called for revision of the Immigration and Naturalization Act to raise the quota of admissible immigrants by 64,000 to 219,000. This proposal was aside from the question of whether to admit more than 21,500 Hungarian refugees, a matter which was reserved for tomorrow's talks.

Wilkins Endorses Ike's Civil Rights Bill

Daily World Jan. 1-6-57
Atlanta Ga. P. 1

WASHINGTON — (ANP) — Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, has endorsed the Administration's civil rights bills passed by the House of Representatives in the 84th Congress, and expected to be reintroduced in the present congress.

This resolution called for the protection of citizens' right to vote, the creation of a bi-partisan commission to investigate allegations of civil rights violations, the establishment of a division within the Department of Justice to handle civil rights cases, and the authority for the Attorney General to bring civil rights suits directly in the federal courts to defend a citizen's rights.

Wilkins has urged the President to include a strong call for the enactment of civil rights legislation in his state of the union message.

In a letter sent to Mr. Eisenhower several weeks ago and released last week, Wilkins pointed out that it would be "helpful" and "realistic" for the President to mention in his message the role of the filibuster in preventing enactment of civil rights measures.

He also reminded the President of the increasing tension in the South arising out of resistance to the implementation of the United States Supreme Court's anti-segregation ruling.

"You have stressed that action must be taken on the local level", Wilkins asserted, "but many of the persons who would act there need the support of government if they hope to successfully combat lawlessness in their communities. It is the federal government which must set the tone, not necessarily by waving a big stick, but by emphasis upon the obligation of every citizen to uphold the Courts and the l...

Senate Bills Include Civil Rights Plans

Daily World
Atlanta Ga.
Wed. 1-9-57

WASHINGTON, — (INS) — **Scores** of bills ranging from **the 35-hour** week to civil rights **immigration**, highway accidents **and aid to** schools were introduced **in the** Senate Monday.

P. 1

The measures came in large **numbers** and so fast that the **long desk** below the Senate **rostrum was buried** under a **blanket of white paper.**

Some 2,000 bills were **introduced** in the House last **Thursday but this** was the first day **Senators had a** chance to **stuff the legislative hopper.**

A bill to cut the work **week to** 35 hours -- **for Federal employes** only -- **was introduced by Sen.** William A. **Purtell (R) Conn.**

Sen. J. William **Fulbright (D)** Ark., sponsored a bill **to reduce** taxes for a low-income **corporation** as an aid to **small business.**

With 32 co-sponsors, **Sen. Everett** M. Dirksen (R) Ill., **launched the** administration's four-point **civil** rights program.

Dirksen's bill, like **one offered in** the House last week **would set up** a bi-partisan commission **to investigate racial segregation complaints** It also **would protect vating rights** and create a **civil rights division** in the Department of Justice.

Three bills to make it easier to halt Senate filibusters were unveiled. They go to committees and it likely will be sometime before it is known if their sponsors will be any more successful than those who battled in vain last Friday for a re-writing of the anti-filibuster rule.

RUSSELL SEES STIFF FIGHT ON RIGHTS BILLS

Journal + Constitution
Sun. 1-13-57

Political Pressures To Be Defied, Says Georgia Senator

Atlanta Ga.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 12 (AP)—Sen. Russell (D-Ga) Saturday threw down the gauntlet to advocates of civil rights legislation who contend this is their victory year.

P. 1

Russell, leader of the Southern forces and an acknowledged master of parliamentary tactics, told a reporter that he is "well aware of the fact that there is great political pressure for the passage of these misnamed civil rights bills."

But he said that if the measures reach the Senate floor, they will run into resolute opposition from senators who, he said, are determined to defend "the constitutional rights of the states and the people."

Past attempts to pass civil rights measures have been defeat by Southern filibusters, or the threats of filibusters, but Sen. Humphrey (D-Minn) and other supporters of the legislation say they have excellent prospects of victory this year.

* * *

EARLIER THIS week, a highly influential Senate Democrat, who was unwilling to be quoted by name, said the outlook is that civil rights legislation will be passed fairly early in the present Senate session.

This source, who has not been known as an advocate of such measures, predicted that a Southern filibuster—the use of dilatory debate and parliamentary maneuvering to prevent a vote—will be broken after a month or so.

Russell said he had told Georgia constituents even before the session started that there was "greater danger" of civil rights legislation this year than in the past, but he emphasized he was not conceding defeat or compromising the issue.

Last year, the House passed but the Senate Judiciary Committee, headed by Sen. Eastland (D-Miss), never acted on the civil rights program advocated by President Eisenhower.

* * *

THIS PROGRAM provides for federal court action to protect voting and other rights, the establishment of a civil rights division in the Justice Department, and the creation of a presidential commission to investigate complaints of civil rights violations.

These measures have been reintroduced in the present Congress, and Eisenhower urged them anew in his State-of-the-Union Message two days ago.

10 1957

Throws down gauntlet

News P. 8-A
B'hom, Ala. Sun. 1-13-57

Russell warns 'righters': No retreat, no compromise

BY JOHN CHADWICK

WASHINGTON, Jan. 12—(AP)—Sen. Russell (D., Ga.) Saturday threw down the gauntlet to advocates of civil rights legislation who contend this is their victory year.

Russell, leader of the Southern forces and an acknowledged master of parliamentary tactics, told a reporter that he is "well aware of the fact that there is great political pressure for the passage of these mis-named civil rights bills."

BUT HE SAID that if the measures reach the Senate floor they will run into resolute opposition from senators who, he said, are determined to defend "the constitutional rights of the states and the people."

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This program provides for Federal Court action to protect voting and other rights, the establishment of a civil rights division in the Justice Department, and the creation of a presidential commission to investigate complaints of civil rights violations.

These measures have been reintroduced in the present Congress, and Eisenhower urged them anew in his State-of-the-Union message two days ago. Some Northern Democrats have offered a more extensive civil rights program.

RUSSELL SAID that while he was aware of the "great political pressure" behind the bills, he believed that "orderly procedure" would be followed and that "there will be regular committee hearings on these bills before they come to the floor."

"If they reach the floor in their present form," he added, "they will be vigorously resisted by a resolute group of senators who still believe that the 10th amendment is still in the Constitution and that the states still have definite rights that these bills would take away by the unconstitutional process of repealing express provisions of the Constitution by statute."

The 10th amendment reserves to the states and the people all powers not delegated to the federal government.

Southern senators have held at least three closed-door meetings in Russell's office since the present session started to discuss the civil rights situation and efforts began to revise Senate rules to make it easier to break filibusters.

SEN. RICHARD RUSSELL
. . . Issues challenge

AN INITIAL effort to revise Senate rules went down to defeat, but since then a number of proposals to curb filibusters have been introduced and a Senate rules subcommittee is expected to conduct extensive hearings on them.

Sen. Knowland of California and Sen. Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, the Senate Republican and Democratic leaders, are co-sponsors of one of the proposals. It would permit two-thirds of the senators present and voting to shut off a filibuster. It now takes the votes of 64 senators, or two-thirds of the entire membership.

Appeal To President In Vain

Call P. 1
Fri. 1-18-57
Kansas City, Mo.

Negro Leaders In Atlanta Had Asked For Visit to Area

WASHINGTON.—(INS) — The White House has said that President Eisenhower will not go into the South to make a civil rights speech in answer to an appeal from Negro leaders.

A telegram was sent the President by southern Negro ministers asking that he make a speech in the South asking the country to observe the Supreme Court's anti-segregation ruling.

White House News Secretary James Hagerty said Saturday, Jan. 12, that the telegram had been received at the White House.

He added:

"The President made his speech on his program for civil rights to the congress in his State of the Union message, which outlines his civil rights program for this year.

"I refer you to the State of the Union message."

At Montgomery, the Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, leader in bus boycott, prayed for "just a word" from the President against violence in the South's bus troubles.

By PAT J. McDONNELL

ATLANTA.— (INS) — Negro leaders from 29 southern communities, meeting in Atlanta on Friday, Jan. 11, called upon President Eisenhower to visit the South to urge acceptance of the Supreme Court decisions on segregation.

Leaders who mapped plans for a southwide non-violent program to end racial segregation on buses called on the President to personally move into the South "to defend, by words of wise council, American citizens unjustly and brutally attacked at home."

"Extreme violence continues to be directed toward Negro people in the South who merely seek rights guaranteed every American citizen by the U. S. Constitution," the steering committee of four southern ministers told the President. Their letter added:

"Negroes, who seek to vote, are driven from their lands in Mississippi on threat of death. In Tennessee, Negro children have been attacked. In Florida stoning and cross-burning are used to obstruct justice. Negro leaders are threatened.

Churches Destroyed

"In Alabama, Christian churches literally have been destroyed by dynamite and TNT. Numerous individuals including women, have been beaten on the streets. The homes of Negro and white leaders have been bombed."

The Negro leaders who come from ten southern states pointed out that the maintenance of law and order in the nation "finally rests squarely on the executive branch of the government—directly on the President.

"But beyond your constitutional power, as President, you possess and can wield an immense moral power," the leaders wrote the President.

They urged the President "to point out to the people of the South the moral nature of the problem faced at home and abroad by the unsolved civil rights issues and the violent racial disorder that will arise again and again until these issues are solved."

Suggestion From Mrs. F.D.R.

The appeal to the President was suggested by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, wife of the late president, who wired the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., in connection with the bombing of Negro churches in Montgomery, the first city in the South to end bus segregation under a federal court order.

Mrs. Roosevelt said:

"Deeply distressed by violence which has occurred. Would suggest appeal to the President since this is Supreme Court order."

The group added an appeal to Attorney General Herbert Brownell for a conference at the earliest possible date to discuss recent actions in the South including what they called "attempts of local officials to use the public authority, including arrest powers, to subvert the clear mandates of the court.'

Brownell has stated previously that discrimination against bus passengers on account of race is "a crime against the United States." Referring to that, the group asked for a clarification of the federal government's position in the segregation dispute "to the end that Justice might prevail and that the supreme law of the land shall be upheld."

The group, called together by ministers who had led moves to break the race barrier on buses in Montgomery, Birmingham and Tallahassee, decided on no southwide time-table for similar moves in other cities. The Rev. Mr. King said, however, that he does not believe it will take more than three years to accomplish complete integration in the field of transportation.

Success in one area, he said, eases the task in other cities. He added that integration largely must be accomplished outside legislative halls, and declared:

"If we can deevlop the proper local spirit, it is hoped we won't even have to go into local courts. If we have to go to court, however, we will."

The Rev. C. K. Steele, of Tallahassee, said that the sense of the group was that where court action appeared necessary, the most expedient procedure would be to seek declaratory judgments in the federal court, such as was done in Miami.

The Negro leaders decided on a permanent organization and planned another meeting "soon" probably to be held in New Orleans. A local group currently is planning a bus de-segregation move in the Louisiana city.

"The Conference on Transportation and Non-Violent Integration," as the group calls itself, issued a call to all Negroes "to assert their human dignity." It added:

"We ask them to seek justice and reject all injustice, especially that in themselves. We pray that they will refuse further cooperation with the evil element which invites them to collude against themselves in return for bits of patronage. We know that such an assertion may cause them persecution; yet no matter how great the obstacles, and suffering, we urge all Negroes to reject segregation."

Spokesmen for the group stressed that all its programs will emphasize non-violence.

Each community will decide on its own specific course of action with local conditions determining how and when de-segregation moves will come.

Dawson, O'Hara Fill House Hopper With Rights Bills

Defender Chicago, Ill. Sat. 1-19-57
P. 3

By ETHEL L. PAYNE

WASHINGTON — Two Illinois representatives have introduced bills on civil rights into the House at the opening of Congress.

Cong. William L. Dawson presented six new bills and re-introduced a concurrent resolution from the last session of Congress which would establish a Civil Rights Commission.

Cong. Barrett O'Hara of the Second Congressional District in- Rights along with others on housing for the aged; civil service annuities payments, and water diversion for the Sanitary District Trustees of Chicago.

The Dawson measures include:

1. An anti-lynching bill to outlaw mob violence, define a lynch mob as coming under the exclusive jurisdiction of the federal government.

2. A federal anti-poll tax act which would outaw any tax on voting in national elections.

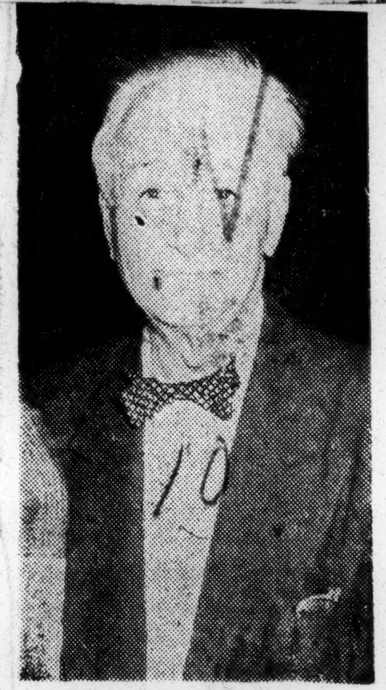
3. Political participation — This deals with protection of the right to vote and would prevent intimidation, threats, or coercions. Punishment for violation would include fines of not more than $1,000 and imprisonment of not more than one year.

4. Under supplemental civil rights statutes these bills would define as a conspiracy interference with the exercise of all constitutional rights and privileges.

5. A bill that would prohibit peonage or involuntary servitude.

A federal equality of opportunity act to prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, religion, creed, national origin, or ancestry. This measure defines unlawful employment practices, hiring, discharge, etc.; it creates a commission to administer these duties with subpoena powers. It also may issue orders, make judicial reviews, and draw up procedures for governmental agencies and industries.

Meanwhile, Rep. James Roosevelt (D) Calif., leader of a House group supporting civil rights legislation, said they would await the call of Rep. Emanuel Celler (D) N. Y., chairman of the House Judiciary Committee to consider an omnibus bill on civil rights; but if this failed, they would proceed with a discharge petition to get action on the floor at this session.



BARRETT O'HARA

The organization of all committees has not been completed yet, but Celler is expected to hold his first committe meeting in about two weeks.

Senate liberal leaders were regirding their forces for another attack on the fillibuster and were being joined by some who last Friday voted against changing the rules.

Sen. William Knowland, the Republican minority leader who allied himself with Sen. Lyndon Johnson, the majority leader to defeat the anti-filibuster forces, now says he favors some modification of Rule 22 by a two-thirds majority of those present.

He predicted that some civil rights legislation will pass Congress.

GOP Leaders Back President On Civil Rights Action Plea

Advertiser Tues. 1-1-57
Montgomery, Ala.

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CIVIL RIGHTS

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"Filibuster or no filibuster?"

Hagerty replied: "They said they would press for it."

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SCHOOL AID

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President renews civil rights plea

Afro-American P. 1
Sat. 1-19-57
Baltimore, Md.

WASHINGTON

In a broad and comprehensive State of the Union message, delivered in person, Thursday, to a joint session of the House and Senate, President Eisenhower urged prompt action on Federal aid to school construction legislation.

He again, however, went on record as being opposed to the so-called Powell amendment which would deny Federal funds to school districts which are not complying with the Supreme Court decree to desegregate public schools.

* * *

REP. ADAM C. POWELL (D., N.Y.), who supported Mr. Eisenhower for re-election, has said he will offer such an amendment again to federal aid to school construction legislation.

He said he will also propose a similar amendment to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare appropriation bill.

President Eisenhower also urged enactment of the four-point civil rights program which Attorney General Herbert Brownell Jr. submitted to Congress last year.

The bills passed the House, but were kept bottled up in the Senate Judiciary Committee, headed by Senator James O. Eastland, Dixiecrat of Mississippi.

* * *

THE TEXT of Mr. Eisenhower's recommendation for school aid and civil rights follow:

"High priority should be given the school construction bill. This will benefit children of all races throughout the country—and children of all races need schools now.

"A program designed to meet emergency needs for more classrooms should be enacted without delay.

"I am hopeful that this program can be enacted on its own merits, uncomplicated by provisions dealing with the complex problems of integration.

"I urge the people in all sections of the country to approach these problems with calm and reason, with mutual understanding and goodwill, and in the American tradition of deep respect for the orderly processes of law and justice.

"I should say here that we have much reason to be proud of the progress our people are making in mutual understanding—the chief buttress of human and civil rights.

"Steadily we are moving closer to the goal of fair and equal treatment of citizens, without regard to race or color. But unhappily, much remains to be done.

"LAST YEAR the Administration recommended to the Congress a four-point program to reinforce civil rights. That program included:

"(1) Creation of a bipartisan commission to investigate asserted violations of civil rights and to make recommendations;

"(2) Creation of a civil rights division in the Department of Justice in charge of an Assistant Attorney General;

"(3) Enactment by the Congress of new laws to aid in the enforcement of voting rights; and

"(4) Amendment of the laws so as to permit the Federal Government to seek from the civil courts preventive relief in civil rights cases.

"I urge that the Congress enact this legislation," the President concluded.

10 1957

Solon Presents Bill On Rights To House

Daily World Fri. 1-11-57
Atlanta Ga. P.6

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (NNPA) — Representative Emanuel Celler, Democrat, of New York, introduced in the House Monday an eight-point civil rights bill.

In offering the measure, Mr. Celler, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee said he is certain the House would pass a civil rights bill during this session of the 85th Congress.

Mr. Celler described his bill as "more comprehensive than the four-point civil rights bill which passed the House last year and which reportedly has the backing this year of the Eisenhower Administration."

The Celler bill would create a civil rights commission in the executive branch of the Government, create an addtional Assistant Attorney General to head a civil rights division in the Justice Department, protect the right to vote by providing civil and criminal penalties for violations, amend the old Ku Klux Klan Act to protect rights relating to education, judicial process, employment, housing and so forth.

In addition the Celler bill would

1. Strengthen existing Federal civil rights laws by increasing the punishment where death or bodily injury result from violations.
2. Clarify such laws to facilitate prosecutions under them.
3. Provide for judicially enforced penalities and remedies, both criminal and civil, in cases of segregation in interstate travel
4. Create a joint Congressional committee on civil rights with supena powers.

Chairman Celler indicated that legislation to prevent race or religious discrimination will have "top priority in the 85th Congress."

In the Senate, Senator Everett M. Dirksen, Republican of Illinois introduced the Eisenhower civil rights program, which passed the House last session but was kept bottled up in the Senate Judiciary Committee, of which Senator James O. Eastland, Dixiecrat, of Mississippi, is chairman.

The Eisenhower program, submitted to Congress last April by Attorney General Herbert Brownell, calls for:

1. The creation of a bipartisan commission on civil rights in the executive branch of the Government.
2. The creation of an additional Assistant Attorney General in the Justice Department to head a new civil rights division.
3. Giving the Attorney General authority to bring civil suits to prevent or redress violations of civil rights and providing that an injured person does not have to exhaust state administration remedies for relief under the Federal civil rights statutes.
4. Making it unlawful for a private individual as well as a person acting under color of law to interfere with the right to vote at any election of Federal officers and giving the Attorney General authority to seek injunctions to prevent violations of the right to vote.

Civil Rights Action Seen On Both Sides

Advertiser P.1-B
Fri. 1-11-57
Montgomery, Ala.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 10 (AP)—President Eisenhower's renewed appeal for civil rights legislation brought bipartisan predictions today that Congress this year will pass some such bills.

There was no indication, however, that Southern members would abandon their fight, successful in past years, against such measures.

Chairman Celler (D-NY) of the House Judiciary Committee and Cong. Keating, (NY), senior Republican member, while they differed in their appraisal of Eisenhower's civil rights recommendations, agreed that bills along the lines he recommended will be cleared for House action within a few weeks.

Celler said in an interview he is sorry Eisenhower, in his State of the Union message, did not go beyond the four-point civil rights program he submitted last year.

Celler, who has introduced legislation for enforcement measures against persons restricting others' voting and other rights, siad apparently "the President is ready to settle for half. That may be all we can get."

PRINCIPAL POINTS

Principal points in Eisenhower's proposals include authority for the attorney general to bring civil suits against private individuals, as well as officials, who are accused of violating voting and other civil rights, and to go directly to federal court with such actions.

Celler and Keating, who were interviewed separately, agreed the House committee need not repeat the hearings conducted on the issue last month and draft a bill soon enough to permit House action next month.

Celler said he does not expect a repetition of delays encountered in the House rules committee last year.

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DEMOCRATS AGREE TO SENATE TEST FOR CIVIL RIGHTS

Times P.1
Sat. 1-12-57
New York

Strategy Seeks to Wear Out Filibustering Southerners by the End of April

JOHNSON BACKS MOVE

Four Bills Will Be Pushed—Fight for Closure Rule Change Is Delayed

By JOHN D. MORRIS
Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 11—Civil rights advocates have reached an understanding with Senate Democratic leaders on strategy aimed at passage of a four-point civil rights program by the end of April.

The plan calls for round-the-clock sessions to wear down filibustering Southerners and finally an attempt to limit debate, if necessary, by invoking the present closure role.

Efforts to modify the closure rule to provide a more effective curb on the filibusteror unlimited debate to block action on pending legislation—would come later in the session.

The strategy was fixed after consultations between Senator Lyndon B. Johnson, Democrat of Texas, the majority leader; Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, Democrat of Minnesota, leader of a bipartisan civil rights group, and others.

Johnson Opposes Bills

While Mr. Johnson is opposed to the civil rights bills and will fight them as a Senator from Texas, it was said, he will not attempt to use his position as Democratic leader to keep them from reaching the floor.

Neither is he expected to participate in the prospective filibuster or to block efforts to break it.

The civil rights program to be tested is embodied in bills sponsored by Senator Thomas C. Hennings Jr., Democrat of Missouri, as chairman of the Judiciary Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights. Co-sponsors are the other subcommittee members, Senators Joseph C. O'Mahoney, Democrat of Wyoming, and William Langer, Republican of North Dakota.

The measures have the following purposes:

¶To protect voting rights in Federal elections and primaries through court injunctions and penal measures against intimidation, coercion and other interference.

¶To establish a division headed by an Assistant Attorney General in the Justice Department for enforcement of civil rights.

Resemble President's Plan

¶To make lynching and other forms of mob violence a Federal crime.

¶To make bodily attacks on uniformed members of the armed forces a Federal offense.

The first two bills are similar to parts of President Eisenhower's civil rights program. They were approved by the Hennings subcommittee before the President submitted his recommendations last year. However, they were bottled up by the full Judiciary Committee.

Senator Hennings announced today that he would move for action at th first meeting of the Judiciary Committee, either late next week or early the following week. Times P.11-C

His motion, he said, will call for the limitation of hearings to two weeks followed by a committee vote on the bills.

Mr. Hennings was confident that the committee would act favorably despite the opposition of its chairman, Senator James O. Eastland, Democrat of Mississippi.

"I think we have the votes to invoke closure if necessary," he added.

Senator Eastland was not available for comment, but associates said he planned to call an early organizational meeting of the committee. There was some question whether Mr. Hennings' motion would be in order, since his subcommittee has not yet been recreated for the new Congress. The bills ordinarily would be referred to it before the full committee took them up.

Hennings Gives Views

Senator Hennings said he favored Senate action on the civil rights proposals before a proposed amendment to the closure rule was brought to the floor.

However, as chairman of the Committee on Rules and Administration, which has jurisdiction, he said he looked for early hearings and subsequent Senate action on that issue.

Under present rules a two-thirds' majority of the entire Senate, or sixty-four members, is required to limit debate.

Several resolutions for a change are pending before the

Rules Committee. They include one introduced by the Republican leader, Senator William F. Knowland of California, and co-sponsored by Senator Johnson.

The Knowland amendment would permit closure by two-thirds of the Senators present and voting. It also would eliminate the present rule's prohibition against any limitation of debate on motions for consideration of rules changes. A third provision would specify that Senate rules carried over from Congress to Congress and could be changed only under procedures specified in them.

Senator Hennings has advocated closure by a simple majority of Senators present and voting. He said today that he still favored a more effective curb on filibusters but declined to take a stand on any specific formula.

Plans to give civil rights legislation priority over a rules change were said in other quarters to be based on belief that a filibuster now could be broken despite past failures.

Once this has been done, according to those familiar with the strategy, it will be comparatively easy to wear down a second filibuster against revising the closure rules.

CIVIL RIGHTS PUSHED

Commercial appeal

School Aid, Refugees Also Head List—Democrat Plans Go Further

Wed. 1-9-57

By MERRIMAN SMITH
United Press Staff Writer

WASHINGTON, Jan. 8.—President Eisenhower and Republican congressional leaders agreed Tuesday that the Eisenhower Doctrine resolution and extension of corporation and excise tax laws should receive top priority in the new Congress.

They also marked for urgent attention such measures as the President's civil rights and school construction programs and a bill to clarify the status of Hungarian refugees. The tax law involves about three billion dollars a year in Federal revenue.

Memphis, Tenn

The list was drawn up at the first regular meeting of the year between Mr. Eisenhower and House and Senate Republican leaders.

P. 1

Need Democrats' Help

The GOP leaders conceded they will need the approval of the Democratic leadership in pressing this legislation. But they expressed confidence the two parties can get together.

Meanwhile, 28 House Democrats unveiled a legislative program of their own that went far beyond the GOP priority list. It included tax relief for consumers and small business, an increase in the $1 an hour minimum wage, increased Social Security benefits and "stepped-up" public works, increased unemployment compensation, and a cost-of-living pay raise for Government workers.

The Democrats also called for school construction and civil rights programs of broader scope than anything Mr. Eisenhower has proposed.

South Not Consulted

They did not consult with Speaker Sam Rayburn (D., Texas) in drawing up the program. Nor did they ask any Southern Democrats to endorse it.

Senate GOP leader William F. Knowland (Calif.) and House GOP leader Joseph W. Martin Jr. said their discussion with the President covered the entire list of legislation he will recommend in his State of the Union message to Congress Thursday.

Presidential press secretary James C. Hagerty also reported Mr. Eisenhower will deliver a streamlined message, making it shorter and more generalized than customary.

He said the message, which the President will deliver personally, will contain relatively few major recommendations. Detailed proposals will be presented in the budget, which goes to Congress Jan. 16, and in subsequent messages on specific subjects.

Middle East Has Priority

At the head of their list the GOP placed the Administration-sponsored resolution authorizing Mr. Eisenhower to use funds and military force, if necessary, to guard the Middle East against Communist aggression.

Senator Knowland said he expected the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to send the measure to the floor in two or three weeks.

Civil Rights Prospects Good

Record *P. 6* *Atlanta, Ga.* *Wed 1-2-57*

The slow grind in the hopper of those bills meant for the unhampered reach of a free government of a free people, for a free people, at last shows a ray of hope in the procedure proposed for the 85th., Congress.

All through the Roosevelt and Truman eras, certain members of the Congress counted on the un-Democratic practice of unlimited debate, better known as the accustomed filibuster, resorted to by those who in the main did not wish the allowance of a free vote on some measure which they felt they had not enough opposition to forestall.

Rule 22 is well and widely known on the front of stalling off voting on such legislation as promulgated civil rights, or the clarification of those rights already guaranteed under the Constitution of the United States.

The talkfest, engaged in by Southerners who carried a pledge with their constituents to keep off anything suggesting Negro fear or the free circulations of individuals in a free society, has long been regarded as un-American.

Cloture is a jealous maiden in the halls of our lawmaking bodies, and the medium by which it is obtained is so unwieldly as to seldom be resorted to.

The churches are that a civil rights bill will emerge from the first session of the 85th Congress. Contrary to sentiment in most recent years, many conservative Democrats including some Southerners, feel that a Civil Rights bill should be passed by the 85th Congress, but they are opposed to the Eisenhower Administration Civil Rights program as proposed by Herbert Brownell earlier this year. They object to his proposal that any citizen might take a Civil Rights case directly to the Federal courts.

They still favor a constitutional amendment to repeal poll taxes and propose another amendment which would guarantee certain rights to all citizens.

It might be news to some that a group of Democratic Senators favors a strong Civil Rights program, and have indicated that they will push hard for such a liberal program at this session.

Filibuster is still possible in the Senate, even though in 1949 Southerners gave up the right to unlimited debate on a motion to bring up a bill.

Beyond a doubt a Civil Rights bill with teeth will emerge from this session of the Congress. This is thought to be one of those musts upon which rests the prestige of this country.

The Montgomery affair and the Clinton, Tennessee revolt with all their unnatural ramifications, must receive positive treatment if the nation would hold on to those basic essentials affording it the enabling act of inquiring into the ills of the restless world and to justify itself before its own people as the just steward of their taxes and their sufferings.

12 Senate Bills On Civil Rights To Be Offered

Star P. 1 *Wed. 1-9-57* *Washington D.C.*

Humphrey Urges 'Claim on History' By Congress' Support

By the Associated Press

Senator Humphrey, Democrat of Minnesota, called on the 85th Congress today to assert "a claim on history" by passing "the first meaningful civil rights legislation in 80 years."

He said he held "high hope" that the lawmakers will do just that, declaring that after many years of defeat and frustration backers of civil rights measures now have "an excellent chance" of success.

Senator Humphrey's comments were made in a statement announcing he and a group of colleagues, both Democrats and Republicans, were introducing 12 civil rights bills topped by a measure to provide Federal protection of voting rights.

He called that provision "the key to all the rest of our human rights objectives."

His statement did not say how many Senators were joining as co-sponsors.

Include President's Program

The measures include the civil rights program advocated by President Eisenhower introduced in the Senate on Monday by Senator Dirksen, Republican of Illinois, and earlier in the House by Representative Keating, Republican of New York.

The Eisenhower program also provides for court action to preserve voting and other rights, along with establishment of a civil rights division in the Justice Department and of a presidential committee to investigate civil rights.

Other Humphrey proposals would seek to end all discrimination in interstate transportation and employment, forbid poll taxes, penalize lynching and provide other protections which, Senator Humphrey conceded, have been considered at numerous lengthy hearings without becoming law.

But he said he was convinced that "dramatic changes may be just over the horizon."

"War Far From Over"

Senator Scott, Democrat of North Carolina, said that opponents of such legislation had won the first round in the civil rights battle last week by defeating a move to change Senate rules, but that "the 1957 war on the hot issue is far from over."

He told his constituents in a news letter that "the administration has the votes any time it cares to pick them up on a civil rights bill."

The House passed the Eisenhower program last year, but the legislation was blocked in the Senate. G. O. P. leaders said after a White House conference yesterday that it was on their priority list for the present session.

Senator Humphrey said in an interview that, in addition to the dozen civil rights bills, he also would introduce a resolution to declare one section of the Senate's antifilibuster rule unconstitutional.

Under the rule, it takes the votes of 64 Senators, or two-thirds of the entire membership, to shut off a filibuster—the use of prolonged, dilatory debate to talk legislation to death.

Challenges Rule Section

Senator Humphrey is challenging one section of this rule which specifically exempts proposals to change Senate rules from even this limitation on debate.

During an attempt last week to rewrite Senate rules at the start of the new Congress, defeated 55-38, Vice President Nixon said that in his opinion this section of the Senate's antifilibuster rule was unconstitutional. But he said it was a question that only the Senate itself could decide.

10 1957

FOR CIVIL RIGHTS

afro american Sat. 2-16-57

'165 Years Long Wait'

Baltimore, M.D.

(By NNPA)

WASHINGTON

Urging approval of the Administration's civil rights program, Attorney General Herbert Brownell told a House Judiciary Subcommittee, Monday, that 165 years was long enough to wait for civil rights.

Mr. Brownell was the first witness to appear before the subcommittee, headed by Rep. Emanuel Celler, of New York, chairman of the full Judiciary Committee.

P. 18

Following him as a witness was Rep. Kenneth B. Keating, ranking Republican member of the Judiciary Committee, who is sponsoring the administration's bill.

* * *

WITNESSES TO appear Monday afternoon were Rep. John F. Baldwin (Rep., Calif.) and James Roosevelt (Dem., Calif.) They testified in support of their bills.

The afternoon session of the subcommittee was temporarily blocked when Rep. John W. McCormack of Massachusetts., the Democratic floor leader, asked the House for unamimous consent for the committee to sit while the House was in session. Rep. William M. Colmer (D., Miss.) objected.

The House adjourned for the day at 1:50 p.m. however, which permitted the hearings to resume at 2 p.m.

MR. CELLER called Colmer's action "an obstruction." He said it is unusual to refuse a committee consent to sit while the House is in session.

"It is only done when highly controversial legislation is being considered," he said. "There was nothing today. All we had was special orders (permission to certain members to address the House for a specified period of time)."

Celler said he was "greatly disappointed to have an attitude of that sort expressed by refusing to give us consent to sit. I do not know what it proposes."

* * *

KEATING SAID Republican members of the subcommittee had authorized him to say they will sit at any time, including evenings, in order to bring the hearings to a close by Thursday night.

It was decided to begin hearings at 9 o'clock Tuesday morning so as to avoid any delay by the committee being denied permission to sit while the House is in session.

"I am opposed to any efforts, by direction or indirection, to extend these hearings," Keating said. "We have telegrams from various governors and attorneys generals who want to be heard later. They should be informed that the hearings will terminate Thursday."

* * *

CELLER SAID there may be exceptional cases making it necessary to extend the hearings beyond Thursday.

Opening the hearings, Celler told the committee that there were before them 45 civil rights bills introduced by various members of Congress. This, he said, indicated the continuing widespread interest in civil rights, particularly in view of the reception, good or bad, given the Supreme Court desegregation decision.

The hearings will continue four days. Celler said the time will be divided equally between proponents and opponents o civil rights legislation.

* * *

IN ADDITION to Celler and Keating, members of the subcommittee are Rep. Peter W. Rodino, New Jersey; Byron G. Rogers, Colorado, and Lester Holtzman, New York, Democrats, and William M. McCulloch, Ohio, and William E. Miller, New York, Republicans.

Not a Southerner is on the subcommittee. But two Southern members of the Judiciary Committee were present. They were Rep. Edwin E. Willis, La.; and E. L. (Tic) Forrester, Georgia Democrat.

Also present was Charles J. Bloch of Macon, Ga., representing Gov. Marvin Griffin of Georgia.

GEORGIAN AT HEARING
Rep. Forrester Quotes Bible

Rights Foes Win 12-Day Extension

atlanta Ga Constitution Thurs. 2-14-57

By DOUGLAS B. CORNELL

WASHINGTON, Feb. 13 (AP)—Southerners, battering at civil rights legislation as evil, dangerous and a "bunch of garbage," wrung from a House Judiciary subcommittee today a 12-day respite before hearings are halted.

The time element is important to chances of passing such legislation. Delaying tactics at every turn are a Southern stratagem.

THIRD PROLONGATION P. 1

Twice before the subcommittee had yielded to Dixie protests and kept the hearings going. Now, instead of ending tomorrow, another round of testimony is set for Feb. 25-26.

But "under no circumstances," Chairman Celler (D-NY) declared will there be another extension.

He said future witnesses include Gov. Price Daniel of Texas, Attorneys General Bruce Bennett of Arkansas and J. Lindsay Almond of Virginia, and Sens. Herman E. Talmadge (D-Ga) and Strom Thurmond (D-SC).

Celler and other backers of civil rights measures aimed at first at no hearings at all, contending every possible argument had been brought forth in previous years.

DODGE FILIBUSTER

They want to push a bill through the House as quickly as possible, on the basis that the sooner they hustle it to the Senate the better the chances of defusing the big Southern weapon — the filibuster.

What the subcommittee is considering are bills to give the federal government stronger powers to combat any violation of civil rights in the states.

Southerners contend that this would trample on the rights of the states; that they already are handling the problem adequately. An array of them appeared before the subcommittee today.

Rep. Forrester (D-Ga) shook a finger, banged a fist on the witness table, quoted the Bible at times and called the legislation backed by the Eisenhower administration "a monstrosity, a bunch of garbage," and an effort to "beat the Democrats to the punch."

Tennessee's attorney general, George F. McCanless, said it would increase racial tensions which are growing already, endanger the peace of communities, and "set in motion an inquisition that could accomplish nothing except to intensify distrust and misunderstanding."

Richmond attorney John J. Wicker, speaking "purely as a citizen of Virginia," hit at the legislation as evil and dangerous, and capable of depriving people of the right of trial by jury. He said it would create a federal commission that could launch "inquisitions and intimidations" wherever and whenever it chose to investigate vague allegations that some citizens were being deprived of some rights.

P. 21

The Southerners weren't taking the positoin that no abuses or mistreatment of voting and other rights of Negroes exist. But they said such instances are isolated and pending proposals are no way to handle them.

McCanless testified under questioning that there were disorders at Clinton, Tenn., over allowing Negroes to attend a white school. But he said the state sent in officers and order was restored in "a very dangerous situation" without loss of life or serious property damage. The federal government didn't have to come in and restore order, he said.

Forrester offeerd to provide 30 quotations from the Bible in support of segregation. The congressman, who taught Sunday School for 27 years, said segregation began when Gold told Abraham: "I'm going to make your seed a blessing to the entire world." The Lord, he said, also told Moses and Joshua: "You shall be a special people and above all people of the world."

Timing Of Civil Rights Action Left To Congress

Informer Sat. 2-16-57 Houston, Texas

WASHINGTON, D C (NNPA — The matter of a timetable for passage of civil rights legislation is left by him with the Congress, President Eisenhower told his news conference Wednesday.

But he emphasized that he wants civil rights legislation of the character he recommended to Congress in his State of the Union message.

P. 5

The question came up when a reporter told the President that Senator William F. Knowland, of California, the Republican floor leader, had said he expects the Senate to pass a civil rights bill in the spring of this year.

"I wonder did you personally urge your leaders in the House and Senate to try to pass this bill early in this session to avoid a southern filibuster?" the reporter asked.

The timing of such things I leave entirely to the leaders in Congress," Mr Eisenhower replied, adding:

"I have said as emphatically as I know how that I want a civil rights bill of the character that we recommended to the Congress.

I belive it is— in it is nothing that is inimical to the interests of any one. It is intended to preserve rights without arousing passions and without disturbing the rights of anyone also.

"I think it is a very decent and very needful piece of legislation."

The proposals of the President call for the establishment of civil rights commission in the executive branch of the Government and a civil rights division in the Justice Department.

It also calls for giving the Attorney General the authority to seek injunctions to prevent threatened or attempted violations of civil rights including the right to vote.

CIVIL RIGHTS PIONEER WILL ADDRESS FORUM

Daily World Atlanta, Ga. Sat 2-16-57

DURHAM, N. C. — Dr. James M. Nabrit Jr., the man who organized at Howard University the first course in Civil Rights to be taught an an American Law School, will be the speaker for the Forum Committee at North Carolina College at 10:30 a. m. March 19.

The Forum Committee is a non partisan faculty-student group that presents speakers of various political and economic beliefs.

Dr. Nabrit who received his education at Morehouse College and his legal training at Northwestern University, has participated in virtually all major civil rights cases for the past fifteen years.

He is also a member of the President's Committee on Government Contracts.

Among major civil rights cases in which the Howard University Professor has participated have been the District of Columbia School Case (Bolling vs. Sharpe), the Oklahoma Registration Case (Lane vs. Wilson), and the Jaybird Primary Case (Terry vs. Adams). All were argued before the United States Supreme Court.

As a pioneer in civil rights courses, Dr. Nabrit has been influential in directing the legal affairs of the NAACP. He is a member of the NAACP National Legal Committee and he also serves on the National Legal Advisory Committee of the National Society for Medical Research.

The civil rights expert's professional career began at Leland College in Baker La., where he taught for two years. He later moved to Arkansas State College for Negroes at Pine Bluff where he served for two years as dean.

In 1936 Professor Nabrit joined the Howard University Law School faculty where he served as a professor until 1956.

Prior to assuming his present position as secretary and director of public relations, Dr. Nabrit was assistant to the president of Howard.

The law educator has contributed articles to numerous publications including the following; Note in the Illinios Law Review; Articles in the International Juridical Law Bulletin; The Journal of Negro Education; Inventory of Research in Racial and Cultural Relations; and The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.

DR JAMES M. NABRIT, JR.

The Friendless South

Journal + Constitution Atlanta, Ga. Sun. 2-17-57

SOUTHERN CONGRESSMEN have won additional time in which to present their case against proposed federal civil rights legislation.

The subcommittee conducting the hearings granted the delay so those who have not appeared before it, including Sen. Herman Talmadge, could have their say.

The concession was both fair and important. Georgia Rep. E. L. Forrester of the Third District told the committee the proposals were drawn so that any lawyer could drive a wagon through them. Earlier, Macon Attorney Charles Bloch had pointed out serious legal flaws. Sen. Talmadge and others may be able to slow down proceedings, too.

For our money, Rep. Forrester said a mouthful when he accused the Republicans of trying to beat the Democrats to the punch in this matter. Indeed, the haste to get these laws through Congress must be blamed on the architects of the new party platforms.

Mr. Forrester's remark brings up some questions. Which party gives a hoot about the South? Where will the South go in 1960? And does anybody but the South care?

The last two presidential elections proved clearly enough that once the conventions are over and the nominations sewed up, the South can stay home and stew in its own juices for all either party cares, until delegate-courting time comes around again.

IN PRESIDENT'S PLAN

States Told Rights Intact

Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. Tues. 2-5-57

WASHINGTON, Feb. 4 (AP)—Atty. Gen. Brownell declared today there would be no federal encroachment on states' authority in the administration's civil rights program. He urged passage of the legislation to "affirm the Congress' determination to secure equal justice under law for all of our citizens."

Brownell, first witness at a hearing called by the House Judiciary Committee, said the program is designed to protect rights guaranteed by the Constitution through civil action rather than by criminal prosecution as the law now requires.

There was every indication the program faces rough sledding in the House as well as in the Senate. Southern congressmen served notice they were ready to use all parliamentary devices to delay it.

Rep. Colmer (D-Miss) succeeded in blocking plans of the Judiciary Committee to meet while the House is in session. This may string the hearings out over some time.

Under House rules, all but three exempted committees must recess hearings when the House meets unless given unanimous permission to continue. The three committees exempt from the rule are Appropriations, Un-American Activities, and Government Operations. Colmer objected when Democratic Leader McCormack of Massachusetts requested unanimous consent for the Judiciary Committee to ignore the rule. Such requests usually are granted as a matter of course.

Still to be heard by the committee were a number of officials from Southern states. Rep. Willis (D-La) said they will offer "formidable" arguments against President Eisenhower's program.

The program, one of the major pieces of legislative business sent to Congress by Eisenhower, calls for laws to protect voting rights and provides for civil damage suits where civil rights have been violated, as determined by the courts.

Texas Official Assails Civil Rights Proposals

Post + Times Herald P. 8-a Tues. 2-26-57 Washington, D.C.

Associated

Assistant Attorney General Davis Grant of Texas yesterday denounced proposed civil rights bills as "basically bad legislation" encouraging "shameful waste" of tax money and arbitrary abuse of power.

If enacted, he declared, they would "exercise a corrosive effect upon the sovereignty of the states of the United States."

Grant, appearing in behalf of Gov. Price Daniel of Texas, told a House Judiciary Subcommittee that the American philosophy of Government, established as fundamental law by our founding fathers, is defended—for it is the defense of free men."

Attacking civil rights proposals in detail, Grant said the President already has the powers—through Executive order—which would be vested in a civil rights commission.

He also argued that "arbitrary powers" would be given the commission to summon citizens before it from any distance "to answer any charges whatever, no matter how ridiculous," and impound any and all records.

"Thus," he stated, "the commission could indefinitely impound in Washington the entire records of the state of Texas if the commission deems it advisable."

He said the proposal to provide an additional assistant attorney general with authority to institute civil actions for individuals in rights cases would "make a legal clinic" of the Justice Department for all who would seek free legal assistance.

Rep. John Bell Williams (D-Miss.) told the Subcommittee the proposed legislation was "aimed at the white people of the South" to subject them to "persecution" by minority pressure groups.

He said the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and its executive secretary, Roy Wilkins, would "run" the proposed Federal commission on civil rights.

But he said Southerners have enough allegations of racial discrimination in the North to "keep the commission busy for the next 112,000 years."

For example, Williams said, "We could intercede to learn why Mrs. (Franklin D.) Roosevelt discriminated against white people when she fired all the white members of the White House staff and replaced them with Negroes."

Williams said the last "lynching" of a Negro was in Boston, "but I haven't heard anyone screaming for the FBI to be sent to Boston."

Williams described the "lynching" as the recent kicking and beating to death of a Negro man by two white men while two other men held his wife.

"I checked the Boston papers to learn out how outraged they were about this lynching," he said. "If they printed a story at all, I couldn't find it.

Rep. James C. Davis (D-Ga.) tol dthe Subcommittee that "hypocritical statements of politicians seeking votes" are responsible for much racial misunderstanding. He said "the race problem is something you can't solve by legislation."

10 1957

Brownell to Face Critics Again in Civil Rights Tilt

Star Thurs. 2-14-57 P.1
Washington D.C.

Senators to Hear Attorney General; House Unit Action Likely Soon

By ROBERT K. WALSH

The congressional wrangle over Federal civil rights legislation broadens today as Attorney General Brownell testifies again, this time at the start of Senate subcommittee hearings.

The House Judiciary subcommittee which heard him as its first witness 10 days ago indicated strongly today, through Chairman Cellar, Democrat of New York, that it will recommend a civil rights bill Fedruary 27. Mr. Celler predicted that the full committee will report it out the first week in March.

He set February 26 as the "absolutely final" date for hearings originally scheduled to have ended last Thursday. One of the last witnesses will be Virginia Attorney General J. Lindsay Almond, jr.

The Senate subcommittee headed by Senator Hennings, Democrat of Missouri, could not estimate either the duration of its hearings or the date a civil rights bill might reach the Senate floor.

Limitation Loses

Senator Hennings recently was defeated by a 4-3 subcommittee vote on his move to limit the hearings to two weeks. He could promise only that his fellow members "will not tolerate long drawn-out inconclusive hearings."

Mr. Brownell's testimony before the Senators today was expected to be more comprehensive—and likely to be subjected to sharper questioning—than were his comments urging House subcommittee approval of a civil rights bill backed by the Eisenhower administration.

While the House subcommittee is studying 45 bills, its choice apparently has narrowed down to the administration's measure as introduced by Representative Keating, Republican of New York, and a much more comprehensive and stricter bill sponsored by Mr. Celler. The administration's bill would set up a civil rights commission, create a new Civil Rights Division in the Justice Department, and allow the Attorney General to obtain Federal court civil remedies such as injunctions in complaints of threatened or actual denial of voting and other civil rights.

Recess Scheduled

The Senate subcommittee is examining an omnibus civil rights bill sponsored by Senator Hennings, the administration bill introduced by Senator Dirksen, Republican of Illinois, four civil rights bills reported out by the subcommittee last year, and several separate bills offered by Senator Humphrey, Democrat of Minnesota, and others.

Star P.7-a

Meanwhile the House subcommittee planned an all-day session today before recessing to the final hearings February 25 and 26. Attorney General T. C. Callison of South Carolina, Assistant Attorney General John Blair of Florida, and several House members also opposing civil rights legislation are listed as witnesses.

Testimony late yesterday by Attorney General Jack P. F. Gremillion of Louisiana turned out to be principally a defense of racial segregation in public schools. In response to questions by Mr. Keating, he said that if the Fifth Circuit United States Court of Appeals eventually rules that schools must be integrated in a particular district in Louisiana all other school districts in the State would abide by such a decision.

Spurns Federal Rule

Mr. Gremillion denied there has been denial of civil rights of any citizens in his State. He declared that "I can with all good conscience say that Louisiana does not need this Federal civil rights legislation and does not care to accept the inherent dangers to its citizens that this proposed law contains."

The Louisian official agreed personally with an idea voiced by Chairman Celler that a "moratorium" be arranged for several years on school integration orders if Southern States would immediately repeal all segregation laws. But Mr. Gremillion expressed doubt that such an arrangement would be adopted by most voters in Southern States.

Mr. Keating remarked that "the idea sounds more like a millenium than a moratorium."

Mr. Gremillion as well as Representative Andrews, Democrat of Alabama, suggested some ways of "improving" the administration's bill if one is enacted. Mr. Gremillion favored a civil rights commission merely to study the problem rather than a Civil Rights Commission armed with subpoena powers and other legal weapons for far-flung investigation.

Mr. Andrews said that as a means of helping Negroes the civil rights bill ought to be amended by setting up a Human Resettlement Commission. This, he explained, could authorize loans to Negroes who are "unhappy" about conditions in their home States and want to move elsewhere.

Calls Situation Delicate

Attorney General George McCanless of Tennessee advised the subcommittee earlier yesterday that the racial relations situation "is delicate and should not be dealt with carelessly." Even if the proposed civil rights legislation were constitutional—which he said he doubts—it should not be enacted. He urged Congress to "respect" the powers reserved to the States by the Federal Constitution.

"In this instance," he counseled, "Congress will perform its best service if it will leave to the several State legislatures, with their understanding of local situations, the discretion to adopt such laws as shall seem to them to be just and necessary. A great need of our country is for the exercise of more not fewer rights by our States."

Declaring that the proposed measures imply "distrust" of Southern States, Mr. McCanless maintained that Tennessee has proved in official action as well as State laws its determination to safeguard rights and privileges of all citizens.

In reply to questions about troubles in Clinton, Tenn., concerning efforts to integrate schools, he said he was certain that the particular situation was being handled justly and capably by the Federal district court and State officials. Congress, he cautioned, would "make a mistake" if it enacted civil rights or similar legislation which might intensify the difficulties and perhaps lead to danger to life and property.

He especially critized provisions of the bill that would create a Civil Rights Commission with subpoena and other strong authority and allow the Attorney General of the United States to obtain Federal court injunctions in civil rights cases. He said it would set up a vast Federal bureaucracy and "inquisition" and encourage use of injunctions to intimidate and alienate people eager to improve race relations.

Ervin Rips Brownell on Rights Bills

Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.
Sat. 2-16-57

WASHINGTON, Feb. 15 (AP)—Peppery exchanges between Atty Gen. Brownell and Sen. Ervin (D-NC) today marked a Senate hearing on civil rights legislation.

Ervin contended the Eisenhower administration had failed to show any need for the legislation it proposes. Brownell, in response promised to submit a list of criminal prosecutions for civil rights violations which he said probably would "run into the hundreds."

The Eisenhower administration wants authority, among other things, for the attorney general to handle such cases in the civil courts, through injunction proceedings.

SPEARHEADS OPPOSITION

Ervin, spearheading Southern opposition to the administration program, argued that Brownell had failed to show "any specific conditions" warranting enactment of what he called such a "drastic remedy."

Later Sen. Douglas (D-Ill.) plumped for an antilynching bill on top of the administration's civil rights program.

In answer, Sen. Stennis (D-Miss) pleaded that the South be allowed to settle its own problems. He said, "Nobody can solve the problem but the patient leaders of both racial groups in the South. When agitation ends and outsiders leave, then we can go back to rebuilding good relations."

RACIAL SETBACK

Stennis said the Supreme Court decisions against school segregation and agitation for civil rights bills in Congress and elsewhere were only setting back good race relations in the South.

The exchange between Ervin and Brownell took place at a Senate Judiciary subcommittee hearing that developed into a sparring match between the two lawyers. Brownell is a product of Yale Law School, class of '27, and Ervin took his law degree at Harvard in '22.

"I'd have to grade you zero on that," Brownell told Ervin at one point during the argument.

"If we're going in for grading," replied Ervin, a former member of the North Carolina Board of Law Examiners, "I'd say you were 99 and 99-100 per cent wrong on that."

Constitution

Ervin frequently accused the attorney general of dodging his questions.

The attorney general said that over the years, and in recent years too, "there have been a great many violations of the civil rights of our citizens." He cited the right to vote.

Pressed for examples, Brownell snapped that he couldn't be expected to "turn myself into an FBI." He said he would submit court records of criminal prosecutions of the type the civil rights legislation is designed to deal with.

Sat. 2-16-57

At present, a private citizen may apply for an injunction to enforce his rights. But Brownell said in some instances people have not done this because of "economic pressures," apparently meaning they were unable to afford a lawyer.

Under the administration plan, the attorney general would go into court and seek the injunction for them, at government expense.

Ervin contended this would deprive other citizens of the right of trial by jury. Under the present system, he said the government must follow the criminal indictment route in such cases, and this guarantees the defendant a jury trial.

Brownell said that Ervin, in expressing fears about what might

Associated Press Wirephoto

GRILLS BROWNELL

Sen. Sam J. Ervin

happen under the injunction plan, was in this position:

"What it comes down to, Senator, is that you, an ex-judge, do not have confidence in the judicial system of this country. I'm amazed that you take this position."

Ervin replied: "What it comes down to is that I consider the right of indictment, of trial by jury and cross-examination of witnesses so scared that I never want them taken away from any individual."

Ervin said he feared "a politically minded attorney general" could use the proposed legislation "to intimidate election officials throughout the United States."

After a 2½-hour morning session, Brownell was excus... until tomorrow. Ervin said he had a lot more questions to ask.

'165 Years Is Long Enough To Wait,' Says Brownell

Courier Sat. 2-16-57 Pittsburgh Pa. P. 2

By ALICE A. DUNNIGAN

WASHINGTON (ANP) — The time has come to make civil rights meaningful, declared Attorney General Herbert Brownell, last week. "I think 165 years is long enough to wait to get this working right."

The statement was made before the Celler subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee.

Attorney General Brownell was the first of a long list of witnesses to appear before this committee in favor of civil rights legislation.

AFTER OUTLINING the Administration's position on the four-point civil rights measure introduced by Representative Kenneth Keating (R., N. Y.) Brownell told newspaper and television reporters that he was happy to see the House begin hearings on this bill early in the session.

Among other witnesses appearing on the first day of the hearings was Congressman James Roosevelt, son of the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Young Roosevelt declared that "the denial of civil rights—the relegation to second-class citizenship—to any group of citizens is wrong, morally, legally and politically."

■

ONE OF the chief witnesses was Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, who testified for 22 national organizations.

The NAACP executive expounded the denial of the ballot to certain American citizens. He offered to the committee a sample ballot used last spring in Alabama elections which carried declaration of white supremacy.

We've Waited Long Enough

Afro American P. 4 Sat. 2-16-57 Baltimore, M.D.

Attorney General Herbert Brownell, appearing as the first witness before the House Judiciary Committee, considering the Eisenhower administration's civil rights proposals, testified that 165 years is long enough to wait for civil rights legislation.

The Eisenhower program consist of four points:

1. The creation of a commission on civil rights with subpoena powers, to make a study of reported violations of the right to vote, denials of equal protections of the laws, and to evaluate the effectiveness of existing civil rights laws;

2. The appointment of a new assistant attorney general which would allow the creation of a division in the justice department to handle civil rights cases, now handled by a small section in the criminal division;

3. To provide civil remedies for those whose franchise is interfered with; and

4. To permit the Justice Department to initiate civil actions on behalf of aggrieved parties whose civil rights have been denied.

* * *

THIS IS ABOUT as inoffensive a civil rights program as could be imagined if laws are to have any substance and meaning.

Nothing is said about enforcement of the Supreme Court's school, recreation and bus decisions. FEPC is relegated to the limbo. Anti-lynching and anti-poll tax proposals are forgotten.

In his reference to 165 years Mr. Brownell probably had reference to the fact that although the Constitution was proclaimed as ratified on March 4, 1789, it was not until Dec. 15, 1791 that the first 10 amendments were adopted.

These were called the Bill of Rights. Its adoption was exactly 165 years ago.

But the absence of any civil rights legislation on the Congressional level actually dates to the year 1620 when the first shipload of slaves, torn from their African homeland, landed at Jamestown, Virginia.

And this was 336 years ago, not 165.

* * *

NO MATTER whether we take Mr. Brownell's 165 years or our own 336, all of us must admit that we have waited entirely too long for the enactment of enforceable civil rights legislation.

We agree with Mr. Brownell that this is the most important matter Congress will consider this year.

With the support pledged in their platforms by members of both parties, it should be pushed through to the enactment and without delay.

Need For Passage Cited By Reuther

World B'ham Ala. Wed. 2-13-57

WASHINGTON — The Anti-Defamation League of B'NAI B'RITH Thursday confidently predicted the 85th Congress "will go down in history as the first Congress since reconstruction days to pass a significant Civil Rights bill."

The organization, which appeals to equality for all people regardless of race, made the prediction during hearings on the Eisenhower Administration's Civil Rights Bill, now before Congress.

The legislation proposed by the administration would create a civil rights commission, would set up a special civil rights division within the Justice Department and is generally designed to protect the right to vote regardless of race, color or creed.

The Anti-Defamation League declared the bills placed in Congress demonstrate "America's desire to vindicate the ideals of equality or our religious and political heritage."

REUTHER SPEAKS

United Auto Workers President Walter Reuther called the bills before the subcommittee "minimum," but urged their approval.

"Cost of another failure," Reuther said "would be incalculably worse, economically and politically, both within our country and its effect upon our standing in the nations of the world."

Representative Kenneth Keating, New York, one of the proponents of the bills, made special efforts to clear up an apparent misunderstanding of the Bill on the part of Georgia Attorney General Eugene Cook.

Keating explained to Cook the bills were to carry out a decision of the United States Supreme Court, and had nothing to do with whether or not races would mingle socially in Georgia.

"We're not talking here of social patterns not of intermingling of the races socially. We're talking only of civil rights guaranteed by the Constitution," he explained.

Keating upheld the right of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to determine if Constitutional rights are being denied, especially in sections known to have fought against any advance for the Negro in general.

The committee also heard from several representatives from the South including a delegation from Georgia. The expected statements were made in opposition to honoring measures which seek to give the Negro equality in Dixie.

Atty.-Gen. Brownell To Take Stand For Civil Rights Feb. 14

Independent Nashville, Tenn 2-13-57

Washington, D. C.—Charles H. Slayman, Jr., Chief Counsel and Staff Director of the Senate Judiciary Subcommittte on Constitutional Rights, today issued the following statement:

"I have been authorized by the Chairman, Senator Thomas C. Hennings, Jr., (D.Mo.), to issue this statement in answer to several inquiries which have been made concerning the exact date on which Senate civil rights hearings will begin.

"Public hearings on pending civil rights legislation will commence at 10 a.m., on Thursday, February 14, 1957, in the Senate Office Building—the room number to be announced later—before the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, under the chairmanship of Senator Thomas C. Hennings, Jr.

"It was soon discovered that starting the hearings on Tuesday, Feb. 12, 1957, a holiday: Lincoln's Birthday, as originally stated, would have inconvenienced some Subcommittee members and prospective witnesses; consequently, to accommodate them, the date was changed.

"Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., will be the first witness. The names of other persons testifying will be published in the near future."

10 1957

Bill Does Not Take Away Liberty As Solons Say

Daily World 8.7
Atlanta Ga. Fwa. 4-2-57

WASHINGTON, D. C. (NNPA) — In a documented memorandum, copies of which were sent to all members of the Senate Judiciary Committee, sponsors of the Administration's civil rights proposals maintain that the legislation will result in no person being denied the right to a jury trial in any situation in which he is now guaranteed that right.

Southern opponents of the legislation have been raising the hue and cry that the civil rights bill is intended to establish government by injunction and to deny persons the right to jury trials in criminal contempt proceedings.

The memorandum supporting the position that the proposed civil rights legislation will not deny the right to jury trials in any situation where that right is now guaranteed was drafted by Charles H Slayman, Jr., chief counsel and staff director of the Senate Judiciary Constitutional Rights subcommittee.

In a covering memorandum forwarding copies of the Slayman memorandum to all members of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Senator Thomas C. Hennings, of Missouri, declared that the charge that the legislation would result in a denial of jury trials is "without foundation in fact."

Senator Hennings chairman of the Constitutional Rights subcommittee, pointed out in his memorandum that an effort has been made, in the press and otherwise, to convince the Congress and the public that the provision for injunctive relief in the civil rights bill would result in a denial of the right to a jury trial.

"To lay minds, there might seem to be something superficially plausible in this allegation," Hennings said. "However, I am certain that lawyers will see that the charge is essentially without foundation in fact."

Hennings pointed out that "the concept of jury trial is a limited one, both traditionally and constitutionally." He said:

"It is well known that a person is now entitled to a jury trial in every conceivable type of criminal proceeding."

He noted that the Constitution provides for jury trial in only two types of proceedings: (a) criminal prosecutions and (b) civil actions at law for money damages in excess of a certain amount.

"One field of the law in which jury trial is very limited is in equity proceedings," Hennings said, adding:

"To listen to the opponents of civil rights legislation one would think that injunctive relief was something new. As we all know, it goes back for hundreds of years in Anglo-American legal history.

"The injunctive process was first established to provide relief in unusual circumstances, where the regular law courts could not, in fact, be counted upon to provide relief. The injunctive process continues to serve the same purpose to day.

"One such unusual circumstance exists today where the civil and criminal procedures cannot be relied upon to provide relief in certain cases of violations of voting rights.

"We know that, regardless of the facts, juries in some such cases are not likely to convict. An alternative is the grant of injunctive relief to the United States.

"If an injunction against the violation of the right to vote were issued by a Federal judge, and if this injunction were willfully disobeyed by voting officials, such officials would then be in contempt of the court. Contempt proceedings could be undertaken by the Federal judge without a jury.

"However, there is nothing in either our Constitution, our historical development or our tradition which guarantees a jury trial in a chancery or equity proceeding.

"Furthermore, in both civil and criminal contempts to punish for violation of an injunction, there is no right to a trial by jury if the United States has been a party litigant in the proceedings (with one exception, below).

Daily World

"In fact, Congress has denied a jury trial in contempt proceedings where the injunction was instituted by the United States.

"There is only one exception to this rule, only one type of case in which a person charged with contempt is entitled by law to a trial by jury where the United States is a party. This is the case of labor disputes where injunctions are obtained under the Norris-La Guardia Act.

Fwa 4-2-57

"And even this exception is, today, for all practical purposes a dead letter, since injunctions are now obtained under provisions either of the Taft-Hartley Act (which does not provide for trial by jury for violations of injunctions) or under State laws (which may or may not provide for jury trial)."

House Group May Shape Rights Bill This Week

Star June 3-17-57
Washington D.C. P.7a

By ROBERT K. WALSH

A civil rights bill seems likely to sprout from the House Judiciary Committee this week and a similar Senate measure may show signs of growth despite efforts to nip such legislation in the bud.

Senate Republican Leader Knowland said yesterday the Senate might come to grips with the issue within a week or before the end of this month.

While that sounded optimistic in view of delay by a Senate Judiciary subcommittee in recommending a bill to the full committee, there was a much better chance that the House Judiciary Committee would complete work tomorrow.

Chairman Celler, Democrat of New York, who had hoped to have his committee report out a civil rights measure by March 1, obtained an informal agreement to stay in session all day until a final vote.

Southern members last week received aid from several Northern members in a close vote that knocked out an important provision in the bill. They hoped for assistance tomorrow to eliminate or water down proposed authority for the Attorney General to seek Federal court civil remedies, redress and preventive relief in civil rights complaints.

Of the 32 members of the committee, 11 are from Southern or border States. Most of the other Democrats and Republicans are expected to vote for the bill, which is along lines recommended by President Eisenhower and similar to a measure passed by the House late in the last Congress.

As amended thus far by the House committee the present bill no longer contains authority for the proposed Civil Rights Commission to investigate complaints that persons are "being subjected to unwarranted economic pressures" by reason of their color, race, religion or national origin." A coalition of Southern and Northern members of the committee also succeeded in striking out authority for the commission to study "economic and social" developments constituting a denial of constitutional rights.

The commission's investigations and studies would be left pretty much to alleged deprivation of voting rights.

Clearance Required

A bill reported out this week would require clearance by the House Rules Committee for House action. The Rules Committee waited for many weeks before clearing a bill late in the last session of Congress. Mr. Celler said that if undue delay develops in the Rules Committee he will resort to a discharge petition to bring the bill to the House floor in April. Such a petition requires signatures of at least 219 House members.

Senate leaders said earlier this year that a civil rights bill probably would be called up soon after Senate action on the Middle East resolution and in any event before the Easter recess. Senator Knowland said yesterday he knew of no understanding as to whether the House or Senate would consider it first. He added that he "would anticipate" action first by the House.

A Federal civil rights bill of any kind would almost certainly touch off a filibuster on the Senate floor. Sponsors of the legislation hope to wear down or cut off prolonged debate by taking up the bill fairly early in the current session.

The Senate bill still awaits a vote by the Judiciary subcommittee headed by Senator Hennings, Democrat of Missouri. That subcommittee was unable to obtain a quorum last week but expects soon to submit a measure to the full committee. Southern members of the committee then plan to press for further public hearings or delay in committee action.

mittee which is headed by Senator Eastland of Mississippi.

Civil rights bills given added push

Afro-American Baltimore, Md.
Aal 3-30-57

WASHINGTON — Northern members of both houses of Congress moved last week to force floor votes on civil rights legislation before Congress recesses for the summer.

Southern strategy, aimed at prevention of enactment of the measures to safeguard the voting rights of minorities, would seem to call for the delaying of floor action until just before recess.

In the past such a course has proved effective in blocking rights legislation by enabling its foes to embark upon Senate filibusters or other tactics which would permit scuttling of the measure.

* * *

TO PREVENT such an outcome, countermoves were launched Friday in both houses by supporters of the civil rights program while there is still time to fight through the Southerners' strategy of stalling and delay.

In the House, four northern and border state members of the Rules Committee demanded that a Rules Committee hearing date be set on a resolution to clear the bill for floor action.

The demand was made by Representatives Bolling, (D-Mo.) Madden (D-Ind.) Delaney (D-N.Y.) and O'Neill, (D-Mass.) Strong opposition to such a move is expected from Rep. Howard Smith (D-Va.) Rules Committee chairman and a staunch foe of civil rights.

REP. EMANUEL CELLER, (D-N.Y.) chairman of the House Judiciary Committee which reported the rights proposals favorably last week, threatened to file a discharge petition if the Rules Committee does not soon clear the bills for action.

Such a petition would enable bringing the bill to the floor without Rules Committee action if the required 218 signatures are obtained.

House supporters of the measures claim more than the votes needed for discharge and ample support for its passage once it reaches the floor.

* * *

ON THE SENATE side Senator Hennings, Judiciary subcommittee chairman, (D-Mo.) moved to clear the way for enactment of the bills into law if they are passed by the two houses.

Senator Hennings submitted to the Senate Judiciary Committee the identical bill approved by the House Judiciary as a substitute measure for the one which had been under consideration in the Senate.

This is aimed at prevention of lengthy conferences to bring into agreement House and Senate versions of the legislation once they have made their way through the two chambers.

Although the Senate Judiciary subcommittee voted 4-2 Wednesday for a favorable report on the measure, a stiff struggle is anticipated in getting it through the full com-

Hennings Attacks Jury Trial Issue

Afro-American Sat. 4-6-57 P.5

Baltimore, Md.

WASHINGTON

Sen. Thomas C. Hennings (Dem., Mo.), last Monday denied that the administration's civil rights measure would deprive persons accused of civil rights violations of a trial by jury.

In explaining his stand before the Senate Judiciary Committee, he said that a person is not entitled to a jury trial in every type of criminal proceeding.

"In fact," he said, "the Constitution provides for jury trial in only two types of proceedings—criminal prosecutions and civil actions at law for money damages in excess of a certain amount."

* * *

OPPONENTS OF the proposal argue that the bill would deprive accused persons of a trial by jury, described as "the p r e c i o u s constitutional safeguard."

In addition, opponents of the measure say that it provides for "government by injunction."

The point has been argued back and forth by both sides for several weeks, with the opponents making considerable headway.

The Missouri Senator said that the basis for the arguments (denial of trial by jury) "is essentially without fact or foundation."

* * *

"THERE IS nothing in our constitution," according to Hennings, "our historical development, or our tradition which guarantees a jury trial in a chancery or equity proceeding.

"Furthermore, in both civil and criminal cases to punish violation of an injunction, there is no right to a trial by jury if the United States has been a party litigant, with one exception."

The exception, he said, arises in the case of a labor dispute where injunctions are obtained under the Norris - LaGuardia Act.

He further stated that this act is dead in that injunctions in labor disputes are now obtained under the Taft - Hartley Act which does not provide jury trial for violators of the injunction.

* * *

THE CIVIL rights proposal is now being heard by the full Senate Judicary Committee. Government can only enforce civil rights through criminal prosecution.

The Administration's proposal would empower the Federal Government to use injunctions or to seek other civil remedies.

New hope seen for rights bill passage

Afro-American Sat. 4-6-57

Baltimore, Md.

P.3

WASHINGTON

Congress may approve a "minimum" civil rights bill this year as a result of the "growing force of public opinion," the American Civil Liberties Union said in its 36th annual report last week.

The ACLU points out that federal court decisions and those made by executive agencies, as well as public sentiment, "played a strong part in civil rights progress last year."

The organization's report warns, however, that "strong resistance" still is being encountered in some phases of the battle to insure full freedom under law for all citizens.

SOME "POSITIVE gains" and a number of "remaining problems" are listed in the 96-Always Unfinished Business," page report, titled "Liberty Is Always Unfinished Business," which is a survey of developments in the field of civil liberties from July 1, 1955, to June 30, 1956.

Included among the "remaining problems" was the failure of federal housing officials to end racial discrimination in public housing. They were sharply criticized for "fostering the creation of all white suburbs."

Patrick M. Malin, ACLU executive director, in a foreword to the report, said "a rising chorus of insistence on at least the minimum program to protect the right to vote" might lead to passage of a civil rights bill in Congress.

* * *

DESPITE THE failure of the anti-filibuster move, Mr. Malin said, he was encouraged by the large number of senators who voted at the beginning of the current session for a rule change to end filibusters.

He also cited Vice President Nixon's doubt that the present rules are constitutional as an encouraging sign.

These developments, he said, "offer real enouragement for a future change" which would strike a blow at the power of southern senators to filibuster against civil rights legislation.

Sen. Hennings Defends Civil Rights Legislation

Journal & Guide P.1

Sat. 3-30-57

Norfolk, Va.

Special to Journal and Guide

WASHINGTON — Striking back at an argument used by Southern legislators to prevent passage of the Civil Rights bill, a Missouri senator said this week that the power to use court injunctions to enforce civil rights is nothing new. He also said that it would not take away any right to a jury trial that citizens now have.

Sen. Thomas C. Hennings defended the proposed bill as the Senate Judiciary Committee prepared to take it up. The bill has already been passed by a Judiciary Subcommittee.

* * *

HENNINGS SAID that the bill might seem to some folks, to deprive trial by jury, but added that he was sure the lawyers would see that this charge is without foundation.

The bill, which follows President Eisenhower's recommendations, would protect voting rights of minority groups, set up a bipartisan commission to investigate offenses.

IT WOULD also create a civil rights division in the justice department and permit the government to seek injunctions to prevent wrongs.

Meanwhile, Dixie lawmakers headed by Chairman Sen. Eastland (D-Miss.) and Sen. Thurmond (D.-S. C.), are expected to resort to other delaying tactics to prevent the S e n a t e Judiciary Committee from putting the bill to a test vote early this week.

* * *

EASTLAND MAY side with other Southerners who have said they will demand further hearings. Sen. Thurmond has already a s k e d Eastland to conduct a new round of hearings.

He said that many of the provisions of the bill are objectionable and obnoxious.

The bill before the committee was approved last week by the Hennings sub-committee tee after hearing Att. Gen. Herbert Brownell deny that trial by jury would be jeopardized by the proposals.

MORE SETBACKS HIT CIVIL RIGHTS ON CAPITOL HILL

News & Observer Tues. 4-9-57

Raleigh N.C.

House Group Adjourns Without Acting On Motion to Bring Floor Vote

P.1

WASHINGTON, April 8 (AP)—Civil rights legislation ran into a double setback in Congress today, but it appeared likely the House might reach a vote next month.

The House Rules Committee met and adjourned without acting on a motion designed to bring the legislation to a vote on the House floor.

Chairman Smith (D-Va) announced later the committee would consider a civil rights bill immediately after the Easter recess, which is to end April 29. He predicted the committee would approve it, saying two-thirds of the committee favor it.

Smith opposes the bill but he said he recognizes "the facts of life."

No Practical Way.

Rep. Bolling (D-Mo), who is striving for a vote, had said earlier he could see no practical way to force committee action before the recess.

This would apparently mean a House vote could not be taken until late in May.

In the Senate, the Judiciary Committee gathered with civil rights proposals on its schedule. Not enough members showed up to do business, however, and this meant another week's delay here as the committee adjourned, for lack of a quorum until, next Monday.

The delays amounted to another victory for Southern members of Congress who are fighting the proposals. Their last-ditch weapon would be a Senate filibuster, and a filibuster grows in effectiveness as the time nears for adjournment of Congress.

Will Try Again.

Sen. Hennings (D-Mo) said in a statement he was "extremely disappointed" but would try again to get action in the Senate committee.

The House Judiciary Committee has approved a bill patterned after Eisenhower administration recommendations. The bill is aimed primarily at alleged violations of Negroes' civil rights, including voting rights, in the South.

Under the bill, the attorney general could go into federal District Court to seek injunctions against alleged violators of civil rights. Contempt cases arising from injunctions would not carry the right of a jury trial for the accused, and the Southern critics have stressed this point.

Sen. Ervin (D-NC) told reporters today "I predict it will never pass in this form."

The administration bill, he said, "is designed to deprive people of the right to trial by jury, and equally indefensible is a provision that the aggrieved would not have to show that they had exhausted administrative remedies" before going to court.

"I cannot conceive of the lawyers on this committee voting for any such thing," Ervin said.

The Justice Department says there is no constitutional right to a jury trial in either civil or criminal contempt cases.

Only Seven There

Only seven member of the 15-man Senate committee showed up today. Chairman Eastland (D-Miss) and the other six present sat around for nearly an hour waiting for others to appear.

Reporters counted these present today: Eastland, Ervin, McClellan (D-Ark), H e n n i n g s, Hruska (R-Neb), Butler (R-Md) and Dirksen (R-Ill). Other members are K e f a u v e r (D-Tenn), Johnston (D-SC), O'Mahoney (D-Wyo), Neely (D-WVa), Wiley (R-Wis), Langer (R-ND), Jenner (R-Ind), and Watkins (R-Utah).

The House Rules Committee adjournment cut off the chance for a vote on a motion by Rep. Bolling to hold hearings on the Judiciary Committee bill, starting Wednesday, with final action by the Rules Committee a week later.

Tues. 4-9-57

The action was taken in closed session.

P.2

The voting lineup was reported to be:

For adjournment — Chairman Smith (D-Va), Colmer (D-Miss), Trimble (D-Ark), Thornberry (D-Tex), Allen (R-Ill) and Brown (R-Ohio).

Against adjournment — Bolling, Madden (R-Ind), O'Neill (D-Mass) and Scott (R-Pa).

10 1957

Ge. On W Filibuster,

Post-Herald B'ham, Ala.

Jury Trial Opposition Stiffening

WASHINGTON, July 29 (AP) — Sen. Knowland (R., Cal.) challenged Southern Democrats today to get going with a filibuster against the civil rights bill.

"If there is a filibuster, I am in favor of having it now and fighting it out, rather than postponing it, even if it takes until September to get this measure passed," the GOP leader told newsmen.

Knowland heads a loose coalition of Republicans and Northern Democrats fighting for civil rights legislation.

He predicted the Senate would defeat a pending amendment to write a broad jury trial provision into the bill.

Some additional Republicans and Democrats lined up over the week-end in opposition to any such amendment, Knowland said, and the coalition is ready for a test vote at any time.

It had been expected that a vote on the jury trial amendment — the biggest remaining issue in the civil rights fight—might come today or tomorrow. But Senate maneuvering indicated a roll call may be delayed.

Knowland said he didn't anticipate any further statement from President Eisenhower on the legislation. This made it appear that administration forces in the Senate are now on their own to get the best terms they can for the bill.

Knowland disputed the idea that if the jury trial amendment is defeated it will be more difficult to get a final Senate vote on the bill which the House passed June 18. It was then he said he is ready to meet a Southern attempt to talk the bill to death in a filibuster.

The Senate is entering the fourth week of its debate on the legislation. In this period the bill has been reduced from one providing for enforcement of civil rights in every field to one limited to the protection of voting rights.

Under the voting rights section, the attorney general would be authorized to seek federal court injunctions against any violations or threatened violations of an individual's voting rights. Persons disobeying these injunctions would be subject to trial by federal judges without a jury.

It is to this section that the jury trial amendment would be attached.

Three Democratic senators, O'Mahoney (Wyo.), Kefauver (Tenn.) and Church (Idaho), have proposed a change to guarantee jury trials for all types of criminal contempt, including labor cases.

In effect their amendment would revise the general law governing contempt of court cases.

Sen. H. Alexander Smith (R., N. J.) went on record today against the amendment.

"Many of us feel strongly that inasmuch as the bill is limited to the 'right-to-vote' issue, and nothing else, there is no need or justification for the adoption of any jury trial amendment," Smith told the Senate.

Knowland, noting that the House had rejected similar amendments, said that if such a proposal is written into the bill there would have to be a subsequent compromise with the House over the final language.

"We probably would encounter a filibuster then on the conference report," he continued. "If there is a filibuster, I am in favor of having it now . . ."

South Blocks Try To Curb Jury Debate

Post-Herald Thurs. 8-1-57 B'ham, Ala.

Morse Halts Vote To Extend Life Of Business Agency

WASHINGTON, July 31 (UP) — Southern foes of the civil rights bill blocked an administration effort today to choke off debate on the hotly-disputed jury trial issue.

The proposal was offered by Senate Republican Leader William F. Knowland a few hours after President Eisenhower denied Southern charges he had resorted to threats to keep the amendment out of the bill.

Knowland sought unanimous agreement to limit debate on the jury trial amendment to six hours, starting tomorrow. Debate on any proposed changes in the present proposal would have been limited to one hour each.

Sen. Richard B. Russell (D., Ga.), leader of the Dixie bloc fighting the legislation, immediately objected. Under the unanimous consent procedure, his dissent was enough to block the move.

Russell said he personally hoped "We vote tomorrow night" on the proposal, which would provide for jury trials in criminal contempt case stemming from violations of right-to-vote injunctions. But he said he would not agree to a deadline—even if it was as late as Sept. 1.

Knowland then tried to push through two other unanimous-consent agreements—one to limit debate on the amendment starting Friday and another to go into effect on Saturday. Russell blocked both.

"We have no intention of filibustering, but we do demand the right to address ourselves" to the amendment, he said.

Earlier, Senate Democratic Leader Lyndon B. Johnson (Tex.) asked for unanimous consent to set the civil rights bill aside for about 15 minutes so the Senate could extend the life of the Small Business Administration beyond midnight tonight.

But that move was blocked by Sen. Wayne Morse (D., Ore.) who upset a similar plan yesterday involving several urgent money bills and other stymied legislation. Morse said he would not agree to a civil rights lull unless definite agreement was reached for ending debate on the jury trial amendment.

Morse refused to budge even when reminded by Knowland that the small business agency would go out of business at midnight unless the Senate acted. The Oregon senator promised, however, that he would back a move to "re-establish" the agency later.

Johnson had served notice earlier he would make a new effort tomorrow to achieve a temporary break in the debate.

Other stymied bills include the defense and agriculture appropriations bills and an emergency resolution to permit Federal agencies whose new budgets have not been approved to continue spending at present rates. This authority also was scheduled to expire at midnight.

At his news conference, the President expressed concern over the Senate's failure to act on the money measures and the small business legislation. Without Senate action, he said, there are many civilian workers and 2,800,000 servicemen "whose pay cannot go on."

"I hope that nothing disastrous comes out of it," he said.

Democrats Challenged On Rights

Herald P.1 Miami Fla. Tues. 7-30-57

Let's Have it Out, Senator Demands

WASHINGTON —(AP)— Sen. William F. Knowland (R., Calif.) challenged Southern Democrats Monday to get going with a filibuster against the civil rights bill.

"If there is a filibuster, I am in favor of having it now and fighting it out, rather than postponing it, even if it takes until September to get this measure passed," the Senate Republican leader told newsmen.

Knowland heads a loose coalition of Republicans and Northern Democrats fighting for civil rights legislation.

He predicted the Senate will defeat a pending amendment to write a broad jury trial provision into the bill.

Some additional Republicans and Democrats lined up over the weekend in opposition to any such amendment, Knowland said, and the coalition is ready for a test vote at any time.

Sen. Lyndon Johnson, (D., Tex.), majority leader, said he will press Tuesday for the Senate to table the civil rights bill until Thursday in order to dispose of other legislative business.

If Johnson's motion carries, the Senate will tackle 175 bills, many of them defense and agricultural appropriations, and a long list of presidential nominations.

It had been expected that vote on the jury trial amendment — biggest remaining issue in the civil rights fight — might come Monday or Tuesday. But Senate maneuvering indicated a roll call may be delayed.

Knowland said he didn't expect any further statement from President Eisenhower on the legislation. This made it appear that administration forces in the Senate are now on their own to get the best terms they can for the bill.

Knowland disputed the idea that if the jury trial amendment is defeated it will be more difficult to get a final Senate vote on the bill which the House passed June 18. It was then he said he is ready to meet a Southern attempt to talk the bill to death in a filibuster.

The Senate is entering the fourth week of its debate on the legislation. In this period the bill has been reduced from one providing for enforcement of civil rights in every field to one limited to the protection of voting rights.

10 1957

Seek to salvage civil rights bill

Afro-American P.1

Sat. 8-10-57

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON (NNPA) — Baltimore Md. Senate supporters of civil rights during the weekend were working frantically to salvage something out of the wreckage of the Eisenhower bill left by a coalition of Dixiecrats, Western Democrats and a dozen Old Guard Republicans.

As the bill now stands, it would (1) create a bi-partisan civil rights commission to study civil rights problems, (2) create an additional assistant attorney general to head a civil rights division in the Justice Department, and (3) authorize the attorney general to bring suits for injunctions against officials who deny the right to vote.

* * *

TWO QUESTIONS posed as the result of the Senate's 51 to 42 vote to insert a jury trial amendment in the measure, remained unanswered:

1. Will House and Senate conferees become deadlocked over Senate amendments which struck from the bill Part III, providing for the protection of rights guaranteed by the 14th Amendment to the Constitution, and add a jury trial amendment to Part IV, providing for the protection of the right to vote?

2. If House and conferees agree on a bill containing the jury trial amendment, will President Eisenhower veto the measure?

* * *

SOME PROFESSED to read in the President's strong statement deploring the Senate action an indication he might veto it. Afro-American

Mr. Eisenhower declared the addition of the jury amendment makes "largely ineffective the basic purpose of the bill."

After praising Senators who supported the measure against the crippling amendment, Mr. Eisenhower said: P. 2

"Rarely in our entire legislative history have so many extraneous issues been introduced into the debate in order to confuse both legislators and the public.

"The result cannot fail to be bitterly disappointing to those many millions of Americans who realized that without the minimum protection that was projected in Section 4 of the bill as it passed the House of Representatives, many fellow Americans will continue, in effect, to be disfranchised."

The jury amendment, the President said, "will weaken our whole judicial system and particularly the Federal judiciary."

* * *

SENATOR KNOWLAND was confident that he had enough votes to defeat any jury trial amendment until opponents began to pick up strength through a jury trial amendment in which nine Democrats and two Republicans joined with Senators Joseph C. O'Mahoney of Wyoming and Estes Kefauver, of Tennessee, Democrats, in sponsoring.

The new proposal broadened the O'Mahoney - Kefauver amendment to cover all contempt cases in equity in the Federal courts.

In addition to Senators O'Mahoney and Kefauver, the sponsors of the amendment include Senators Frank Church of Idaho, Henry M. Jackson and Warren Magnuson of Washington, Mike Mansfield and James E. Murray of Montana, Alan Bible of Nevada, John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts, John O. Pastore of Rhode Island, and Frank J. Lausche of Ohio, Democrats, and George W. Malone of Nevada and Milton R. Young of North Dakota, Republicans.

THE COALITION of Dixiecrats, so-called liberal northern Democrats and a dozen Republican deserters was smart. Not one of the sponsors of the jury trial amendment was a Southerner. The Democrats had the reputation of being liberals. The two western Republicans have never supported a civil rights proposal.

The amendment, as explained by Senator Church, was designed to overcome the opposition of some Senators to the jury trial amendment that colored persons were excluded from service on Federal court juries in the South.

This charge was thoroughly exploded by Southern Senators, who had judges of Federal district courts to wire them regarding service of colored persons on Federal juries.

* * *

CHURCH SAID sponsors of the amendment believed it would:

1. Establish reasonable and uniform qualifications for Federal court jurors, eliminating the 48 sets of state qualifications which now obtain.

2. Place the selection of jurors entirely in the hands of Federal district judges.

3. Confer the right to serve as a juror on a large segment of colored citizens.

Ground was further cut from under Senator Knowland and supporters of civil rights legislation when John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America, came out for jury trials in contempt of court cases.

* * *

LEWIS CALLED a strike in 1946 of 400,000 soft coal miners, ignoring a strike cancellation order of Judge T. Goldsborough of the United States District Court here. Found guilty of contempt of court, he was fined $10,000, the United Mine Workers $3,500,000.

The Supreme Court affirmed Lewis' fine but reduced the union's fine to $700,000, provided it cancelled the strike notice.

Senator Lyndon B. Johnson, of Texas, the Senate Democratic leader, also read to the Senate a telegram signed by 12 presidents of railroad brotherhoods, favoring a jury trial amendment to the civil rights bill.

All of the brotherhoods whose presidents signed the telegram bar colored railroad workers from membership.

* * *

LEWIS' ENDORSEMENT of the jury trial amendment probably cost the Knowland-Douglas coalition the votes of the two West Virginia Senators, Matthew M. Neely, Democrat, and Chapman Revercomb, Republican.

On the roll-call vote on adoption of the O'Mahoney-Kefauver-Church amendment, Neely was absent and Revercomb voted for the amendment.

Neely has been a consistent supporter of civil rights, and Revercomb had voted with Knowland up to the jury trial amendment.

Of the 51 Senators who voted for the amendment, 39 were Democrats and 12 were Republicans. Of the 42 votes against the amendment, 9 were Democrats and 33 were Republicans.

* * *

EARLIER IN the day, Senator Johnson announced that he hoped to get a vote on the jury trial amendment before the Senate adjourned. Senator Knowland tried to get a unanimous consent agreement fixing a definite time for a vote to get invalid Senators into the chamber for the vote.

Senator Johnson would not agree because Senator Richard B. Russell, (D., Ga.), leader of the southern anti-civil rights bloc, had previously objected to any unanimous consent agreement fixing a time for voting on the amendment.

As it became apparent that a vote would be reached, efforts were made to get ill Senators on the floor.

Senator Frederick G. Payne, (R., Me.), came to Washington from his summer cottage in Maine. He is recuperating from a heart ailment. He voted against the amendment.

SEN. THOMAS C. HENNINGS JR., (D., Mo.), was recovering from an operation at his home here, under doctor's orders not to leave his house. But he came to the Capitol and cast his vote against the amendment.

Senator Neely is a patient at the Bethesda (Md.) Naval Hospital. His condition is serious, but he probably would have been present except for endorsement of the jury trial amendment by Lewis. He had been planning to be on hand for the vote.

Senator Styles Bridges, (R., N.H.), who also is recovering from a heart ailment, was reported at his home in New Hampshire. He did not return.

In the debate preceding the vote, Senator Joseph S. Clark, (D., Pa.), told the Senate that the O'Mahoney - Kefauver - Church amendment, in his judgment, "does soften and does weaken and does emasculate the bill."

He added that "It represents an unwarranted interference by the legislature with the constitutional prerogatives of the judiciary."

* * *

SEN. HUBERT HUMPHREY, (D., Minn.), told the Senate that the debate had got off "on the wrong foot." He said the Senate had been "more concerned about those who have abused the law, who have denied people the equal protection of the law, than we have been with those who have been victimized."

Before the debate closed, Senator Humphrey said, he wanted to hear some voices saying the Senate "shall be concerned about those who are the victims of the law violators, who are the victims of public officials who will not perform their duty, who are the victims of prejudice, bigotry, and discriminations.

"Theirs is the predominant concern of the proponents of the legislation and of the conscience of the country."

* * *

SENATOR PAUL DOUGLAS, (D., Ill.), said the jury trial amendment would nullify the proposed legislation because of the "reluctance and, in many cases, the refusal of Southern juries to convict white men of contempt of court in connection with offenses against colored persons seeking to vote."

"What a tragic message the adoption of this amendment, if it would be adopted, will convey to a billion people scattered in Asia, Africa, indeed all over the world, who look upon the prestige and influence of this great free Republic as the saving grace in a feverish world," declared Senator Everett M. Dirksen, (Rep., Ill).

Just before the vote, Senator Knowland told the Senate that a vote for the amendment was a vote to kill the bill for this session of Congress.

"If there are no obstructions of voting rights, there will be no civil or criminal contempt," Senator Knowland said.

* * *

"THIS WILL BE a historic roll call," Senator Knowland declared, adding:

"Let it come. Our successors and history will be able to judge the issues, even if for the moment there is confusion here tonight.

"If we do not succeed here tonight, it is inevitable that this issue will return again and again until justice is done. It cannot be delayed and it will not be denied."

Senator Knowland read to his colleagues the 15th Amendment prohibiting the United States or any state to deny the right to vote to any United States citizen on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, the giving the Congress the power to enforce this provision by appropriate legislation.

* * *

"SHALL WE implement that part of the Constitution of the United States, or shall we accept complacently its nullification, be it in a dozen states, a single state, a dozen counties, or a hundred precincts?" the Californian asked.

Knowland appealed to both Democrats and Republicans "to support their party platforms, guaranteeing voting rights.

He appealed to Republican Senators "to support our first great Republican President, Abraham Lincoln, and the great ideals he stood for, and to support our present Presi-

dent, Dwight D. Eisenhower."

* * *

AT THE close of the debate which lasted 20 days — from July 8 to Aug. 2—Senator Lyndon B. Johnson, of Texas, the Senate Democratic leader, called the measure "a meaningful and effective civil rights bill."

The bill must now be voted up or down.

Sen. William F. Knowland of California, the Senate GOP leader, said he will vote for final passage of the bill in the hope that in the conference between the Senate and House the bill will be strengthened. He said he hoped an "effective bill" will be sent to the President.

Sen. Wayne Morse (D., Ore.), disagreed with Senator Johnson on the nature of the bill. "I consider it a corpse," Senator Morse said. He added that he was ready "to hear the funeral sermons and eulogies over its dead body.

"I think it is a mistake to wait over the weekend for the funeral because the odor of the corpse is going to be pretty strong on Monday. This corpse already stinks."

* * *

CONTINUING, Senator Morse said:

"I think the so-called civil rights bill shows that civil rights for the time being for millions of colored people are dead, so far as effective protection of their right to vote is concerned.

"If I vote for the bill, in the Senate session devoted to the bill's funeral services, or whenever the final ritual is held, it will only be out of respect for the title of the bill 'Civil Rights.'

"I shall vote for it hoping some day there really will be a resurrection of civil rights in passage of a true civil rights bill that will implement the 14th and 15th Amendments."

* * *

SEN. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, who opposed crippling amendments to the bill as passed by the House, said the measure was not all that he hoped for, but it is an "advance" and he intends to vote for its passage.

Sen. Paul H. Douglas (D., Ill.), told the Senate that a number of Senators who were expected to be against the jury trial amendment stated that while they would have liked to vote against it, they were afraid that if the amendment were defeated, the Southrners would filibuster and prevent any bill from being passed.

"There is a moral to be drawn from that fact," Senator Douglas said. He stated that there was no filibuster on on the amendments, "but the threat of a filibuster was always present, and it operated very powerfully to weaken and cripple the bill."

This fact, he asserted, "greatly strengthened" the case for amending the cloture rule to curb filibusters.

* * *

THE SENATE adopted a series of amendments offered by Senator Knowland to Part II of the bill, which would create a bipartisan commission to study civil rights problems.

The first of the Knowland amendments provided for the appointment of a full-time staff director of the commission by the President, subject to confirmation by the Senate.

A second amendment would prohibit the commission from accepting or utilizing the services of voluntary or uncompensated personnel.

The second amendment is intended to prevent the commission from using the services of persons with a special interest in civil rights, such as members of White Citizens Councils or the NAACP.

* * *

ANOTHER KNOWLAND amendment was designed that advisory committees appointed by the commission will be made up of citizens of the state in which the committee is expected to function.

These amendments were unanimously accepted. Senator Russell said they would make the commission responsible and "inspire general confidence in its operations.'

Also rejected was the amendment offered by Senators Johnston and Ervin providing that in cases where the defendant is financially unable to employ counsel, the Government will pay reasonable counsel fees in his behalf.

* * *

THE SENATE also rejected the amendment offered by Sen. Pat McNamara (D., Mich.), providing for the reduction of representation in the House of states in proportion to the number of citizens disfranchised. without the consent of the aggrieved person.

Also rejected was the amendment offered by Senator K. Javits (R., N. Y.), which would restrict the right to trial by jury to criminal contempt cases arising out of civil rights injunctions.

Other amendments rejected were:

1. The Ervin amendment barring the Attorney General from bringing civil suits to enjoin deprivations of the right to vote without the consent of the aggrieved person.

2. The amendment of Sen. Charles E. Potter (R., Mich.), excusing for two years from services in the armed forces any person found by the Attorney General to have been denied his right to vote in Federal elections.

3. The Ervin amendment providing that district courts shall have jurisdiction over all proceedings for injunctions to prevent a person from being deprived of his right to vote.

* * *

THE PURPOSE of this amendment was to eliminate from the bill the provision which authorizes aggrieved persons to bypass state administrative remedies before suits may be brought in their behalf in Federal courts.

House leaders fear the bill will languish in conference the rest of this session of Congress.

Rep. Joseph W. Martin Jr. of Massachusetts, the House Republican leader, said in a statement the House "never would agree" to the jury trial amendment which it rejected by a 93 vote margin.

Rep. Kenneth B. Keating (R., N.Y.), and Emanuel Celler of New York, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, who piloted the Administration bill through the House, voiced similar fears .

* * *

THERE ALSO was speculation that President Eisenhower would veto the bill if it came to the White House in the shape the Senate left it. James C. Hagerty, White House press secretary, refused to comment on that possibility.

When Friday's session opened, Senator Johnson cancelled a scheduled Saturday session and said he hoped the Senate could reach a final vote on the civil rights bill probably Wednesday.

But when the news tickers carried the President's statement threatening a veto of the bill — issued after a Cabinet meeting — the Texan cracked the whip.

He put through a unanimous consent agreement limiting debate on amendments to 30 minutes and barring consideration on the desk.

Johnson's strategy was to complete action on amendments Friday and block moves to restore provisions the President wants.

A switch of five votes would have eliminated the crippling proposal which had the solid backing of the Dixiecrats led by Democratic Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson of Texas.

* * *

THE SURPRISING feature of the vote was the large number of self-proclaimed friends of civil rights which cast their lot with Mississippi's Senator Eastland.

Among these who voted to virtually make the civil rights bill meaningless were such "liberals" as Anderson, New Mexico; Jackson, Washington; Murray, Montana; Green, Rhode Island; Magnuson, Washington; and Mansfield.

Two Democrats, who have ambitions for their party's presidential nomination, and who pose as liberals, Kennedy of Massachusetts and Kefauver of Tennessee, also voted with the Dixiecrats.

* * *

THE VOTE of Kefauver, who is up for election in a state that is stirred up over racial matters, did not come as much of a surprise.

But Kennedy's betrayal of his often avowed support of civil rights legislation, stamped him as a poor risk for the Democratic presidential nomination.

On the Republican side, the vote of Maryland's Sen. John Marshall Butler, for the crippling amendment, was considered as a disappointing reneging on solemn promises he had made to the electorate in 1956.

Butler, running for re-election, had not only promised to support President Eisenhower but had pledged to back civil rights legislation if it reached the Senate floor.

In voting for the jury trial amendment he did not keep either pledge.

* * *

MARYLAND'S JUNIOR senator, Glenn Beall, also a Republican, voted with the forces of democracy and decency.

This is how the vote went:

YOUR ENEMIES (51)

DEMOCRATS

Anderson, N.M.	Kerr, Okla.
Bible, Nev.	Lausche, O.
Byrd, Va.	Long, La.
Chavez, N.M.	Magnuson, Wash.
Church, Idaho.	Mansfield, Mont.
Eastland, Miss.	
Ellender, La.	McClellan, Ark.
Ervin, N.C.	Monroney, Okla.
Frear, Del.	Murray, Mont.
Fulbright, Ark.	O'Mahoney, Wyo
Gore, Tenn.	Pastore, R.I.
Green, R.I.	Robertson, Va.
Haydn, Ariz.	Russell, Ga.
Hill, Ala.	Scott, N.C.
Holland, Fla.	Smathers, Fla.
Jackson, Wash.	Sparkman, Ala.
Johnson, Texas	Stennis, Miss.
Johnston, S.C.	Talmadge, Ga.
Kefauver, Tenn.	Thurmond, S.C.
Kennedy, Mass.	Yarborough, Tex

REPUBLICANS

Butler, Md.	Mundt, S.D.
Capehart, Ind.	Rever'be, W.Va.
Case, S.D.	Schoeppel, Kans.
Curtis, Neb.	Smith, Maine
Goldwater, Ariz.	Williams, Del.
Malone, Nev.	Young, N.D.

YOUR FRIENDS (42)

DEMOCRATS

Carroll, Colo.	McNam'a, Mich.
Clark, Penna.	Morse, Ore.
Douglas, Ill.	
Hennings, Mo.	Neuberger, Ore.
Humphrey, Minn.	Symington, Mo.

REPUBLICAN

Aiken, Vt.	Javitts,, N.Y.
Allot, Colo.	Jenner, Ind.
Barrett, Wyo	
Beall, Md.	Knowland, Cal.
Bennett, Utah	Kuchel, Cal.
Bricker, O.	Langer, N.D.
Bush, Conn.	Martin, Ia.
Carlson, Kans.	Martin, Pa.
Case, N.J.	Morton, Ky.
Cooper, Ky.	Payne. Me.
Cotton, N.H.	Potter, Mich.
Dirksen, Ill.	Purtel, Conn.
Dvorak, Idaho	Saltonstall, Mass
Flanders, Vt.	Smith, N.J.
Hickenlooper, Ia.	Thye, Minn.
Hruska, Neb.	Watkins, Utah
Ives, N.Y.	Wiley, Wis.

NOT VOTING:

Neeley, W.Va.	Bridges, N.H.

10 1957

President Stands Firm Against Rights' Juries

Republicans Given Report By Knowland

Star P.1 Fri. 7-26-57 Washington D.C.

By J. A. O'LEARY

Republican Leader Knowland told his G. O. P. colleagues in party conference today President Eisenhower is still firmly opposed to a jury-trial amendment in the civil rights bill.

In accordance with party custom, no attempt was made at the conference to put members on record, or to bind them, but Senator Knowland expressed hope that most of the Republicans will stand by the administration.

The Californian went directly to the conference from a breakfast meeting at the White House. He carried no new message in writing, but read the President's statement of July 16 and said that it was still the administration viewpoint.

Upholds Court

That message said the administration seeks to uphold the traditional authority of the Federal Courts of enforce their orders, and added:

"This means that a jury trial should not be interposed in contempt of court cases growing out of violation of such orders."

Senator Aiken, Republican of Vermont, who broke with the administration to help lead the successful fight to confine the use of injunctions to cases involving voting rights, indicated he will support the administration in opposing the jury trial.

Senator Aiken said he thinks the Senate is almost evenly divided on the jury-trial issue and that it will win or lose by not more than five votes and probably not more than three.

Meanwhile, the Southern Democrats also held a strategy meeting in the office of Senator Russell, Democrat of Georgia, to continue their fight for a jury trial amendment.

Vote Seen Next Week

The jury trial vote is not expected before next week, and both sides will be working hard in the meantime to strengthen their lines.

The basic feature of the administration's civil rights bill is the proposal to use civil court injunctions, instead of existing criminal laws, to enforce civil rights, particularly for Negroes in the Southern States. When the United States is party to an injunction, existing law rules out jury trials for persons charged with contempt for violating the injunction.

The administration lost the first half of the contest when the Senate voted 52 to 38 to strike out authority to use these injunctions to enforce integration in public places, or any other civil right.

Progess Narrowed

This narrowed the injunction process to use only in protecting voting rights. The President has come out against a jury trial amendment, and his backers in the Senate are making an all-out drive to prevent a second major defeat.

Their job is to win over a substantial number of the 18 Republicans who voted with 34 Democrats to narrow the scope of the bill two days ago. On that occasion 25 Republicans and only 13 Democrats stood by the broader House bill.

Would Curtail Jury Action

The pending amendment, by Senator O'Mahoney, Democrat of Wyoming, would allow jury trials in criminal contempt cases, but not for civil contempt.

Civil contempt is usually a case where the judge imprisons a defendant until he promises to carry out the court's order, and he can virtually release himself whenever he promises to comply. Criminal contempt would involve willful refusal to abandon a course of action which also constitutes a violation of Federal or State law.

Senator Russell indicated some changes might be suggested in the O'Mahoney amendment to "make it clearer."

Senator Knowland contended adoption of this, or any other jury trial amendment, would "greatly weaken the effectiveness" of the bill.

The advocates of trial by jury have a powerful ally in Democratic Leader Johnson of Texas, who is predicting the Senate will adopt such an amendment.

Sen. Knowland wants Tuesday vote on jury

News P.1 Sun. 7-28-57 B'ham, Ala.

WASHINGTON, July 27 —(AP)—Sen. Knowland (R., Calif.) said Saturday signs of weakness have cropped up in the camp of advocates of a jury trial amendment to the administration's civil rights bill.

The Senate GOP leader said the latest amendment they offered was indicative of "definite weakness" on their part. This would broaden earlier jury trial proposals to make an across-the-board revision of present law governing contempt of court proceedings.

"Cooling off?"

KNOWLAND ALSO told newsmen there apparently has been "some cooling off" in the willingness of supporters of the jury trial amendment to bring the issue to an early vote.

Knowland, predicting victory for the bill's supporters, said he was prepared to vote Tuesday.

14 law deans oppose jury trial provisions

WASHINGTON, July 27 —(AP)—Fourteen law school deans, 34 law professors, and 50 attorneys joined Saturday in opposing inclusion of a jury trial provision in the civil rights bill. They said absence of such an amendment would not violate due process of law.

The group endorsed a statement signed by Deans Jefferson B. Fordham, William C. Warren and Eugene V. Rostow, respectively, of the Pennsylvania, Columbia and Yale University law schools. The statement was made public by the American Civil Liberties Union.

Any delay forced by the other side, he said, may indicate they feel they need more time to try to round up additional votes.

At least some backers of the broadened jury trial amendment were reported hoping it would appeal to labor union leaders and, in general, to many people often designated as liberals. It would guarantee jury trials in all criminal contempt of court cases, including those growing out of labor disputes as well as civil rights cases.

Russell not consulted

SEN. RUSSELL (D., Ga.), leader of the bill's Southern opponents, was asked if he were willing to vote Tuesday on the jury trial amendment. "I can't say that I am," he replied.

He said he would have to discuss the matter with other senators before he would agree to a vote then. He said Knowland had not consulted him about it. Nor, he said, had Knowland taken it up with Senate Democratic Leader Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas so far as he knew.

Russell said he was supporting the latest jury trial amendment, offered by Sens. O'Mahoney (D., Wyo.), Kefauver (D., Tenn.) and Church (D., Idaho), because he believed it was "as much as we have any hopes of getting."

"I think it will be a very close vote," he said.

O'MAHONEY SAID in a separate interview that "I think we'll win," although he said he was aware that Knowland is reported to have claimed he had at least 34 GOP votes lined up against the amendment. There are 95 senators all told.

News P.6-A

"The right to trial by jury is just as essential to the colored citizen as it is to any other citizen," O'Mahoney said. "You can't cut the corners of the Constitution and expect to maintain free government."

Acheson called in

HE CONFIRMED a report that former Secretary of State Dean Acheson and Benjamin V. Cohen, a one-time "braintruster" in the Roosevelt administration, were consulted in the draft of the amendment, "just as others were."

O'Mahoney said he consulted Acheson and Cohen "not only in their capacity as lawyers but in their capacity as liberals who want to preserve free government."

The pending civil rights bill would authorize the attorney general to obtain Federal Court injunctions against violations or threatened violations of voting rights.

Persons accused of disobeying an injunction could be jailed for contempt of court without a jury trial.

Another section of the bill providing identical injunctive procedures for the enforcement of civil rights generally, including racial integration in schools and other public places, was eliminated by the Senate by a 52-38 vote.

O'Mahoney's latest amendment provides for jury trials in criminal contempt proceedings of all types—whether they involve civil rights, labor disputes or anything else.

Criminal contempt proceedings are designed to punish a person for wilful disobedience of an injunction or other court order. The maximum penalty under the amendment would be a $1000 fine or six months in jail.

No jury trial is provided for in civil contempt proceedings aimed at securing compliance with a court order. In these cases, a person could be jailed by a judge but he could purge himself and go free whenever he agreed to comply.

Warns of filibuster

SEN. RUSSELL said Dixie forces fighting the bill favor a jury trial in all contempt cases. However, he said they would go along with a provision for jury trials in criminal contempt cases only, in the belief this would command greater support.

But, in an unmistakable warning of a filibuster, he said yesterday that if the Senate refuses to accept a jury trial amendment, Southern senators will use every weapon they have to try to defeat the bill.

Knowland appealed to the Southerners not to launch a filibuster if they suffer defeat on the jury trial issue.

"I would hope that no one would try to obstruct the Senate in carrying out its legislative responsibilities," he said.

Knowland said there would be no obstructive tactics by the bill's supporters. "We are prepared to let the Senate function and vote on a vital matter of national policy—a matter affecting the voting rights of American citizens," he said.

The GOP leader declined to comment on reports that he had told Northern Democratic leaders he was assured of 34 to 36 Republican votes against the jury trial amendment.

If this should be correct, only 10 to 12 Democratic votes probably would be required to defeat the jury trial amendment on the basis of the number of senators who have been absent because of illness during recent roll calls.

JURY-TRIAL BLOC WILLING TO EASE CIVIL RIGHTS PLAN

Times P.1 Tue. 7-30-57 New York

Would Limit the Guarantee to Judicial Areas With Negroes as Talesmen

JOHNSON BACKING MOVE

But Knowland Forces Seek to Preserve the Test of Administration's Bill

By WILLIAM S. WHITE

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, July 29—Senate forces demanding the guarantee of a modified right to jury trial under the Administration's civil rights bill are prepared to offer a concession to the all-out civil rights coalition.

They are ready to stipulate that the guarantee of jury trial in criminal contempt cases be limited to those Federal court districts where Negroes are not excluded from jury service.

The intention is to meet the criticisms of the all-out civil rights group that jury trials on issues involving Negro voting rights would be highly suspect if only white jurors could serve.

The leader of the jury-trial forces, Senator Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, is willing to back this concession. Mr. Johnson is also the Democratic leader of the Senate.

Knowland Is Firm

The chief of the all-out civil rights forces, Senator William F. Knowland of California, the Republican Senate leader, has indicated that no compromise would be acceptable to him.

Mr. Knowland is insisting on the adoption intact of the Administration's text. This would preclude jury trials in both criminal and contempt cases arising out of violations of Federal injunctions against deprivation of the voting right.

The Knowland forces are made up primarily of Republicans, but include Northern and Eastern Democratic liberals.

The Johnson forces, composed of Western Democratic liberals, Southerners and a few Republicans, are insisting that jury trial procedures must be granted criminal contempt actions.

This involves the last great issue in the Administration's bill short of final passage or rejection. The Southerners are prepared to go along only if some aspect of jury trial is maintained in the bill.

Otherwise they are determined to put in a filibuster—or a tactic of deliberate, time-killing to prevent any vote at all—to their maximum strength.

Senator Knowland challenged them during the day to go at once into the filibuster.

Recalling that the House of Representatives had approved the Administration's version, including its non-jury trial provision, Mr. Knowland told reporters:

Times P.B-C

"If there is to be a filibuster sooner or later—if not now then at the time when whatever Senate bill is finally passed must be reconciled with the bill the House has already passed—let's have it now and fight it out, rather than postponing it, even if it takes until September to get this bill passed."

Rights Bloc Confident

Senator Knowland, in increasingly confident tones, was claiming for his side the power to defeat any jury trial provision, once the voting showdown came. Senator Johnson was making no claims; instead he was intently checking his lines and seeking recruits. It seemed probable that the test would come suddenly; that there would be no formal agreement on a time to vote.

What is before the Senate is Park IV of the Administration's bill. This would permit Federal prosecutors, with or without the consent of the victim, to obtain injunctions in Federal courts against actual or threatened deprivation of the right to vote.

Persons refusing to obey these injunctions could be fined or imprisoned for contempt by a Federal judge sitting without a jury.

Amendment Proposed

The immediate business is an amendment to Part IV proposed by the liberal Democrats, Senators Joseph C. O'Mahoney of Wyoming, Estes Kefauver of Tennessee and Frank Church of Idaho.

This would differentiate between civil and criminal contempt and, while allowing a judge alone to move against the former, would require trial by jury for the latter.

A case would be a civil contempt action when the purpose of the judge was simply to require a defendant to carry out a court order—say an injunction compelling an election official to register a qualified Negro. When the official agreed to comply, he would be released from jail and that would be that.

In criminal contempt action the judge's purpose is not to require enforcement of a decree but to punish a man for willful obstruction of a court—for example an order not to intimidate a voter.

Would Alter Plan

Senator O'Mahoney is willing to have his amendment altered to limit jury trials to criminal contempt cases in Federal districts where Negroes are eligible jurors.

The Southerners contend that Federal jury services for Negroes is already widespread in the South.

Some in the advanced civil rights group have been challenging this. Only today, one of this group, Senator Richard L. Neuberger, Democrat of Oregon, put in an amendment to specify what the Johnson forces themselves are now ready to grant.

At all events, the coalition of moderates plainly is now giving ground before the stiffening determination of the all-out civil rights people to retain Part IV intact and without any jury trial guarantee.

The moderates and the Southerners have already won one major victory, in a 52 to 38 Senate vote striking from the bill all its proposed injunctive sanctions that could force school integration in the South.

Make Bid to Liberals

In their current drive to obtain some form of jury trial this bloc made a significant overture to the advanced liberals last week. This was the offer of a specification that the jury trial should extend to all Federal court criminal contempt cases, including those involving labor.

Senator Knowland does not contend that as of now the Southerners, who form the most conservative part of an otherwise traditionally liberal coalition headed by Senator Johnson—have begun a filibuster.

His declared readiness to meet one was directed more to future possibilities than to any existing situation.

The most significant circumstance in the general situation lies in the growing possibility that the Knowland forces may be able to beat off any jury trial amendment.

Filibuster Threat Seen

If they should succeed, all bets would be off and to when—and if—any bill could be passed. Thus there was tonight for the first time a genuine possibility that the Senate might be immobilized by a filibuster.

With this situation in mind, Senator Johnson will attempt tomorrow to obtain a unanimous Senate agreement to set the civil rights issue aside long enough for emergency Senate action on a good deal of important general legislation.

He will attempt to arrange for hurried Senate action on a bill to continue the Small Business Administration and on appropriations measures for the departments of Defense and Agriculture. Then the Senators would return to the civil rights bill.

Knowland Forecasts Support Growing Against Changes

Daily World Sat 7-27-57 Atlanta Ga.

By ROSE McKEE

WASHINGTON — (INS) — President Eisenhower appealed to GOP Senators Friday to vote against a jury trial amendment to his Civil Rights bill and Southerners countered with a threat of a filibuster if the guarantee is defeated.

Senate GOP leader William F. Knowland relayed the president's appeal to a conference of Senat Republicans. Knowland, who breakfaster with the president to discuss the situation, said after the close meeting that "sentiment was overwhelmingly and predominantly opposed to a jury trial amendment."

RIGHT TO VOTE BILL

But Senate Democratic leader Lyndon B. Johnson, actively supporting such an amendment, declared: "I have every confidence in the ability of this senate to work out a meaningful and effective right to vote bill. A meaningful and effective bill does not require us to indulge in slick maneuvers by-pass the jury system."

Sen. Richard B. Russell (D) Ga., made it clear after a caucus of 16 Southern democrats in his office, that if the administration's view prevails they will wage a filibuster against the bill.

Russell said: "Without a jury trial amendment, we will resort to every means at our command, we will use every weapon in the arsenal, to try to defeat this bill."

RIGHT OF JURY

Johnson, discounting GOP claims of substantial majority of votes against the jury amendment, said that "some of the most respected leaders of the labor movement" believe the right of a jury trial "must be assured." He declined to identify the labor leaders he meant.

The Administration regards as the heart of its bill the provision permitting the government to get an injunction to enforce voting rights and allow the judge to punish violators without a jury trial.

Russell said that Southern democrats agreed at their Caucus to support the amendment by Sen. Joseph C. O'Mahoney (D) Wyo., to guarantee a jury trial where a person is accused of criminal contempt for defying the order. The South's leader said his group would have preferred a guarantee for Civil contempt as well but a practical matter lined up behind the O'Mahoney proposal.

JURY CONFLICT

Sen. Leverett Saltonstall (R) Mass., chairman of the GOP Senatorial Conference, made it plain the administration is making a party issue of the jury conflict. He said it was emphasized in the conference that the "leadership of the Republican Party" wants the voting rights section of the bill approved without change.

Knowland said he is prepared for a showdown on the controversy Monday but he added the vote might come Tuesday.

The Californian went direct from his breakfast with the president to the GOP Conference, where he "re-emphasized" Mr. Eisenhower's opposition to a jury amendment. Knowland said the president told him he has not altered his stand of July 16. The Californian read to his GOP Colleagues the following statement made then by the president:

...."We seek to uphold the traditional authority of the Federal courts to enforce their orders. The means that a jury trial should not be interposed in contempt of court cases growing out of such orders."

Sen. Humbret H. Humphrey (D) Minn., Leader of a group of Northern democrats who agree with the adminstration in the jury controversy, said the outcome will be "nip and tuck but we can win if the president and adminstration officials stand behind us---But I do not mean stand behind us like a feather, I mean like a rock."

How They Voted For Amendment To Rights Bill

Commercial Appeal P.5 Thurs. 7-25-57 Memphis Tenn.

WASHINGTON, July 24 (AP)—Here is the 52 to 38 vote by which the Senate Wednesday adopted the Anderson-Aiken amendment stripping the Administration's Civil Rights Bill of all enforcement authority except protection of voting rights.

Democrats for:

Clinton P. Anderson of New Mexico, Alan Bible of Nevada, Harry Byrd of Virginia, Dennis Chavez of New Mexico, Frank Church of Idaho.

James O. Eastland of Mississippi, Allen Ellender of Louisiana, Sam Ervin Jr. of North Carolina, Allen Frear Jr. of Delaware, J. W. Fulbright of Arkansas.

Albert Gore of Tennessee, Theodore Green of Rhode Island, Carl Hayden of Arizona, Lister Hill of Alabama, Spessard Holland of Florida.

Lyndon Johnson of Texas, Olin D. Johnston of South Carolina, Estes Kefauver of Tennessee, Robert S. Kerr of Oklahoma, Russell Long of Louisiana.

Mike Mansfield of Montana, John L. McClellan of Arkansas, A. S. Monroney of Oklahoma, James Murray of Montana, Joseph C. O'Mahoney of Wyoming.

Willis Robertson of Virginia, Richard B. Russell of Georgia, Kerr Scot of North Carolina, George A. Smathers of Florida, John T. Sparkman of Alabama.

John Stennis of Mississippi, Herman Talmadge of Georgia, Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and Ralph Yarborough of Texas. Total 34.

Republicans for:

George Aiken of Vermont, Frank Barrett of Wyoming, Wallace Bennett of Utah, John W. Bricker of Ohio, John Butler of Maryland.

Francis Case of South Dakota, Norris Cotton of New Hampshire, Carl Curtis of Nebraska, Henry Dworshak of Idaho, Ralph Flanders of Vermont.

Barry Goldwater of Arizona, Bourke Hickenlooper of Iowa, George Malone of Nevada, Karl Mundt of South Dakota, Leverett Saltonstall of Massachusetts.

Alexander Smith of New Jersey, John J. Williams of Delaware, Milton Young of North Dakota. Total 18.

Democrats against:

John Carroll of Colorado, Joseph Clark Jr. of Pennsylvania, Paul Douglas of Illinois, Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota, Henry Jackson of Washington.

John Kennedy of Massachusetts, Frank Lauche of Ohio, Warren Magnuson of Washington, Pat McNamara of Michigan, Wayne Morse of Oregon.

Richard Neuberger of Oregon, John Pastore of Rhode Island, Stuart Symington of Missouri. Total 13.

Republicans against:

Gordon Allott of Colorado, Glenn Beall of Maryland, Prescott Bush of Connecticut, Homer Capehart of Indiana, Frank Carlson of Kansas.

Clifford Case of New Jersey, John Cooper of Kentucky, Everett Dirksen of Illinois, Roman Hruska of Nebraska, Irving Ives of New York.

Jacob Javits of New York, William Jenner of Indiana, William Knowland of California, Thomas Kuchel of California, William Langer of North Dakota.

Thomas E. Martin of Iowa, Edward Martin of Pennsylvania, Thruston Morton of Kentucky, Charles Potter of Michigan, William Purtell of Connecticut.

Chapman Revercomb of West Virginia, Mrs. Margaret Chase Smith of Maine, Edward Thye of Minnesota, Arthur Watkins of Utah, Alexander Wiley of Wisconsin. Total 25.

Not voting nor paired but announced as for the amendment:

Andrew Shoeppel, Republican of Kansas.

Not voting nor paired but announced as against the amendment:

Thomas Hennings Jr., Democrat of Missouri; Matthew Neely, Democrat of West Virginia, and Frederick Payne, Republican of Maine.

10 1957

Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.
Mon. 9-2-57

Albert Riley

Rights Dominated The 85th Congress

WASHINGTON—As Congress swung into its mad rush for adjournment a few days ago, it was difficult to avoid the impression that this was primarily a civil rights session, although there were some other accomplishments. Unquestionably, the burning issue that commanded the most attention and took up the most time was not foreign aid, defense, taxes, farm legislation, education or atomic energy—but civil rights.

P. 46

From the Southern viewpoint, this was unfortunate, since the Dixie legislators looked upon the civil rights bill as unnecessary.

From the national viewpoint, this fight also had its unfortunate aspects. It kept the lawmakers from devoting more time and study to such problems as rising inflation, a drop in farm income, Soviet ICBM rattling, and the deterioration of the West's position in the Middle East.

But politics being what it is, this was a fact of life in the 85th Congress. On the brighter side was the hope that enactment of a voting rights bill would put aside the divisive civil rights issue at least for awhile.

To a Georgia reporter covering his first session of Congress, two things stand out among the kaleidoscopic impressions of floor debates, committee hearings, interviews and behind-the-scenes maneuverings.

One is a great respect for the Senate as an institution. House members might not like this comparison, although no reflection on the House membership from Georgia is intended. But the House of Representatives often is reminful of the Georgia Legislature and the confusion that attends that body.

Not so with the Senate. The impression grows that the smaller, quieter Senate is in truth the greatest deliberative body of our time and has always been that. Here, with its equal representation from all of the 48 states, large and small, its tradition of almost unlimited debate, and its protection of the minority view from the tyrannical majority, is our greatest bulwark of liberty.

Perhaps the second most impressive aspect of this session was the skill and influence of Sen. Richard B. Russell in the civil rights fight and the tremendous respect and admiration he commands among his colleagues and the press. Although he had help, Russell, more than any other man, is credited with getting that bill amended so as to cover voting rights only.

No recapitulation of this session would be complete without mention of the skill and influence, too, of Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson.

It was Johnson who kept the Democratic Party from splitting wide open over civil rights.

Georgia's new junior senator, Herman Talmadge, made an excellent impression on everyone by his able and dignified approach to his new job. And no Georgia observer could help but take pride in this state's delegation in the House of Representatives.

PAY TRIBUTE TO RUSSELL

Times-Union
Jacksonville, Fla. Sat. 8-31-57

Southern Senators Furious Over Thurmond's Filibuster

WASHINGTON, Aug. 30 (AP) — Southern Democrats, furious with South Carolina's Sen. Thurmond for breaking ranks to filibuster against the compromise civil rights bill, today gave Sen. Russell of Georgia the major credit for the fight against a stronger measure.

"The people of the South could not have had leadership greater and more devoted," Sen. Hill (D-Ala) said of Russell.

Russell himself said the Dixie bloc had succeeded in pulling the fangs of legislation which, in its original form, could have brought about "the social intermingling of the races from the kindergarten to the grave" and destroyed Southern civilization "beyond the hope of redemption."

Even as it is, Russell said, "the Southern people are in for difficult times." He predicted that under the voting rights section of the bill the attorney general would make "political forays" into the South. And he said Vice President Nixon would act as an agent for the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People in pressing for the bill's enforcement.

Sen. Long (D-La) said Russell's strategy reflected "the almost unanimous views of Southern senators." Long said he wanted the record to show that he personally raised the issue of a filibuster with the Southern bloc when the compromise civil rights bill came to the Senate from the House.

Thurmond Quoted

"When I raised the issue, the junior senator from South Carolina—Thurmond—advised me, in the presence of other senators, that that would be the worst mistake we could make." Long said.

But Thurmond got up in the Senate at 8:54 p.m. Wednesday and held the floor for 24 hours and 19 minutes with a speech against the legislation.

He smashed the record for a one-man filibuster by one hour and 53 minutes but failed to prevent passage of the civil rights bill.

A little less than two hours after Thurmond stopped talking the Senate passed the bill 60-15. It was the first basic civil rights measure Congress has produced in 82 years.

The Southerners gave three reasons for deciding not to organize a last-minute filibuster.

The first was that they lacked the numerical strength to make it effective. Both the Democratic and Republican leadership in Congress was determined to get some sort of civil rights legislation this year and to keep the session going until they got it.

Secondly the Southerners were afraid that dilatory tactics would goad supporters of the bill into efforts to strengthen it.

They also felt that a filibuster would quicken sentiment for changing the Senate's Rule 22, which now makes it very difficult to limit debate. Under Rule 22, debate cannot be shut off unless two-thirds of the Senate's full membership—64 of the 96 senators—vote in favor of it.

Rules Change

In the wake of Thurmond's talkathon there were demands by both Republicans and Northern Democrats for a rules change.

Five Democrats, Sens. Douglas of Illinois, Humphrey of Minnesota, Neuberger of Oregon, McNamara of Michigan and Clark of Pennsylvania, announced they would make a maximum effort next year to relax the rules.

Six Republicans moved in the same direction. Sens. Case of New Jersey, Ives and Javits of New York, Kuchel of California, Potter of Michigan and Thye of Minnesota issued a statement saying:

"We have seen a sample of what the filibuster means to civil rights measures and how it can block the public business in such critical times.

"We wish to state therefore that this demonstration strengthens our determination to work for reasonable amendments to Rule 22 to make it more practical to invoke cloture—closing of the debate—in appropriate situations."

One way to do this would be to provide that debate could be limited by a simple majority of those present and voting at the time.

Russell in a post mortem speech in the Senate today said Dixie won its biggest victory by getting Section 3 of the civil rights bill stricken. This section would have given the attorney general authority to apply for federal court injunctions against any kind of civil rights violations.

Times-Union
Sat. 8-31-57

The bill in its final form limited the special enforcement power to voting rights.

"Part 3 aimed at striking down the separation of the race in our schools in hotels, at swimming pools and at all places of public entertainment," Russell told the Senate.

P. 2

Sweetest Victory

"The fact that we were able to confine the federal activities to the field of voting and keep the withering hand of the federal government out of our schools and social order is to me the sweetest victory of my 25 years as a senator from Georgia."

Russell said he expected the attorney general would be "constantly pressed" by Vice President Nixon to use the full powers of the new bill against the South.

Nixon, he said, will want the bill applied "at such places and in such time and manner as the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, of which the vice president is the most distinguished member, may demand."

The Georgian said it would have been an easy course for the Southerners "to have planted our feet in concrete and announced that we would filibuster to the death against the bill."

But such a filibuster was rejected, he said, because the Southerners lived "in mortal fear of an attempt to revive some part of Part 3 that would approve the race-mixing decision of the Supreme Court of May 1954." This was the decision in which the court held that racial segregation in public schools is unconstitutional.

"Under the conditions we faced," Russelfl said, "if I had undertaken a filibuster for personal aggrandizement, I would have forever reproached myself for being guilty of a form of treason against the South."

Thurmond was not in the Senate to hear this statement.

Russell Defends Strategy, Rights Camp Looks to '58

Sees Difficulties For the South

By ALBERT RILEY
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, Aug. 30—Georgia's Sen. Russell today warned the people of the South they are in for difficult times resulting from the passage of the civil rights bill.

The bad times, he predicted, will come about because the bill will be administered by a "politically minded attorney general," aided by the vice president and influenced by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, "of which the vice president is the most distinguished member."

Northern liberals planning tougher legislation next year. Page 19.

Russell said the mere threat of the law will be used to intimidate honest election officials and may well result in forcing the registration of a large number of unqualified Negro voters.

WOULD CLOSE SCHOOLS

Russell further suggested that Georgians "have the fortitude to close the public schools of Georgia and tell the federal minions to do their worst" rather than to submit to force race-mixing in the schools.

During the last days of the civil rights battle in the Senate, Southern senators "lived in mortal fear" that Northern liberals would attempt to revive part three to approve the Supreme Court's 1954 race-mixing decision.

That was the primary reason all of the Southerners except Strom Thurmond of South Carolina decided not to filibuster against final passage.

In confirming that fear today, Russell spelled out the apprehensions that had been hinted at earlier by Sen. Talmadge and other members of the Dixie forces.

WARNS OF BROWNELL

Sen. Richard B. Russell

FILIBUSTER FUTILE

"There was not a man among us who was not willing to speak against this iniquitous bill until he dropped in his tracks, if it would have done any good," Russell said.

"We would have done so," the Georgian added, "but for the conviction growing out of our knowledge of the Senate and experience for many years, that a filibuster was certain to make a bad bill worse.

"We knew that it would cause us to lose all of our hard-gained victories in striking out the provisions of the bill authorizing the attorney general to use all federal power to destroy the Southern way of life by integrating the races," he declared.

Russell, whose leadership was praised by his Dixie colleagues, said he was saddened to lose any of the victories the Southern senators had gained, referring to the weakening in the house of the Senate's jury trial amendment.

"SWEETEST VICTORY"

"But the fact that we were able to confine the federal activities to the field of voting and keep the withering hand of the federal government out of our schools and social order is to me the sweetest victory of my 25 years as a senator from the state of Georgia," he said.

"Most of my public life has been dedicated to the defense of the separate systems for the races on which the life of Georgia and the South is based.

"If my position is misunderstood or twisted for political purposes, I would consider the loss of my seat in the Senate as a cheap price to pay for the conviction in my soul that God was kind enough to vouchsafe to me the strength and the understanding to follow the wisest course in meeting this great threat," he said.

WOULD GIVE LIFE

"I have lived a full life and through the generosity of the people of my state have enjoyed many honors," he added in his concluding remarks. "I like to think that I would gladly part with life if this would guarantee the preservation of races of unmixed blood in the land I love."

From a purely political point of view, Russell said, it would have been easy for the Southerners to have filibustered, proclaimed that "we had died defending the breaches and thereby have undoubtedly won great plaudits from most of our constituents."

But there was little doubt, he said, that this would have resulted in passage of "the vicious bill which came to us from the House in its original form."

HITS AT DISSENTERS

Russell said he would not indulge in any reciminations by attempting to fix the responsibility for "the great weakening of the Senate jury trial amendment" in the House.

But he added that "I shall content myself by saying that if a few leaders from the Southern states in the House of Representatives had been willing to accept the Senate jury trial amendment, applied only to this bill, they could have had the Senate amendment any time over a period of 10 days."

Sixteen Southern senators were united in their decision not to filibuster, he declared, because they believed they "had nothing to gain and everything to lose by attempting to do so."

"Under the conditions we faced, if I had undertaken a filibuster for personal aggrandizement, I would have forever reproached myself for being guilty of a form of treason against the people of the South."

North Charting Tougher Bill

Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, Aug. 30 — With Congress adjourned and the compromise civil rights bill sent to the White House, Northern liberals already are planning to seek even tougher civil rights legislation next year.

Word came from the office of Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-NY), that he plans to introduce next year a bill that would accomplish much of the provisions of Part 3, which the Senate struck from the bill just enacted.

Part 3 would have permitted federal enforcement of civil rights other than just voting guarantees, and Southerners argued it would have authorized enforcement of racial integration in the South.

RUSSELL'S SUCCESS

When the Dixie forces, under Sen. Russell, succeeded in eliminating that provision of this year's bill, it restricted the measure to a voting bill only.

But Clarence Mitchell, director of the Washington Bureau of the NAACP, said his organization will push for the stronger legislation next year.

There were other signs, too, that integration forces in Congress will not be content with this year's victory in getting enactment of the first civil rights bill in 82 years.

Sen. Javits (R-NY), told the Senate late last night he is not satisfied with this year's bill and will seek stronger legislation next year.

DISCORDANT NOTE

Javits' comment at that time struck a discordant note as Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson of Texas and Minority Leader William F. Knowland of California called for harmony and a closing of the gulf between North and South.

Informed of the Celler plan and Mitchell's statements, Sen. Russel had this caustic comment:

"You can expect continuation of power politics which have always marked these bills. The Congressman from New York has stayed in office a long time on the strength of his ability to denounce and misrepresent the people of the South.

"I assume Mitchell is the highest paid official of the NAACP. They must appear to be doing something to justify their jobs."

"The South will be represented in the next session, and, in my opinion, there is little likelihood of any additional legislation."

The bill authorizes a new civil rights division in the Justice Department to be headed by an assistant attorney general. Mitchell said that department could very well transfer one of the present assistants to head the new division for the time being.

In commenting on the final passage of the bill, the NAACP official said reasonable Southern senators, like Russell and Stennis (D-Miss), "cost us a lot of support" for a stronger bill this year.

But he added, "If Sen. Thurmond (D-SC) had started his filibuster a little earlier, he would have done us a great favor."

Mitchell said the new civil rights bill to be introduced by Rep. Celler next year will contain most of the provisions of Part 3 of this year's measure and will "state more clearly what can be done by the attorney general."

LIBERALS MAKE PLANS

Another anti-South move in the Senate next year was promised by Northern liberals on both the Republican and Democratic sides of the aisle.

Apparently stemming directly from Sen. Thurmond's one-man, record-breaking, around-the-clock filibuster, this will be a concerted move to change the Senate Rule 22 governing debate.

Although all other Southern senators except Thurmond deemed it inadvisable to attempt a filibuster this year, that weapon still would be available next year if necessary to use it against a stronger bill.

In an obvious reference to Thurmond's talkathon, the GOP civil rights extremist bloc commented today, "We have seen a sample of what the filibuster means to civil rights measures and how it can block the public interest in such critical times."

AGGRAVATED AGITATION

Thurmond's performance did exactly one thing the rest of the Southern senators wanted to avoid, and that was to aggravate this long pending Northern agitation to make it easier to impose cloture.

However, there is a brighter side to the civil rights picture in Congress as a result of the passage of the bill restricted to voting rights.

That is the possibility—and even probability—that enactment of the current legislation will take a lot of pressure off the South in that field.

A number of more moderate Northern and Western senators and congressmen from both parties have told Southerners privately they are tired of constant demands from the NAACP and other groups for civil rights laws.

With the South having been forced at long last to yield on the voting rights bill, some of these senators indicate they will be less than enthusiastic about trying to force any additional legislation on the South any time soon.

When the bill just enacted is signed by the President and put into operation, it likely will face a test of constitutionality on one provision when enforcement efforts begin.

This is on the jury trial compromise amendment, which Southerners have argued is unconstitutional because of its "price tag" on the guarantee of jury trials in criminal contempt cases.

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News B'ham, Ala. Tues. 9-3-57

Since Johnson's veto, stormy seas—

History of rights: 91 years of dissension, strife

p. 23

BY ED CREAGH
Associated Press writer

WASHINGTON, Sept. 3—To the Carolina-born man in the White House, it was plain that Congres was trying to move too far and too fast.

Grant citizenship to American Negroes?

"Four million of them," argued President Andrew Johnson, "have just emerged from slavery. Can it reasonably be supposed that they possess the requisite qualifications to entitle them to all the privileges and equalities of citizens of the United States?"

Why, Johnson went on, if you make the Negro a citizen the next thing you know he'll have the right to vote—even to hold public office!

19-year controversy

SO THE PRESIDENT vetoed the civil rights bill of 1866—the first civil rights measure, as the term now is understood, in the nation's history.

Congress overrode his veto and the Supreme Court pretty well undercut the law. In this atmosphere of governmental cross-purposes began a controversy far from ended—91 years later—by the civil rights bill which has finally floundered to harbor after a storm-tossed journey through Congress.

This 1957 bill is, nonetheless, a legislative landmark in more ways than one—quite apart from its immediate political impact.

Increasingly, since the '30s, both the Supreme Court and the White House have moved to strengthen Negro rights and opportunities. There have been executive actions by Presidents Roosevelt, Truman and Eisenhower. The Supreme Court moved into the same area by outlawing segregation in such fields as education and interstate travel.

But until now, not since Reconstruction Days has Congress got together on an out-and-out civil rights bill. Similar measures have got through the House but always they have been blocked by Southern senators—armed with the weapon of unlimited debate—on the other side of the capitol.

Same language

MOREOVER, the new bill finds the three branches of federal government speaking the same language, though with varying accents, for the first time in decades on the subject of Negro rights.

The Supreme Court, under Chief Justice Warren, has taken what most people would call the most advanced position—as in its decree banning segregation in public schools.

Next in line has been the White House. President Eisenhower, while not endorsing the broad civil rights program of Harry S. Truman, proposed a law with the declared aim of protecting every qualified citizen's right to vote.

And now Congress has hammered out a civil rights bill giving the president a sizable part of what he asked.

In the seemingly endless backing and filling, the compromising and rewriting, it was easy to lose sight of the fact that at long last a formal measure of agreement was reached on probably the touchiest problem in American life.

Curious history

CIVIL RIGHTS legislation on the federal level has a curious history.

It came in a rush in the years after the Civil War. The Northern-dominated Congress passed five laws and initiated three constitutional amendments—the 13th, 14th and 15th—freeing the slaves and declaring their rights to full citizenship.

Gradually, the Supreme Court narrowed the scope—sometimes to the vanishing point—of these measures. For years, Congress did little in the way of proposing new laws. Interest lagged, for one thing. For another, the Southerners returned to Congress with their power to talk legislation to death. They used this weapon when they felt they had to —in order to kill federal anti-lynching bills, for example.

But forces of change were working in the country. In the North, particularly, the Negro was a growing political power. Growing, too, in the depression years and afterward, was the role of government. Pressure on Congress to "do something" about civil rights was building up.

In the 1937-38 Congress, 10 civil rights bills were introduced. By 1949-50 the number rose to 72. The big battle came over proposals to set up a permanent Federal Employment Practices Committee along the lines of a temporary one named by President Roosevelt to combat discrimination in hiring.

These proposals came to nothing. And the same fate befell a series of proposals—ranging from a poll tax ban to a "fair elections" law—proposed by Truman. Far from being adopted, Truman's civil rights program brought about a North-South split in the Democratic Party.

Foe of compulsion

EISENHOWER BECAME PRESIDENT as a declared foe of "compulsory" legislation in the civil rights field. He sought, rather, to improve the status of Negroes through persuasion and through executive action—in carrying on, for instance, Truman's policy of ending segregation in the armed forces.

But the times continued to change. The Supreme Court—with a viewpoint vastly altered since pre-New Deal days—was slashing at racial barriers right and left. Finally, in his 1956 State of the Union message, Eisenhower proposed that Congress do these things:

1. Set up a civil rights division in the Justice Department (something Truman also had urged).

2. Create a bipartisan commission to examine charges "that in some localities . . . Negro citizens are being deprived of their right to vote and . . . subjected to unwarranted economic pressures."

3. Let the Justice Department (a) prosecute individuals interfering with voters in federal elections, and (b) file civil suits and seek federal injunctions in civil rights cases, with no jury trial for violators of court orders.

Hidden tinder

CONGRESS' REACTION? Same old story. The House passed the bill more or less as submitted, after an argument centering on the commission proposals. Nobody seemed to notice until later on that there was much more tinder for controversy in other sections. And, as usual, the measure died in the Senate judiciary committee.

Chief strategist in keeping the bill bottled up, incidentally, was Senate Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson, who was to play a far different role in this year's legislation.

For it was Johnson more than anyone else, probably, who headed off a 1957 filibuster so as to get a bill through—even if it wasn't the bill which the administration wanted.

It came about this way:

First, the House passed the administration bill pretty much intact, 286-126.

Chairman Eastland (D., Miss.), all-out foe of all such legislation, kept it tightly corked in his Senate judiciary committee.

But a bi-partisan civil rights bloc led by Senate GOP Leader Knowland, with assists from Vice President Nixon and others, took the unusual—almost unheard-of—step of bypassing the Eastland committee and bringing the House bill directly to the Senate floor.

Now the fight was on in earnest.

Russell attacks it

SEN. RUSSELL (D., Ga.), leader of the Southern opposition, touched it off by assailing the bill as a revolutionary device "cunningly contrived" to force racial intermingling on the South at bayonet point. Russell hit hard at a point the House had overlooked — because of the way the bill was fitted into old laws already on the books, the president would have power to call out federal troops to enforce its provisions.

Eisenhower registered surprise—even shock. He said he'd intended nothing more than a moderate bill to insure voting rights. But he added—and various senators quickly threw his words back at him—that he'd taken another look at the bill and found "certain phrases that I don't completely understand."

Those phrases were hacked out of the bill in short order.

By a 90-0 vote, the senators went for repeal of a reconstruction law authorizing the use of federal troops to enforce civil rights orders of federal courts.

Then the senators proceeded to knock out one whole section, turning the measure into a voting rights bill only.

Ike disappointed

FINALLY, in the biggest hassle of all, Johnson and his supporters succeeded in writing in a guarantee of trial by jury for all persons accused of criminal contempt—not only in civil rights cases but in those stemming from the Taft-Hartley Labor Act and some 40 other laws.

"Now," said Johnson contentedly, "we've got a workable bill."

Eisenhower didn't agree. He called the jury trial proviso "bitterly disappointing." He said it was a blow at the prestige of the federal court system. And he said it would make the bill "largely ineffective."

But the Senate passed its version of the bill, 72-18.

Knowland and other civil rights battlers predicted the House would never accept the Senate amendments.

And it looked for a while as if a deadlock was developing.

But on Aug. 21 Eisenhower said he'd accept a compromise which GOP House leaders were trying to work out.

The finale

THE COMPROMISE finally accepted by most Democrats as well as Republicans in both Houses: The jury trial provision would apply to voting rights to try accused violators without a jury.

Specifically, in cases where a judge conducted the trial all by himself, the accused could demand a new trial by jury if the penalty was greater than a $300 fine or 45 days in jail. The maximum penalty for a jury trial conviction would be $1000 fine and six months in jail.

Chairman Howard Smith (D., Va.) of the House rules committee was in a position to block the compromise temporarily, and he did. But his committee knocked over the roadblock by a 10-2 vote and sent the measure to the floor, where the House quickly passed it 279-97.

There was grumbling among Southern Democratic senators and even talk of an 11th hour filibuster.

But everybody knew the fight was over.

And the Senate nailed down the decision by rejecting, 66-18, a last-ditch motion by Sen Thurmond (D., S. C.) to send the bill back to Eastland's judiciary committee and sure death.

After a record one-man filibuster by Thurmond that lasted 24 hours, 19 minutes, the Senate passed the bill on a 60-15 vote.

An Open Telegram To Harry Truman

Afro-American Sat. 8-24-57
Baltimore, Md. P. 8

10

Hon. Harry S Truman
219 N. Delaware Street,
Independence, Missouri

It was your Committee on Civil Rights which in 1947 for the first time recommended as an administrative policy the "elimination of segregation based on race, color, creed or national origin" from American life.

During your campaign for re-election and throughout your second term, you repeatedly declared "voluntary action can take us a long way and we must encourage it.

"State and local legislation is a necessity and we have need for it, but let us remember this, the President's (Truman) Committee on Civil Rights led the way.

"The debate over the civil rights program has stimulated much of the progress made during the last five years. We still need the legislation I recommended to the Congress in 1948.

"Only two of the recommendations I made in my civil rights program have been adopted so far. I shall continue, in office and out, to urge that Congress adopt the remainder.

"I am not one of those who feels we can leave these matters up to the states alone or that we can rely solely on the efforts of men of goodwill.

"Our Federal Government must live up to the ideals professed in our Declaration of Independence and the duties imposed upon it by our Constitution.

"The full force and power of the Federal Government must stand behind the protection of rights guaranteed by our Federal Constitution."

* * *

BECAUSE the Senate disappointingly restricted its scope to the strengthening of voting rights alone. and because its enforcement powers have been curtailed by the inclusion of a jury trial amendment, the Civil Rights bill now before Congress has been made virtually meaningless.

We believe that a great moral and Constitutional issue like civil rights should be above partisan politics and the best-thinking Democrats and Republicans should unite to give us a strong bill.

You have been silent, but perhaps you would be willing to issue a statement now making clear what is your position as the nation's leading elder statesman on this issue today.

CARL MURPHY,
President
Afro-American Newspapers
Baltimore, Maryland

Civil Rights Bill Far From Being Adequate Is View Here

Weekly New Orleans, La. Sat. 9-14-57

The voices of citizens all over our country can be heard either commending or condemning the newly passed civil rights bill, with the consensus of opinion being that the new legislation is either "adequate or weak".

There seemingly is only the middle ground whereby persons are of the opinion that the bill is better than nothering, or the dim view with persons feeling they would rather not have the bill at all.

Seldon if ever does one hea a view to the effect that the bi is any more than just "adc quate."

Briefly, the bill, which i viewed as a compromise, provides for an individual accused of contempt of the Federal Court to be tried with or without a jury depending on the decision of the judge. The individual, in either case, could not be sentenced for more than six months in prison and a $1,000 fine. If the sentence imposed is more than 45 days or $300, the convicted can demand a new trial by jury.

The middle ground view was taken by NAACP's Roy Wilkins. Speaking at the national Alpha Phi Alpha convention's public meeting in Los Angeles, the executive secretary likened the bill to an improvement in working tools.

Wilkins asserted: "If you are digging a ditch with a teaspoon and a man comes along and offers you a spade, there is something wrong with your head if you don't take it because he didn't offer you a bulldozer."

New York's Congressman Adam Clayton Powell slapped the NAACP's view with a "weak" label. Powell declared that "after an 80 year wait no bill is better than half a bill."

On the local scene, the Weekly contacted the following persons asking their opinion on the merits of the bill:

E.W. Sorrell, principal of the Walter L. Cohen High School, stated: "The bill recently passed by the United States Congress giving all citizens the right to vote, must be construed as being a democratic gain. If agencies charged with enforcing the law effectively carry out their duties, many individuals previously deprived of this priveledge will be benefited. While it is still with weak compromises, on the whole I think the country has made an advancement in democracy."

"I am far from satisfied, though the bill is better than nothing," declared Atty. Israel Augustine, Jr. Atty. Augustine continued: "As far as foreign policy goes, the bill won't impress other countries the U.S. is trying to impress of complete sincerity, but perhaps they will feel that we are on the right road. In the next session, we might look forward to an even stronger civil rights bill."

Atty Earl J. Amedee asserted: "Knowing the need for voting safeguards in the Southern States, I must agree that this bill which sets up a special section on civil rights in the justice department and makes specific provisions concerning the Attorney General's power so far as voting rights are concerned, will do much good for the Negro minority in the South. I am shocked though, at the explanation that Sen. Long and Congressman Hebert gave for opposing the bill. Apparently they must think that the Negro citizens in Louisiana are stupid."

"We hope that the passage of the bill will served as impetus for more people to avail themselves to the services of our registration school located on Rampart near Poydras," said Clarence (Chink) Henry, President of local 1419, General Longshoremen. Henry concluded: "Now that the rights of the voters are further strenghtened, we can see no reason why everyone of voting age is not registered. In the near future we plan an all out registration drive. As for the bill proper, I am of the belief that it is fairly adequate but look forward to a stronger bill perhaps next year."

Hesitating for just a moment, Mrs. Rita Hayes, secretary at Rosenwald Youth Center, commented: "No doubt the newly passed civil rights bill is a giant step in the right direction, but hardly adequate. The most important aspect of the bill is not the bill itself but the fact that a first step has been made. I feel quite strongly that a stronger bill will be enacted shortly."

Dr. Samuel Gandy, Dean of Chapel at Dillard University, summed up the situation thusly: "Civil rights are the rights of a free and democratic people inherent in the nature of our constitutional guarantees and therefore should not be abridged. That it may be politically advantageous to have some initial legislation on civil rights but under no circumstances should such limited legislation be considered as adequate or the effective expression of justice. Every effort must be continued by the people to secure full civil rights. The moral leadership which America has assumed in world affairs demands that we first demonstrate the quality of our moral leadership in our national life. As a people sanctioning religion it is equally our moral imperative."

Robert Green, Secretary of Construction and General Laborers local 689, said: "Although we have a watered down piece of legislation it does represent some progress. It will be effective if used by the people it is intended to help gain their inalienable rights. However, the civil rights law will be ineffective if Negroes have to be atomic bombed or have one of the powerful guided missiles on them in order to wake them up to the tune of the times which simply is 'that if Negroes are to survive and exist in a land of hate, they must register and vote."

Opinions are continued to be ventured but the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of the bill, which ever the case, remains to be seen.

10 1957

Brownell Expects Rights Measure to Be Effective

Believes Negroes' Voting Will Be Protected

WASHINGTON, Sept. 1 (AP)—Atty. Gen. Brownell said he believes the new civil rights bill will go a long way toward safeguarding voting rights. He meant, primarily, Negroes' voting rights.

The principal thing it does is to give Brownell—and subsequent attorneys general—the authority to get federal court injunctions to enforce voting rights.

Up to now the attorney general could bring only criminal prosecutions in this field, prosecutions that could be started only after an alleged offense had been committed. He could not act in advance to head off an offense, as he will be able to do under this bill.

Another major section of the bill sets up a commission to investigate civil rights problems.

Six-Man Commission

Here is a description of the principal provisions in each part of the bill:

The commission provided for in part one of the bills is to be composed of six members, appointed by the President subject to approval by the Senate. Not more than three members may be from the same political party.

The President would designate both the chairman and the vice-chairman of the commission.

The commission is directed to investigate sworn, written allegations that citizens are being deprived of their right to vote, or to have their vote counted, "by reason of their color, race, religion or national origin."

It also is directed to "study and collect information concerning legal developments constituting a denial of equal protection of the laws" and to "appraise the laws and policies of the federal government with respect to equal protection of the laws."

Within two years after enactment of the legislation, the commission is required to submit to the President and to Congress a final report of its activities, findings and recommendations. Sixty days after the submission of this report the commission shall cease to exist.

Full-Time Director

A full-time staff director is to be appointed by the President, subject to the Senate's approval. The director's salary would be fixed by the President but may not exceed $22,500 a year.

The commission may appoint such other personnel as it deems advisable but, under an amendment adopted by the Senate, it may not use the services of voluntary or unpaid employes. It may, however, set up advisory committees within the states.

Hearings may be held by the commission, or any subcommittee of two or more members, at such times and places as it wishes. It may issue subpenas to compel the attendance of witnesses and the production of records.

In case of refusal to obey a subpena, the federal district courts are authorized upon application by the attorney general to order a person to appear before the commission and to punish for contempt anyone who refuses to do so.

Pay for Witnesses

The commission would be barred from issuing subpenas that would require the attendance of witnesses at hearings to be held outside the states where they reside.

Witnesses would receive $4 a day, plus $12 a day for subsistence expenses, if hearings were held so far from their homes as to prevent them from returning at night. A travel allowance of eight cents a mile also is provided.

Under stipulated rules of procedure, witnesses would be permitted counsel to advise them on their constitutional rights and would have to be furnished a copy of the commission's rules. At the start of each hearing, the chairman would have to announce the subject under inquiry.

If the commission determined that evidence or testimony at any hearing might tend "to defame, degrade, or incriminate any person," it would be required to:

(1) "Receive such evidence or testimony in executive session," (2) "Afford such person an opportunity voluntarily to appear as a witness," and (3) "Receive and dispose of requests from such person to subpena additional witnesses."

The bill also provides that no testimony taken in executive session "may be released or used in public sesssions" without the commission's consent and declares:

"Whover releases or uses in public without the consent of the commission evidence or testimony taken in executive session shall be fined not more than $1000, or imprisoned for not more than one year."

Newsmen Exempted

This section stirred alarm that newsmen, in doing their reporting jobs, might run afoul of the law.

To prevent that, Congress exempted newspaper, radio and television reporters from the penalties provided for unauthorized disclosure of confidential information given the commission.

Roll-Call in House on Civil Rights Bill

WASHINGTON, Aug. 27 (AP)—Following is the vote by which the House passed and sent to the Senate today a compromise civil rights bill:

FOR THE BILL—279

Addonizio (N. J.)
Albert (Okla.)
Anderson (Mont.)
Ashley (Ohio)
Aspinall (Colo.)
Baring (Nev.)
Barrett (Pa.)
Blatnik (Minn.)
Boland (Mass.)
Bolling (Mo.)
Boyle (Ill.)
Breeding (Kan.)
Brooks (Tex.)
Brown (Mo.)
Byrd (W. Va.)
Byrne (Pa.)
Carnahan (Mo.)
Celler (N. Y.)
Chelf (Ky.)
Christopher (Mo.)
Chudoff (Pa.)
Clark (Pa.)
Coad (Iowa)
Coffin (Me.)
Dawson (Ill.)
Delaney (N. Y.)
Denton (Ind.)
Diggs (Mich.)
Dingell (Mich.)
Dollinger (N. Y.)
Donohue (Mass.)
Doyle (Calif.)
Eberharter (Pa.)
Edmondson (Okla.)
Eengle (Calif.)
Fallon (Md.)
Farbstein (N. Y.)
Fascell (Fla.)
Feighan (Ohio)
Fogarty (R. I.)
Forand (R. I.)
Friedel (Md.
Garmatz (Md.)
Granahan (Pa.)
Gray (Ill.)
Green (Ore.)
Green (Pa.)
Griffiths (Mich.)
Hagen (Calif.)
Healey (N. Y.)
Holland (Pa.)
Hull (Mo.)
Ikard (Tex.)
Jarman (Okla.)
Johnson (Wic.)
Karsten (Mo.)
Kee (W. Va.)
Kelley (Pa.)
Kelly (N. Y.)
Keogh (N. Y.)
Kilday (Tex.)
Kilgore (Tex.)
King (Calif.)
Kirwan (Ohio)
Kluczynski (Ill.)
Knutson (Minn.)
Lane (Mass.)
Lankford (Md.)
McCarthy (Minn.)
McCormick (Mass.)
McFall (Calif.)
McGovern (S. D.)
MacDonald (Mass.)
Machrowicz (Mich.)
Mack (Ill.)
Madden (Ind.)
Magnuson (Wash.)
Marshall (Minn.)
Metcalf (Mont.)
Montoya (N. M.)
Morgan (Pa.)
Morris (Okla.)
Moss (Calif.)
Moulder (Mo.)
Multer (N. Y.)
Natcher (Ky.)
O'Brien (Ill.)
O'Brien (N. Y.)
O'Hara (Ill.)
O'Neill (Mass.)
Patman (Tex.)
Perkins (Ky.)
Pfost (Idaho)
Philbin (Mass.)
Poage (Tex.)
Polk (Ohio)
Porter (Ore.)
Price (Ill.)
Rabaut (Mich.)
Reuss (Wis.)
Rhodes (Pa.)
Rodino (N. J.)
Rogers (Colo.)
Rooney (N. Y.)
Roosevelt (Calif.)
Rutherford (Tex.)
Santangelo (N. Y.)
Saund (Calif.)
Shelley (Calif.)
Sheppard (Calif.)
Sieminski (N. J.)
Sisk (Calif.)
Staggers (W. Va.)
Steed (Okla.)
Sullivan (Mo.)
Teller (N. Y.)
Thomas (Tex.)
Thompson (N. J.)
Thompson (Tex.)
Thornberry (Tex.)
Ullman (Ore.)
Vanik (Ohio)
Watts (Ky.)
Wright (Tex.)
Yates (Ill.)
Young (Tex.)
Zablocki (Wis.)
Zelenko (N. Y.)

Republicans—151

Adair (Ind.)
Allen (Ill.)
Andersen (Minn.)
Andersen (Minn.)
Arends (Ill.)
Auchincloss (N. J.)
Avery (Kan.)
Ayres (Ohio)
Baldwin (Calif.)
Bass (N. H.)
Bates (Mass.)
Baumhart (Ohio)
Becker (N. Y.)
Belcher (Okla.)
Bennett (Mich.)
Bentley (Mich.)
Berry (S. D.)
Betts (Ohio)
Bosch (N. Y.)
Bow (Ohio)
Broomfield (Mich.)
Brown (Ohio)
Brownson (Ind.)
Burdick (N. D.)
Bush (Pa.)
Byrne (Ill.)
Byrnes (Wisc.)
Canfield (N. J.)
Carrigg (Pa.)
Cederberg (Mich.)
Chamberlain (Mich.)
Chenoweth (Colo.)
Chiperfield (Ill.)
Church (Ill.)
Cole (N. Y.)
Collier (Ill.)
Corbett (Pa.)
Coudert (N. Y.)
Cretella (Conn.)
Cunningham (Iowa)
Cunningham (Neb.)
Curtin (Pa.)
Curtis (Mass.)
Curtis (Mo.)
Dague (Pa.)
Dawson (Utah)
Dellay (N. J.)
Dennison (Ohio)
Derounian (N. Y.)
Dixon (Utah)
Dooley (N. Y.)
Dwyer (N. J.)
Fenton (Pa.)
Fino (N. Y.)
Ford (Mich.)
Freylingh'ysen (N.J.)
Fulton (Pa.)
Gavin (Pa.)
Griffin (Mich.)
Gubser (Calif.)
Hale (Me.)
Halleck (Ind.)
Harrison (Neb.)
Henderson (Ohio)
Heselton (Mass.)
Hess (Ohio)
Hill (Colo.)
Hoeven (Iowa)
Holmes (Wash.)
Holt (Calif.)
Hosmer (Calif.)
Hyde (Md.)
James (Pa.)
Jenkins (Ohio)
Judd (Minn.)
Kean (N. J.)
Kearns (Pa.)
Keating (N. Y.)
Knox (Mich.)
Laird (Wis.)
Latham (N. Y.)
Lipscomb (Calif.)
McConnell (Pa.)
McCulloch (Ohio)
McGregor (Ohio)
McIntire (Me.)
McIntosh (Mich.)
McVey (Ill.)
Mach (Wash.)
Martin (Mass.)
May (Conn.)
Meader (Mich.)
Merrow (N. H.)
Michel (Ill.)
Miller (Md.)
Miller (Neb.)
Miller (N. Y.)
Mishall (Ohio)
Moore (W. Va.)
Morano (Conn.)
Mumma (Pa.)
Neal (W. Va.)
Nimtz (Ind.)
O'Hara (Minn.)
Osmers (N. J.)
Ostertag (N. Y.)
Patterson (Conn.)
Pelly (Wash.)
Pillion (N. Y.)
Prouty (Vt.)
Radwan (N. Y.)
Reece (Tenn.)
Reed (N. Y.)
Rees (Kan.)
Rhodes (Ariz.)
Riehlman (N. Y.)
Rogers (Mass.)
St. George (N. Y.)
Saylor (Pa.)
Schenck (Ohio)
Scherer (Ohio)
Schwengel (Iowa)
Scott (Pa.)
Scudder (Calif.)
Seely-Brown (Conn.)
Sheehan (Ill.)
Simpson (Ill.)
Simpson (Pa.)
Stringer (Ill.)
Stauffer (Pa.)
Talle (Iowa)
Taylor (N. Y.)
Tewes (Wis.)
Thomson (Wyo.)
Tollefson (Wash.)
Van Pelt (Wis.)
Van Zandt (Pa.)
Vorys (Ohio)
Wainwright (N. Y.)
Weaver (Neb.)
Westland (Wash.)
Wharton (N. Y.)
Widnall (N. J.)
Wigglesworth (Mass.
Wilson (Calif.)
Wilson (Ind.)
Withrow (Wis.)
Wolverton (N. J.)

AGAINST THE BILL—97

Democrats—82

Abbitt (Va.)
Abernethy (Miss.)
Alexander (N. C.)
Andrews (Ala.)
Ashmore (S. C.)
Bass (Tenn.)
Beckworth (Tex.)
Bennett (Fla.)
Blitch (Ga.)
Boggs (La.)
Bonner (N. C.)
Boykin (Ala.)
Brooks (La.)
Brown (Ga.)
Burleson (Tex.)
Colmer (Miss.)
Cooley (N. C.)
Cooper (Tenn.)
Davis (Ga.)
Davis (Ga.)
Davis (Tenn.)
Dorn (S. C.)
Dowdy (Tex.)
Durham (N. C.)
Elliott (Ala.)
Evins (Tenn.)
Flynt (Ga.)
Forrester (Ga.)
Fountain (N. C.)
Frazier (Tenn.)
Gary (Va.)
Gathings (Ark.)
Grant (Ala.)
Gregory (Ky.)
Haley (Fla.)
Hardy (Va.)
Harris (Va.)
Harris (Ark.)
Harrison (Va.)
Hays (Ark.)
Hebert (La.)
Hemphill (S. C.)
Herlong (Fla.)
Huddleston (Ala.)
Jennings (Va.)
Jones (Ala.)
Jones (Mo.)
Kitchin (N. C.)
Landrum (Ga.)
Lanham (Ga.)
Lennon (N. C.)
Long (La.)
Loser (Ten.)
McMillan (S. C.)
Mahon (Tex.)
Matthews (Fla.)
Mills (Ark.)
Morrison (La.)
Norrell (Ark.)
Passman (La.)
Pilcher (Ga.)
Rains (Ala.)
Riley (S. C.)
Rivers (S. C.)
Roberts (Ala.)
Robeson (Va.)
Rogers (Fla.)
Rogershof (Tex.)
Scott (N. C.)
Selden (Ala.)
Shuford (N. C.)
Smith (Miss.)
Smith (Va.)
Spence (Ky.)
Thompson (La.)
Trimble (Ark.)
Tuck (Va.)
Vinson (Ga.)
Whitener (N. C.)
Williams (Miss.)
Willis (La.)
Winstead (Miss.)

Republicans 15

Baker (Tenn.)
Broyhill (Va.)
Budge (Idaho)
Cramer (Fla.)
Gross (Iowa)
Jensen (Iowa)
Johansen (Mich.)
Jonas (N. C.)
Keeney (Ill.)
O'Konski (Wis.)
Poff (Va.)
Ray (N. Y.)
Smith (Wis.)
Taber (N. Y.)
Utt (Calif.)

Paired for: Buckley (N. Y.), Flood (Pa.), Bailey (W. Va.), Holifield (Calif.), Hays (Ohio), Democrats; Younger (Calif.), Bolton (Ohio), Scrivner (Kan.), Siler (Ky.), Republicans.

Paired against: Sikes (Fla.), Barden (N. C.), Preston (Ga.), Dies (Tex), Democrats; Hoffman (Mich.), Mason (Ill.), Alger (Tex.), Clevenger (Ohio), Helstand (Calif.), Republicans.

Patterson Says CRC Disbanded

NEW YORK—"The Civil Rights Congress does not exist and has not existed since 1956," said William L. Patterson, the former national executive secretary, as he commented upon the ruling of the Subversive Activities Control Board that the CRC is a front for the Communist party.

Negroes Nix Senator

ST. CLOUD, Minn.—A gathering of Minnesota's Democratic-Farmer-Labor group will not hear Senator Frank Church (Dem., Idaho) speak. Senator Church was dropped as a dinner speaker after several Negroes had protested his stand on the civil rights bill.

BEATING OF 2 WHITES

Advertiser P.1

Coosa Sheriff Indicted On Civil Rights Count

Fri. 9-13-57 Montgomery, Ala.

By JO ANN FLIRT

Coosa County Sheriff H. Pierce Saxon of Rockford has been indicted by a federal grand jury here on a civil rights violation charging him with beating two white men.

The two-count indictment against the sheriff accuses him of beating William Mathews Harris, 39, a steel manufacturing company worker from Hueytown; and John P. Leith, 25, an electrician from Pleasant Grove (both Jefferson County), as they stood with a friend outside a Goodwater service station last February.

Saxon was arraigned yesterday before U.S. Commissioner C. R. Hughes who set the sheriff's bond at $1,000. Court records list the bondsmen as C. W. McEwen and John T.McDonald, both of Rockford.

The law enforcement official could not be reached last night for comment on the charges. Earlier in the day he successfully evaded an Advertiser photographer who attempted to photograph him as he left the federal building here.

One of the two men involved in the case gave The Advertiser the following accountof the incident.

Harris said he and Leith, along with William Huddleston of Hueytown, were returning from a one-day hunting trip near Harris' boyhood home in Chambers County.

They ,stopped at a Goodwater service station about 8 p.m. that Saturday night so Harris could telephone his wife that he was on his way home and would be a little late.

Leith and Huddleston went into a cafe adjoining the service station and ordered sandwiches and Harris followed after making the telephone call and ordered a cup of coffee.

As the trio left the cafe and started to get in their car an automobile drove up onto the concrete area of the service station and a man, later identified as Saxon, looked at Harris "as though he knew me."

"IS said 'Hi'," Harris said, "and had started to get into the car when the guy jumped out of the car."

An exchange of words and some blows with a blackjack followed the greeting, Harris said.

He later ordered them to get out of town, Harris said. He said none of the three were ever arrestde or chargd with any violation.

Witnesses to the entire incident, Harris said, were two highway patrolmen who were parked at the service station when the hunters arrived.

According to Harris, none of the three men had ever known the sheriff before the beating incident.

The indictment charges axon with violating the civil rights of the two hunters by refusing them the "right and privilege not to be subjected to punishment without due process of law."

It charges the sheriff "did illegally beat, hit, strike, bruise, batter and assault (the men) for the purpose of inflicting illegal summary punishment."

Also violated, according to the indictment, were the men's rights "to be tried by due process of law and if found guilty to be sentenced and punished in accordance with the laws of the State of Alabama."

Each of the two counts facing the sheriff are misdemeanors punishable by a maximum penalty of a $1,000 fine or imprisonment for one year or both.

Trial of the case is set for the criminal session which begins in U.S. District Court here Nov. 12.

Defendants will be arraigned for the purpose of pleading either guilty or not guilty Oct. 7.

Charges Backfire, Man Indicted On 3 Counts

Charges by a Columbus, Ga., white man that law enforcement officers violated his civil rights by beating him yesterday backfired as the federal grand jury here indicted him for making false statements to investigating officials.

Woodie Childers, also known as Woodie Childres, had complained to U.S. District Attorney Harwell Davis that he had been mistreated by officers who charged him with driving while intoxicated and resisting arrest.

The three - count indictment charges Childers with knowingly making false statements to the district attorney and to the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

According to the indictment he told the federal men he "was handcuffed and then beaten by them with a blackjack." He also allegedly stated he was not drunk and did not resist arrest at any time.

Federal records show that Childers was arrested April 9 near Tallassee by Highway Patrolman Judge C. Coan and Tallpossa County Deputy Sheriff G. G. Golden.

District Atty. Davis when questioned about the case called it unusual and warned that "no one should falsely claim that their civil rights have been violated." He added that his statement was in no way a reflection on the guilt or innocence of Childers.

Each of the three counts facing Childers carries possible punishment of a $10,000 fine or five years in prison or both.

Advertiser P.5-A

"Bitter" Rainach Plans Laws

Weekly New Orleans, La. Sat. 9-14-57 P.1

Gravel, Gremillion Differ In Views On Civil Rights Bill

Direct contrast in views on the new civil rights legislation were taken by Louisiana's Democratic National Committeeman Camille Gravel, who previously came out in favor of the bill, and Attorney General Jack Gremillion, who sees the legislation as an infringement on state's rights.

Delivering an address here on the bill, Gravel declared that he didn't think the legislation would have any drastic effects in the state of Louisiana. He said, however, that the bill would prevent any further attempts to remove Negroes from the rolls.

Gravel said that Louisiana, having more Negroes registered proportionately than most other states in the deep South, treats Negroes more fairly than in other Southern states.

"But that (treating Negroes more fairly) does not excuse, in my opinion, the activities of the Citizens Councils in trying to remove those already registered from the rolls," he asserted.

Gravel commented that there is a gradual willingness on the part of officials to "permit qualified persons to vote," and that "this would have come in Louisiana whether the rights bill would have passed or not."

The penalty clause, whereby if a judge imposes a fine in excess of $300 or imprisonment over 90 days, the defendant is automatically granted a new trial by jury, was criticized by Gravel. He said a jury trial should be granted in all criminal contempt cases.

Speaking out against the bill in no uncertain terms was Gremillion, who said he hopes that U.S. Attorney General Brownell and the Justice Department would leave Louisiana alone because the only trouble in Louisiana is had when they "foment it."

Gremillion stated that when he testified before a House Committee on the civil rights issue, he told members that such legislation was unnecessary and that in the state of Louisiana "we have adequate provisions in our laws and in our constitution guaranteeing the right to vote."

It is my personal view, he said, that "the civil rights act passed by the Congress is nothing more than a political plum for certain minority groups in the North at the expense of the South. The South is just being sacrificed on the altar of national political control.

Meanwhile, Senator W.M. Rainach, in Baton Rouge, said that steps have been planned by his legislative committee in the 1958 Legislature to protect state officials from "civil rights harassment" from the Federal Government.

"We need additional protection against individuals, organizations and federal officials who would attempt civil rights harassment of state officials carrying out the laws of the state, Rainach said.

Rainach declared "We plan to offer additional legislation in 1958 to further strengthen our hand in this struggle. We have definite plans, but we do not plan to reveal them until the Legislature meets."

The senator predicted that the Federal Government would "back down" once the governors of the states make up their minds to "interpose the state's sovereignty."

10 1957

South Is Routed In Initial Voting On Civil Rights

Republicans Back Dixie, Then Yield

Constitution
Wed. 6-12-57
Atlanta Ga.

By ALBERT RILEY
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, June 11—Embattled Southern congressmen were overwhelmingly defeated by Northern liberals today in the initial vote skirmishing on amendments to the civil rights bill.

In the first test votes, the Southerners were voted down, 121 to 89, and 127 to 88, on attempts to cripple the controversial administration bill.

But the big vote was yet to come on a trial by jury amendment as the House fought the War Between the States all over again.

SATURDAY SESSION?

House leaders appeared to lose hope that a final vote on the bill could be reached by Thursday night, or possibly by Friday night. Speaker Sam Rayburn indicated at a news conference that the House might have to sit in Saturday session. Other measures, including the school construction program, are waiting to be heard.

It still was apparent that a civil rights measure, in some form, would be passed by the House and sent to the Senate. The real trouble in the past has been in that branch. Predictions were being made in debate this afternoon that no civil rights bill would pass the current Congress.

And as the battle of words and votes raged on, Georgia Reps. Henderson Lanham and E. L. (Tic) Forrester joined in the fray on the House floor.

BOW TO IKE

Oddly enough, the first two amendments to either kill or cripple the bill were offered by Northern Republican allies of the Dixie forces.

But when the time came to vote, the Republican side of the aisle seemed to show the effects of White House discipline, which the Georgians fear may defeat the jury trial amendment. The GOP congressmen were voting almost solidly against the South.

Rep Hoffman (R-Mich) offered the first amendment which would have had the effect of killing the bill altogether, and it was voted down, as anticipated, by voice vote.

Next, Rep. Gross (R-Iowa) sought to amend the bill by striking out a provision which sets up a federal commission to investigate alleged civil rights violations.

The Southerners first lost a teller vote, 121 to 89, when Rep. Celler (D-NY), a leading civil rights advocate, moved to limit debate on that amendment. Then the amendment itself was lost, 127 to 88, on a standing vote, with the Republicans voting almost solidly with the Northern Democrats.

An attempt by Rep. Andrews (D-Ala), to substitute a "human resettlement commission" for the proposed civil rights commission, was ruled not germane and therefore out of order by Rep. Forand (D-RI), who was presiding in the absence of Speaker Rayburn.

Andrews' proposal would have authorized federal loans for Negroes in the South to move to states where racial segregation is not practiced. Celler successfully challenged it.

The Southerners finally won a victory just before the day's adjournment. They pushed through 116 to 89, an amendment, by Rep. Loser (D-Tenn), to prohibit a witness in a civil rights case from being subpoenaed to a hearing outside his home state.

The bill, as drawn, would have empowered the Civil Rights Commission to subpoena a witness to a hearing anywhere in a federal judicial circuit.

Speaking on the amendment that would have knocked out the Civil Rights Commission, Lanham delivered a forceful argument against the bill itself and for a jury trial proviso.

Pointing out that he had never voted sectionally on most issues before the House, Lanham said "This bill is aimed at me and the people I represent and is part of a conspiracy in America to make the South appear decadent and its people biased and prejudiced and of a low order of intelligence."

He quoted an article from a national magazine that said there is a conspiracy among some motion picture, radio and television producers and publishers to belittle the South.

"One reason for this may be that the South during the last 15 years has made marvelous progress industrially," he declared.

Lanham quoted a column by Atlanta Constitution political editor William M. Bates that Negro voter registration in Georgia is increasing rapidly as he argued the South was working out its problems.

"All this agitation, however, has set back progress in race relations in the South for a generation, and it will be worse when you pass this bill," Lanham declared.

AMENDMENTS DELAY VOTE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Jury Trial Issue May Come Up In House Today—Senators Mum

Commercial Appeal
Memphis Tenn.
Fri. 6-14-57

By MORRIS CUNNINGHAM
From The Commercial Appeal Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, June 13—Supporters of President Eisenhower's Civil Rights Bill turned back new assaults on the measure in the House Thursday and announced they will seek a final House vote Friday.

Opponents prevented a final vote Thursday by continuing to bombard the bill with amendments. Only one minor amendment was adopted of the seven considered.

Right-To-Work Beaten

Representative Bruce Alger (R., Texas) led a losing move to attach a right-to-work amendment to the bill.

It would have authorized the Federal civil rights commission, which the bill would establish, to investigate denials of the "right to retain and keep employment because of membership or non-membership in a union."

Representative Emanuel Celler (D., N. Y.), House manager of the bill, protested the amendment was irrelevant and should not be considered.

Representative Aime J. Forand (D., R. I.), who was presiding, upheld Mr. Celler. He ruled the bill deals with "political rights" while the amendment dealt with "labor rights."

Southerners Glum

The ruling came after vigorous arguments. Mr. Alger and Representatives John Bell Williams (D., Miss.) and Clare E. Hoffman (R., Mich.) contended that the right to earn a livelihood is a civil right that should properly be covered by the bill.

Apparently slated for consideration Friday is the hotly disputed amendment to assure jury trials in contenmpt cases arising from the Federal court injunctions the bill would authorize.

Many of Thursday's arguments ranged into a discussion of this issue. Though it is still hotly contested, Southern leaders conceded they probably will lose when it comes to a vote.

Dixie senators, who will have to cope with the bill after it clears the House, met in a closed strategy session Thursday afternoon. There was no indication of what decisions, if any, were reached.

The only amendment adopted by the House Thursday was one by Mr. Hoffman to authorize the proposed civil rights commission to investigate the right to have votes in elections counted. Regarded as relatively unimportant, it was approved 99 to 53.

By a voteof 139 to 119, the bill's proponents defeated an amendment by Representative Martin Dies (D., Texas) to prohibit the commission from investigating denials of the right to vote because of color, race, religion or national origin.

Another Defeat

Then, by a vote of 114 to 106, an amendment by Representative William M. Tuck (D., Va.) to eliminate only the word "religion" also was defeated.

On this one, Representative Tom Abernethy (D., Miss.) and others argued unavailingly that no evidence has been presented of persons being denied the right to vote because of their religion.

An amendment by Representative William M. Colmer (D., Miss.) that would have required the commission to observe state laws in its investigations was defeated 128 to 95.

Two other amendments aimed at trimming the commission's powers also were defeated. Both were offered by Mr. Hoffman. One was beaten 109 to 68, and the other was shouted down by voice vote.

The final hour of Thursday's six-hour session was devoted to arguments on the jury trial issue. Representative Raymond Hyde (R., Md.) and Edwin Willis (D., La.) led the arguments for it, and Mr. Celler and Representative Kenneth B. Keating (R., N. Y.) replied.

Warning Sounded

Mr. Willis noted that the 16 defendants in the Clinton, Tenn., contempt cases have been granted jury trials. But he said that under the provisions of the civil rights bill defendants in similar cases in the future would be denied that right.

House Takes Recess During Rights Work

Gives President Another Chance To Boost Bill

Alabama Journal
Montgomery Ala.
Wed. 6-12-57

WASHINGTON (AP) — President Eisenhower and Republican House leaders, holding the first in a series of breakfast meeting today, have another chance to plead for GOP solidarity behind the administration's civil rights bill.

The House took a recess in the midst of its work on proposed amendments to the bill, written largely to Eisenhower's specifications and backed also by most Northern Democrats.

Voting on the first two amendment yesterday was inconclusive and the major test—on a jury trial provision—lies ahead.

SOUTHERNERS CONCERNED

In private conversations, some Southern members tempered their earlier optimism about tacking a jury trial amendment onto the bill. They said the continuing strong efforts by the Republican leadership were having visible effect. GOP House Leader Martin

(Mass) was reported "bearing down."

Southerners say they need the votes of at least 70 of the 200 House Republicans to carry the amendment.

Among other things, the bill would permit the attorney general to seek a federal court injunction if he had reason to believe civil rights were being violated. The amendment would require that anyone accused of violating such an inujnction must be given a jury trial.

UNFAIRNESS CLAIMED

Opponents say this is a departure from usual enforcement of court orders and would nullify the effect of such injunctions in the South.

Southerners picked up enough Republican support to carry one amendment—a relatively minor one—yesterday 106-76. It would limit the subpoena power of the proposed civil rights investigating commission by providing that witnesses may be summoned to hearings only within their own states.

A major amendment, introduced by a Republican, Rep. Gross of Iowa, but backed by the Southerners, was defeated 127-88. It would have knocked out of the bill entirely the provision for an investigating commission.

Civil Rights Bill Now Being Debated In House

Call Fri. 6-14-57 P.1

Kansas City, Mo.

BULLETIN

WASHINGTON. — (INS) — House GOP Leader Joseph W. Martin promised Tuesday enough Republicans will vote against the jury-trial amendment to the administration's civil rights bill to beat it "by a substantial margin."

The House was to begin voting on amendments to the legislation Tuesday after winding up four days of debate late Monday. The jury-trial amendment was not expected to be offered before Thursday.

By ARTHUR KRANISH

WASHINGTON. — (INS) — The administration's civil rights bill cleared its first hurdle in the House Wednesday and Republican Leader Joseph W. Martin predicted passage next week.

Southern foes of the legislation lost their initial battle when the House rejected a move to kill the bill shortly after debate got under way. A rule providing for full scale debate and consideration of the issue was adopted 290 to 117.

Seven Southern opponents launched an angry attack on the controversial measure before the test vote was taken. Adoption of the rule paved the way for a prolonged debate which began Thursday.

Following the floor action, Republicans held a lengthy caucus on civil rights and Martin said "a big fight" was waged on the issue of a "Trial By Jury."

The Massachusetts Republican said "More than a majority" of the GOP House members will support President Eisenhower in his opposition to an amendment pro- contempt cases.

"I think there is a majority against the amendment on the Democratic side, too," Martin added.

The House leader said no effect was made to commit house Republicans on the issue and no "consensus" was taken.

Needed For 'Rights'

Rep. William M. Colmer (D) Miss., recognized as a leader of the Southern bloc, bluntly charged the measure would set up a "gestapo" in the United States which would "destroy the liberty of the man in the street."

In rebuttal, advocates said the legislation is needed to guarantee the right of all Americans with the right to vote and eliminate un-

B-U-L-L-E-T-I-N

ALL CALL readers are urged to wire their Congressmen to vote against any amendments to the civil rights bill now being debated in the House of Representatives. Southern-sponsored amendments, especially one requiring jury trials, would weaken the bill to the point of ineffectiveness.

fair civil rights practices in all sections of the country.

House Speaker Sam Rayburn (D) Texas, told newsmen he would not permit other pending major legislation to come to the floor until the civil rights battle is ended.

Call P.2

Southerners are expected to use whatever delaying tactics they can to hold up passage of the measure.

They also are ready to offer a series of amendments in the hope of "watering down" the bill.

Chief of these will be a move to provide jury trials for any contempt actions stemming from civil rights injunctions. The administration strongly opposes such an amendment.

Against Trial Amendment

Rep. Charles B. Brownson (R) Ind., charged that a jury trial amendment "would deviate the true interests and purposes of this bill."

He was joined by Rep. Hugh Scott (R) Pa., who declared that such an amendment is "probably unconstitutional" and will be favored by those who want "the right to violate the law."

Rep. Martin Dies (D) Texas won applause from opponents by challenging the House to "show confidence" in the Southern states by permitting a jury trial.

Dies charged that the bill is a case of "political expendiency" designed to capture the Negro vote in the North.

The Texas Democrat declared that no citizen of his state has ever been deprived of the right to vote.

House approval of the omnibus measure is anticipated after a hard floor battle, bu Senate action is still problematical.

Would Set Up Commission

"The measure would set up a b

The measure would set up a bipartisan civil rights commision with authority to investigate and make recommendations to congress.

In addition, a new civil rights division in the Justice Department would be armed with new laws permitting a court order to block civil rights violations before they occur.

Opposition attack on the bill, which passed the house last year, is now centered on this provision. Under it, a judge could find persons guilty of violating a court order, without a jury trial.

A Senate Subcommittee voted Monday to include a jury trial guarantee in its version of the measure.

Advocates of the bill contend that it is impossible to get civil rights convictions from Southern juries.

Civil Rights Dope Sheet

Advertiser P.4-a Tues. 6-25-57 Montgomery, Ala.

Senate supporters of the administration's civil rights bill showed impressive strength with their 45-39 vote to bypass the judiciary committee and place the bill, which the House had already approved, on the Senate calendar.

Thus a clear majority obviously favors the bill. Add to the 45 who voted for the bypass the votes of at least six who are expected to vote for the bill but disapproved the short cut, plus the votes of some of the nine senators who were absent on this vote, and the strength of supporters edges close to the 64 votes needed to silence the certain Southern filibuster. Senate rules require a two-thirds vote, 64 votes, to invoke cloture or bring debate to an end.

In the House, representatives from Southern states voted against the civil rights by a solid 6-110. Non-Southern representatives favored the bill 280-16. It was thus a regional vote, which ignored party lines.

Congressional Quarterly, looking at the state-by-state sentiment as expressed in the House vote, concludes that 34 states are for the civil rights bill, 13 against it. These 34 states can, theoretically, provide 67 Senate votes for the bill. (67 rather than 68 because Wisconsin, whose representatives voted for the bill 9-1, will not fill its Senate vacancy until Aug. 27.)

But that all these senators will follow the sentiment of their states as expressed in the House is a shaky expectation for the civil rights crowd. Most of them undoubtedly will, but if only a few defect the chance of choking debate will be lost.

But, and here's a worry for the South, the pro-civil rights bloc will gain some Senate votes from states that opposed the bill in the House. Kentucky's representatives, for instance, voted 5-3 against the bill, but Senator Sherman Cooper (R-Ky) is a co-sponsor of the bill and Senator Thurston B. Morton (R-Ky) is expected to favor it.

The outcome of the vote to end the filibuster will depend, according to *CQ's* reckoning, on how solidly non-Southern senators stay in line. In the vote to bypass the Senate Judiciary Committee, Republicans stuck together 34-5 in support of the maneuver, but non-Southern Democrats split 11-11 on the issue while Southern Democrats voted a solid 23 votes against it.

A similar defection by Northern Democrats in the Senate could hand the victory by filibuster to the South. Particularly is this a possibility when, judging by House voting, Republicans are more impressed by the jury trial demand of the South than non-Southern Democrats.

From these imponderables and variables, informed guesses are that the vote to stop the Southern filibuster will fall short of the needed 64, and the South will be spared, for a little while longer, the federal hunt for white witches in Dixie.

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10 1957

Write Your Senator Today

Afro-American Sat. 7-27-57
Baltimore, Md. P. 4

You are not only a citizen of a state, you are a citizen of the United States.

If you want to live in Georgia or Mississippi or Alabama you have a constitutional right:

First, to vote in a national election;

Second, to equal citizenship (no state may pass a law which discriminates against a person in the use of public institutions, schools, juries, travel on buses, streets and railroads on the ground of color.

The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution made it the duty of Congress to enact laws to safeguard these rights.

* * *

WE ARE ALARMED by all this talk about a compromise in the civil rights bill now pending before the Senate.

Such a compromise would require jury trials in contempt cases before Federal judges, where this is not now a standard practice.

Other compromises would limit the proposed legislation to enforcement only of the Fifteenth Amendment, dealing with the right to vote.

But all civil rights mentioned in the Fourteenth Amendment are also at stake.

No public official took an oath to support and defend only a part of the Constitution.

He is required to enforce all of it and defend all of it.

We do not want a civil rights act that applies merely to the right to vote.

We want it to apply to every word in the United States Constitution that has to do with equality, life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

* * *

WE CANNOT have a law-abiding people when the Congress gingerly approaches enforcement one step at a time.

Nobody has a right to say that you should enforce only the Fifteenth Amendment and not the Fourteenth.

What also is at stake in this civil rights bill is the building of a two-party system in the South.

There has not been a Republican Senator from Mississippi or Louisiana since the Southern states were permitted to nullify the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, while the North looked the other way.

Nor will there be a strong two-party system in Dixie until the Federal Government enforces the Fourteenth as well as the Fifteenth Amendments.

Have you written your United States Senator?

If not, write him today.

Tell him you want no compromises that further weaken the already acknowledged most moderate of civil rights bills.

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Write The Senators

The mass of mail handled and that legion of mail clerks around the departments at Washington would be evidence that the American people not only vote, but they write as well. On the other hand, a look-see into the offices of those sent up to the Congress would suggest that these representatives also know the value in writing. World P. 4

Just now there is going on some revolutionary reactions which must take place in the changes rapidly coming upon the country and the world. Members of the Congress were never keener before in their sensitivity inquiring into the thoughts of the people. Sun 7-28-57

Away from the stage upon which their nomination and subsequent elections might have been set, they would be unaware of the impact of the changes happening between the interim of elections, but for the voice of the people.

Those citizens who merely vote and rest upon their laurels should be seriously aroused to another duty, the handmaid of the ballot, the occasional writing those sent up to represent them. Atlanta, Ga.

Whether a representative is of your liking or not, be he a diehard or a reactionary sensationalist, you should write him your views.

It is obvious that most of the discussions around the Civil Rights bill for the past six weeks relate to the South. The question of voting on the part of some and denial on the part of others is strictly a Southern question.

The strategy of the opposition to the Civil Rights bill is (a) to work for crippling amendments; (b) to prevent a vote on the bill by a filibuster.

The South must have 33 votes to defeat a bill to invoke cloture; Senate Rule 22 requires 64 votes to end debate, two thirds of the present membership of 95.

Section Three of the proposed bill has been practically eliminated. This section would have given the U. S. Attorney General the right to initiate enforcement of other Civil Rights such as school desegregation, transportation, etc.

But the heart of the bill still remains. This section deals with the right to vote. It would effectively stop interference with our right to vote. It would enable the government to intervene in stopping the arbitrary purging of the names of citizens from the voting lists.

It is important that this remaining part of the bill passes. It is upon this voting Civil Right that all other rights more or less rest. The opponents of Civil Rights are arguing that a jury trial should be granted in the case of contempt of a court order regarding voting.

The judges now have the power to try contempt cases without a jury and we feel they should retain this right less the prestige and influence of our judicial branch of the government be weakened.

We hope our readers will take cognizance of what is happening in this Rights issue and so express themselves to those who are supporting the bill and also to those who are opposing it. The time has come when we must take a greater part in helping to remove the barriers to a fuller democracy for all.

An Open Letter To The President

Afro-American Sat. 8-3-57
Baltimore, Md. P.2

President Dwight Eisenhower
The White House

Dear Mr. President:

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I am greatly alarmed by reports of a compromise on the Civil Rights Bill.

The Newspaper Publishers Association conferred with Mr. Brownell after the riots in the South, in which Autherine Lucy was admitted to the University of Alabama and, secondly, after the confessed killers and kidnapers of Emmett Till were freed by a Mississippi jury.

Mr. Brownell advised us, in effect, that existing Federal statutes needed amendments, which the administration would sponsor.

* * *

WE BELIEVED that his carefully thought out Civil Rights Bill, as sponsored by your administration, would give Mr. Brownell the authority, not merely to enforce the right to vote as guaranteed in the 15th Amendment, but all other rights of citizens guaranteed by the 14th Amendment.

I trust that the President will continue courageously to request that there be no changes in the Civil Rights Bill, now before the Senate, which will prevent its use to enforce any section of the Constitution.

All public officials take an oath to defend the entire Constitution, not just a part of it, to which someone objects. If I may be permitted to express this indelicately, one cannot be a little bit pregnant.

The President has said repeatedly, that the integrity of this government is at stake.

* * *

NO ONE can convince America or the rest of the world, of character and good intentions, when we compromise on moral principles.

I believe also, that the building of a sound two-party system is at stake in the Civil Rights debate.

There has not been a Republican elected to the United States Congress from Mississippi or Georgia since the southern states were permitted to violate the Constitution and restrict through intimidation and violence the vote of colored persons.

I am struck repeatedly, as you must be, by the answer to one question, which the southern opponents of Civil Rights repeatedly make.

When asked whether the Civil Rights Bill would be palatable, if it omits section #3 or if it permits jury trials in contempt cases (which is not standard practice), they give no positive answer.

Privately, they declare that public institutions, like the schools of the South, shall never be integrated, or that colored people shall never vote in the South.

* * *

MR. PRESIDENT, when the Supreme Court declared in May, 1954, that the public schools and other public facilities should be opened to all citizens alike, and no state shall discriminate against a pupil by reason of his color, you supported the Supreme Court's decision. Now before the United States Senate is the question of its enforcement.

No constitution or court decision is worth a hoot without enforcement provisions.

Both the 14th and 15th Amendments state that Congress shall have the power to enforce them by appropriate legislation. Either your Civil Rights Bill is appropriate or it is not appropriate.

* * *

BUT CERTAINLY no inappropriate legislation will solve this problem.

The American people have every confidence in you as a Chief Executive.

I urge you to see that the Civil Rights legislation, enacted by this Congress, shall do the whole job for which it is intended.

CARL MURPHY
President, AFRO-AMERICAN Newspapers

Heart Of-Rights Bill Killed

Weekly Sat. 8-3-57 New Orleans Louisiana P.1

Senate Turns Back On Negro Americans

Washington - (ANP) - It is quite evident now that "Negro Americans, so far as the Senate is concerned, can expect little if any, assistance from the Federal Government in attempts to win the enjoyment of their Constitutional Rights."

This was the conclusion reached by Roy Wilkins, chairman of the Leadership Conference, after the Senate had approved the Anderson-Aiken Amendment to strike Part III-which was the very heart - from the pending civil rights amendment.

This action has said in a very real sense to the Supreme Court that "the United States Senate is not willing to provide effective, time - tested machinery to implement the Court's decisions." continued Wilkins.

By gutting the bill of all enforcement powers, the Senate has given aid and comfort to those who would nullify the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Provisions of this Amendment might be upheld in judicial decisions, but the Senate has voted to handcuff the nation's law enforcement agency in enforcing equal protection of the laws.

Serving as spokesman for the 51 national organizations making up the Leadership Conference, Wilkins concluded with the fact that the Senate vote means that we can whistle "Dixie" but hardly feel justified to hum the tune of "My Country 'Tis of Thee."

Sen. Clark (D. Pa.) contended that gutting of the civil rights bill would result in "convicting the foreign policy of the United States of hypocrisy.

"One can imagine the embarrassment of our representatives abroad in the diplomatic services, the USIA and the ICA as they attempt to explain to potential allies in North Africa, the Middle East, Pakistan, India, Southeast Asia, Taiwan, and Japan why we believe there are no second-class citizens abroad but are unwilling to apply that precept at home."

Sen. Douglas (Ill.) had previously stated that cutting the present bill down to merely "voting rights" would mean that liberals would have to come to the Senate again next year and fight a similar battle for some other civil right of minorities.

This caused Sen. Morse (D., Oreg.) to say that he opposed "civil rights on installment plans". Morse has gone along with the liberals to preserve the third item of the bill since his amendment to send the bill back to committee was defeated.

CIVIL RIGHTS FOES SHUN FILIBUSTER

Oppose Compromise on Jury but Will Not Seek to Bar Vote, Expected Friday

Sun. 8-25-57

By JAY WALZ

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 24— The possibility of a Senate filibuster over compromise civil rights legislation virtually disappeared today.

Southern Democrats opposing the measure laid plans to go down fighting against the revised bill, agreed to yesterday by bipartisan leadership.

However, they do not intend to seek to prevent the bill's passage by taking advantage of the Senate's rules permitting virtually unlimited debate. This would have upset Congress' plans to adjourn by next week-end.

Senator Richard B. Russell, after discussing strategy with a dozen Southern colleagues this morning, said:

"We are unalterably opposed to it [the compromise]. But there was no collective agreement that we would undertake to talk the proposition to death."

Passage Seen By Friday

The Georgia Democrat added, however, that he expected no Senate vote until every Southern opponent had had an opportunity to voice his opposition. Their objections are focused on a change in provisions for a jury trial in contempt cases.

The best estimate now is that the House and then the Senate will approve the compromise by Friday. Congress would then be free to adjourn.

Republican leaders said that if the compromise passed, they expected President Eisenhower would sign it, thus inserting in the statute books the first major civil rights legislation since the Reconstruction Era, which followed the Civil War.

The break in a three-week deadlock over differing House and Senate versions came yesterday, when leaders of both parties agreed to an amendment permitting trials without a jury for minor criminal contempt cases, but assuring the right of jury trial in all other such cases.

The compromise was agreed to by Senators Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas and William F. Knowland of California, the Democratic and Republican Senate leaders, and House Speaker Sam Rayburn of Texas and Representative Joseph W. Martin Jr. of Massachusetts, House Republican leader.

Compromise Amendment

The compromise provides that:

¶A Federal Judge shall decide whether a jury trial is to be granted in criminal contempt prosecutions arising from violation of Federal voting-right injunctions.

¶If the judge elects, however, to proceed without a jury, convicts the defendant and fines him more than $300 or sends him to jail for more than forty-five days, the defendant can have the case retried before a jury.

The Senate version, with which the Southern Senators were prepared to go along, provided for jury trials in all criminal contempt. cases. The House had voted a tougher, administration-approved provisions ruling out jury trials in all Federal voting-right cases.

Senator Russell, a spearhead of the Southern opposition to civil rights legislation, told reporters today he had been shown a copy of the compromise before the leaders had acted on it.

"But I never approved it, nor did I participate in the compromise in any way," he said.

The Georgia Democrat said all the Southerners of the meeting agreed that the compromise provision was unconstitutional.

"We don't believe you can fix by legislation the constitutional rights of any man on a dollar-sign basis or on the number of days he would have to spend in jail," the Senator declared.

Senator Russell B. Long, Democrat of Louisiana, emerging from the conference, said he "doubts there will be a filibuster."

Senator Olin D. Johnson, Democrat of South Carolina, who had prepared an 800-page speech against the original bill, said he would state his views on the Senate floor, but would not deliver "that speech."

Others who attended the meeting voiced similar views.

Some said they would get through their speeches in about an hour. One expected to finish in forty-five minutes, while another said he expected to use up "a little more than that."

The House, on either Tuesday or Wednesday, will act by a single floor vote. If, as expected, the action is favorable, the bill will go to the Senate to meet its final Congressional hurdle.

If all the Southerners carry through their intention to speak, the Senate's deliberations may take two days, but they are not expected to run over that time.

Thus, if all other legislative matters are attended to meanwhile, adjournment could come Friday night.

The Civil Rights bill would:

¶Set up a Federal Civil Rights Commission with subpoena powers to investigate civil rights problems.

¶Establish a special civil rights division within the Department of Justice.

¶Empower the Attorney General to apply to Federal courts for injunctions against violations or threatened violations of voting rights.

The bitterest controversy has centered around how criminal contempt proceedings should be handled against persons who do not obey these injunctions. Yesterday's compromise was the successful effort to resolve the differences.

CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIONS MAPPED BY COLEMAN

Mississippi Governor Says Charter Convention Is Now A 'Must'

Sat. 8-31-57

By KENNETH TOLER

From The Commercial Appeal Jackson, Miss., Bureau

JACKSON, Miss., Aug. 30 — Legislators "sincerely interested in the maintenance of segregation" in the face of the new Federal Civil Rights Bill "will have no choice but to vote for a constitutional convention," Gov. J. P. Coleman said Friday.

He said those who vote against authorizing the convention at a special legislative session in November "will have to assume the responsibility for the disaster which may follow."

Issues Are Related

Governor Coleman said the proposed convention to modernize the 1890 Constitution and planned defenses against the Civil Rights Bill passed by Congress Thursday "are completely inter-related — they belong together."

"This is a very dangerous piece of legislation and there is no use minimizing it," the Governor said. "It represents an effort by the United States to vote a man whether he meets state qualifications or not—and therein lies the great danger."

Governor Coleman has two plans for the immediate future.

Meetings Arranged

He will call a meeting of the state Sovereignty Commission created by the Legislature to maintain segregation to consider the situation resulting from the civil rights legislation.

He also will appoint an attorney in each of the 82 counties, have them form a statewide committee to meet in Jackson to study the civil rights measure in an effort to "determine what we have to do to protect ourselves against it."

"With the defenses that are planned and certain necessary changes in the Constitution the people of Mississippi will escape any substantial injury from this Federal legislation," Governor Coleman asserted.

He said in a speech before the Calhoun City Rotary Club Thursday that he may ask that voter registration be taken out of the hands of the circuit clerks in the 82 counties and placed in a three-member county board which would meet once a month to consider applications for registering as qualified electors.

Governor Coleman said the lawyers he will name will meet in Jackson and then return to their home counties and hold mass meetings "to make the situation crystal clear to the people."

"The best defense against it (Civil Rights Bill) is an enlightened public," he said.

The Governor said he plans to attend some of the meetings, especially in sections "where the threat is greatest." He has already booked appearances at Indianola and Yazoo City in the Delta where Negroes outnumber the whites.

He said the new law which primarily affects voting rights doesn't necessarily mean more Negroes will vote in Mississippi.

"That depends on a lot of things," he said. "There never has been any effort to keep Negroes from voting because of color."

He said the Civil Rights Commission set up in the new law "could start a reign of terror in Mississippi" by coming here and summoning people to testify."

A CIVIL RIGHTS BILL

It now seems evident that a civil rights bill will be adopted by Congress this week and sent to the President. A compromise has been reached and announced on some controversial points. There is little likelihood, now, of any insurmountable obstacle to passage.

In the form that is now agreed upon the measure is not as strong as we, and other exponents of the civil rights cause, might have wished. It falls short of what President Eisenhower proposed and urged. It is not an ultimate solution of a variety of problems in respect to racial minorities, rights of citizenship, school and other social integration, and human understanding.

Nevertheless, an immense step can be taken. When the Congress adopts this measure it will be the first real legislation in the field of civil rights on behalf of our racial minority in almost eighty years. It will be the first legal attempt to provide the machinery for making the Fourteenth Amendment a reality.

What is more, it will have been proved that the Senatorial roadblock to remedial legislation is not complete impassable. It will also have been proved that the spirit of compromise and desire to effect a meeting of minds has not been lost in even so controversial a field.

The legislation, as it is now being readied for submission, really confines itself to voting rights. The restriction may be too narrow, but within this limitation there are provisions for genuine enforcement. The "teeth" have not been withdrawn. The constitutional provision for the right of jury trial has been upheld, but there has been an honest effort to prevent the devotion to this principle from becoming an instrument for the denial of human rights.

Among those rights, in the political sense, that of the free ballot is of first importance. This is a "civil" right, in the best sense, and one of the purposes of the legislation is to make it secure. A denial of such a right can be "criminal" and the legislation provides for punishment.

There will doubtless be extended argument as to whether this is half a loaf, a tenth of a loaf or three-quarters of a loaf. It will not be denied that in any case it is better than no bread. A movement in the right direction is being made. It is also a movement in the right direction that the conferees have decided to drop the provision under which newspaper men could have been penalized for reporting the activities of the civil rights commission that is to be established. The press and the public also have rights that need continued protection.

It is important, now, that all of us realize that the adoption of one bill is no panacea. There is still a long way to go before we can establish, for ourselves and for the world, that there can be no such thing as a second-class citizen in this country. The present measure moves toward that eventual goal. Its adoption should make it easier for others that must follow.

National Whirligig

Advertiser P. 4-A

By Ray Tucker

[Every Saturday Ray Tucker answers readers' questions of general interest on national and international policies and personalities. Questions may be sent to him at 7008 Hillcrest Place, Chevy Chase, Md.]

Montgomery, Ala.

WASHINGTON.

"WHY all this excitement about the appointment of Maxwell Gluck, a New York millionaire, as ambassador to Ceylon?" asks Mrs. M. L. of Jersey City, N.J. "Could a poor man afford such a position? And how many of us know the name of the prime minister of Ceylon, or can pronounce the name of foreign potentates?"

Dollars And Diplomacy Go Hand In Hand

ANSWER: As I have written in an earlier column, Mr. Gluck would not have been subjected to such a grilling by Sen. Fulbright, an anti-civil rights bil man from Arkansas, if Mr. Gluck's sponsor, Sen. Jacob K. Javits of New York, were not such an ardent advocate of racial equality in the schools, in all public places and in apartments.

* * *

GLUCK'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO GOP CAMPAIGN — President Eisenhower, as he says, may not have known of Mr. Gluck's rich contributions to the GOP treasury in 1952 and 1956. But Sen. Javits obviously did. Gluck gave only about $10,000 in 1952, when Javits was not running for the Senate, but he came across with $26,000, according to the official reports, when Javits sought political promotion from the House to the Senate.

I cannot go along with the President in his disclaimer that dollars and diplomacy do not mix.

Only a wealthy man or woman can afford to accept these honors, for the salary does not cover even living expenses. Only an Aldrich, a Dillon and a Clare Luce can pay the bills for diplomatic work and entertainment, respectively, at London, Paris and Rome.

I have been entertained in their mansions and villas, and nobody but a millionaire could afford the upkeep.

* * *

AMBASSADORS HAVE LOST MUCH OF OLD IMPORTANCE—As a matter of diplomatic fact, ambassadors and ministers are not such important people these days, when foreign affairs are conducted solely and exclusively by the President and the secretary of state.

Our overseas emissaries are mainly masters of ceremony. They throw parties for influential politicians, editors and statesmen of the countries to which they are assigned, and they entertain visiting and junketing members of the American Congress. Their attaches—commercial, agricultural, labor, military—do the real hard work.

Mr. Gluck may make an excellent ambassador to Ceylon. Indeed, the fact that he knows little about Asian problems or personalities may be in his favor. He will go there with an open mind, which many of our diplomats do not possess.

Brownell Fired Olney, Florida Legislator Says

LAKELAND, Fla., Sept. 23 (AP).—Representative James A. Haley, Democrat of Florida, says Warren Olney, who resigned his Justice Department post, actually was fired because he "spilled the beans" to President Eisenhower on what was in the civil rights bill.

In a copyrighted story, the Lakeland Ledger quoted Mr. Haley yesterday as saying "Olney, Attorney General Brownell's right hand man, was kicked out because he told Ike what really was in the administration's civil rights bill."

Mr. Olney said in Washington the story was "absolutely untrue, and has no foundation in fact." He said earlier he quit because of personal business.

Washington, D.C.

The Ledger said Mr. Haley related this was what happened: P. B9

"It began when Senator Russell of Georgia went to Ike and said he ought to look into the civil rights bill . . . it was full of hate-the-South stuff. . . .

"Senator Russell suggested that the President ask Brownell about it. Mon. 9-23-57

Then, he said Mr. Brownell sent for Mr. Olney.

"Olney spilled the beans. He told the President the bill was full of old reconstruction days, South-hating legislation."

Mr. Haley said Mr. Olney later was asked to resign and did so under pressure from Mr. Brownell.

BY CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS

Compromise OKd For Rights Bill

Advertiser P. 1

WASHINGTON, Aug. 23 (AP)— A compromise civil rights bill was agreed upon today by congressional leaders in an extraordinary series of conferences that shattered a deadlock delaying the adjournment of Congress.

The leaders, Democratic and Republican, predicted the compromise would slide through Congress next week, clearing the way for adjournment. President Eisenhower was reported ready to accept it. Sat. 8-24-57

The heart of the compromise is a sort of hybrid between the conflicting concepts of jury trials and trial by judges in criminal contempt of court cases arising from alleged violations of voting rights.

It would work this way:

In a voting rights case, if a person were accused of criminal contempt for violating a federal court order, the judge would decide whether to try the case with or without a jury.

In either case, the maximum punishment could not exceed six months imprisonment and $1,000 fine.

But if the trial were conducted without a jury and the judge imposed a penalty greater than 45 days imprisonment or $300 fine the defendant could demand a completely new trial before a jury.

The compromise thus steered a middle ground between the bill as passed by the Senate—providing jury trials in all voting rights cases and a variety of other injunction procedures as well—and the Republican proposal that jury trials should be guaranteed only in voting rights cases and then only if the possible penalty exceeded $300 or 90 days imprisonment.

With the compromise wrapped up by the leaders, the main provisions of the bill as it will come before Senate and House for final ratification are these:

1. The attorney general would be empowered to apply to federal courts for injunctions to halt violations or threatened violations of voting rights. Violators of the injunctions would risk contempt of court action. If it were civil contempt action—designed to induce obedience—there would be no jury trial. If it were criminal contempt action, the compromise proceedings announced today would apply.

2. A new civil rights division would be set up in the Justice Department, with an assistant attorney general in charge.

3. A section designed to guarantee qualified Negroes and other minorities the right to serve on federal juries whether or not they are qualified under state law.

4. A federal civil rights commission, with subpoena powers, to investigate civil rights problems.

The leaders agreed today that the House Rules Committee will fashion an amendment to this fourth section to make plain that a provision for jail penalties for persons making unauthorized disclosures of commission proceedings shall not apply to newsmen. There had been protests that reporters doing their job of gathering the news could be jailed under the provision.

Party leaders unveiled the agreement at an unusual joint news conference in the office of House Speaker Rayburn (D-Tex). Johnson and the two Republican leaders, Sen. Knowland of California and Rep. Martin of Massachusetts, were there.

Text Of Compromise Rights Amendment

WASHINGTON, Aug. 23 (AP) — Following is the text of the compromise amendment which congressional leaders here agreed would be included in the civil rights bill:

"In all cases of criminal contempt arising under the provisions of this act, the accused, upon conviction shall be punished by fine or imprisonment or both: provided, however, that in case the accused is a natural person the fine to be paid shall not exceed the sum of $1,000, nor shall imprisonment exceed the term of six months: provided, further, that in any such proceeding for criminal contempt, at the discretion of the judge, the accused may be tried with or without a jury; provided further, however, that in the event such proceeding for criminal contempt be tried before a judge without a jury and the sentence of the court upon conviction is a fine in excess of the sum of $300 or imprisonment in excess of 45 days, the accused in said proceeding, upon demand therefor, shall be entitled to a trial de novo (anew, afresh) before a jury, which shall conform as near as may be to the practice in other criminal cases."

In law, a natural person is an individual human being, as distinguished from an organization.

10 1957

PROPOSES CALL FOR SESSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Daily Tribune Chicago Ill

Fri 8-9-57

Martin Favors Bill

Acceptable to Ike

p. 3

BY PHILIP DODD

[Chicago Tribune Press Service]

Washington, Aug. 8—A special session of Congress to enact civil rights legislation acceptable to President Eisenhower was suggested today by House Republican Leader Martin [Mass.].

Martin told reporters if a compromise between the differing civil rights bills passed by the house and senate is "unsatisfactory," he would advise the President to veto the measure and bring Congress back late in the fall to make another try.

It was recalled that former President Truman called a special session of the Republican 80th Congress on the eve of the 1948 election to act on his pet projects. He did not get much out of the session, but he won the election.

Bill Sent to House

But some Republicans were fearful a G. O. P. President's veto of the first civil rights bill passed since reconstruction days would do more harm than good to their party's chances in next year's congressional elections.

Meanwhile, the civil rights bill which the senate approved 72 to 18 last night was delivered to the house. It bore little resemblance to the measure the house approved June 18.

The senate had stripped from the bill the house approved section giving the attorney general broad powers t ouse injunctions to enforce racial integration and other civil rights.

Jury Provision Added

Altho the senate retained provisions allowing the attorney general to use civil injunctions to protect voting rights, it added an amendment requiring jury trials for all cases of criminal contempt of injunctions granted under the civil rights bill and all other federal laws.

The jury trial amendment is unacceptable to the administration. The justice department has held it would raise havoc with the enforcement of 40 or more federal statutes.

The house can accept the senate bill and speed it to the President's desk. That course is preferred by the Democratic leadership, and House Speaker Rayburn [D., Tex.] was checking today to see if he had the votes for the move.

Other Courses Possible

Or the house could vote on a compromise jury trial amendment, limiting its application to the voting rights section of the civil rights bill.

If both moves failed—and most congressional observers believed they would—the house could send the bill to ajoint conference committee for revision.

Chairman Celler [D., N. Y.] of the house judiciary committee, which handled the bill, told reporters today "there will be a conference—period" because the house will not accept a jury trial amendment in any form. Such a proposal was defeated by a 93 vote margin during house debate on the measure.

Keating Promises Fight

Rep. Keating [R., N. Y.], ranking member of the judiciary committee, said the senate bill was "completely unacceptable" and that as a member of the conference committee he would "make every effort to restore to the bill some of its original virility."

Rayburn would make no comment on the bill nor the probable course the house will take, but he said he would have something to say tomorrow.

Much depended on Rep. Smith [D., Va.], chairman of the rules committee, which controls the course of legislation in th ehouse. Smith, who is opposed to any civil rights legislation, has the power to delay action for many weeks.

Senate Vote On Rights Bill

Star p. A-4

Fri 8-30-57

By the Associated Press

Here is the 60 to 15 vote by which the Senate passed the compromise civil rights bill and sent it to President Eisenhower:

Washington D.C.

FOR PASSAGE—60

Democrats

BIBLE	KENNEDY
CARROLL	LAUSCHE
CHURCH	MAGNUSON
CLARK	McNAMARA
DOUGLAS	MONRONEY
FREAR	NEUBERGER
HAYDEN	O'MAHONEY
HENNINGS	PASTORE
HUMPHREY	PROXMIRE
JACKSON	SYMINGTON
JOHNSON, Tex.	YARBOROUGH
KEFAUVER	

Republicans

AIKEN	KNOWLAND
ALLOTT	KUCHEL
BARRETT	LANGER
BEALL	MARTIN, Iowa
BENNETT	MARTIN, Pa.
BUSH	MUNDT
CASE, N. J.	POTTER
CASE, S. Dak.	PURTELL
COOPER	REVERCOMB
COTTON	SALTONSTALL
CURTIS	SCHOEPPEL
DIRKSEN	SMITH, Me.
DWORSHAK	SMITH, N. J.
FLANDERS	THYE
GOLDWATER	WATKINS
HICKENLOOPER	WILEY
HRUSKA	WILLIAMS
IVES	YOUNG
JAVITS	

AGAINST PASSAGE—15

Democrats

BYRD	ROBERTSON
EASTLAND	RUSSELL
ELLENDER	SCOTT
FULBRIGHT	SMATHERS
HILL	STENNIS
HOLLAND	TALMADGE
LONG	THURMOND
McCLELLAN	

Republicans

None

Not voting but announced as paired: GREEN for and SPARKMAN against. GORE for and ERVIN against. MURRAY for and JOHNSTON of South Carolina, against. MANSFIELD for and MORSE against.

Not voting nor paired but announced as for the bill:

ANDERSON	CAPEHART
CHAVEZ	JENNER
NEELY	MALONE
BRICKER	MORTON
BUTLER	PAYNE

Civil Rights Compromise Set to Pass House Today

Times New York

Tues. 8-27-57

p. 1

By WILLIAM S. WHITE

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 26—The way was opened today for adoption by the House of Representatives tomorrow of the Senate's Democratic version of the Administration's civil rights bill. The Rules Committee of the House cleared the bill for floor action, thus making probable the adjournment of Congress by Saturday night.

The committee, by vote of 10 to 2, recommended to the House concurrence in the Senate's text with an amendment, agreed to by the party leadership in both chambers, to qualify the right of jury trial in civil rights criminal contempt cases on which the Senate has insisted.

Once the bill has been cleared tomorrow by the House it will go to the Senate for probable passage within two or three days.

The measure is the first item of business for the lower chamber.

Representative Ray J. Madden, Democrat of Indiana, as the senior Democrat of the committee who favors the plan, will be floor manager, during the bills' brief appearance. House rules limit debate in such circumstances to one hour.

The imminent disposition of the most vexing issue of this session gave Congress a sense of relief and turned all energies to the task of cleaning up the rest of the legislative work.

Must Reconcile Aid Figures

The most important remaining item, appropriations for the foreign aid program, emerged from the Senate Appropriations Committee and will go to the Senate floor no later than Wednesday and possibly tomorrow.

The committee recommended $3,025,660,000 in new money, or $500,900,000 more than the House had granted.

The reconciliation between the two Houses' figures on foreign aid, plus the final passage of the civil rights legislation, will signal the beginning of the end of this session.

Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas the Senate Democratic leader pledged "every possible effort" to adjourn by Saturday and scheduled sessions for 11 A. M., an hour earlier than usual, tomorrow and for 10 A. M. on succeeding days.

Times

The House, as always, was more nearly up with its work and appeared in position easily to finish up everything of consequence by the week-end.

Wash D.C.

The Rules Committee's action in clearing the civil rights bill was the first official step on the matter since the Senate adopted its version on Aug. 7.

Blocked on Committee

For many days, the committee had immobilized the issue simply by not meeting. Its right-wing Southern Democratic chairman, Representative Howard W. Smith of Virginia, had refused to call a meeting.

Tues 8-27-57

In this position he had the support of another right-wing Southerner, Representative William Colmer of Mississippi, and the four Republican members of the committee.

Representatives Smith and Colmer wanted no meeting because they wanted no kind of civil rights legislation.

The four Republicans had wanted no session because the Republicans in general were attempting to exact concessions from the Democrats to reject the Senate text in favor of something approaching the original Administration version. This Administration text was approved intact by the House in June.

Compromise Accepted

The impasse was broken, in all but the formal sense, on Friday by an agreement of the Democratic and Republican leaders of both houses to accept a jury-trial compromise.

This retained the principle of the right of jury trial in criminal contempt cases arising from violation of civil rights voting injunctions, as the Senate had demanded.

It provided, however, that a Federal Judge could try a violator without a jury trial, but at if he did so and subsequently asessed greater penalties than forty-five days' imprisonment and a $300 fine, the defendant could then demand new tril with a jury.

Once the bargain had been struck, the House Republicans agreed to join in forcing a meeting of the Rules Committee.

This they did this morning by adding the voice of Representative Hugh Scott, Republican of Pennsylvania, to the voices of the six Democrats who had been demanding a meeting. This broke what had been a 6-6 tie.

Johnson Explains View

Senator Johnson told the Senate this afternoon that this accommodation had been necessary to obtain any action, and that he hoped Congress next year would return to the unqualified jury trial guarantee that the Senate had wanted.

The Senate bill would:

¶Create a Federal Civil Rights Commission, with subpoena powers.

¶Establish a special civil rights division within the Department of Justice.

¶Empower Federal prosecutors, with or without the victim's consent, to obtain injunctions against actual or threatened interferences with the right to vote.

A person refusing to obey such an injunction could be imprisoned for civil contempt by a Federal judge, sitting without a jury, and held until he agreed to comply.

Criminal contempt cases would be those in which the motive of the judge was not to force the carrying out of a court order but simply to punish.

The Administration had wanted no kind of jury trial guarantee and no distinction between civil and criminal contempt. The House had gone along with this approach.

This morning's meeting of

the House Rules Committee was in a sense anti-climactic.

The chairman, Mr. Smith, arrived twelve minutes late—at 11:12 A. M.—to demonstrate his reluctance to the end.

Voting to clear the bill for the House floor were:

Democrats — Representatives Madden, James J. Delaney of Queens, James W. Trimble of Arkansas, Homer Thornberry or Texas, Richard Bolling of Missouri and Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. of Massachusetts.

Republicans — Representatives Leo E. Allen of Illinois, Clarence J. Brown of Ohio, Henry J. Latham of upstate New York and Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania.

Voting against clearing the bill were Representatives Smith and Colmer.

Rights Measure Awaits Signing By Eisenhower

Star P. 1

Fri. 8-30-57

Washington D.C.

Thurmond Drops Record Filibuster to Climax Long Fight

By J. A. O'LEARY

The first civil rights bill in 82 years is on its way to the White House today, where President Eisenhower is expected to sign it.

The measure, designed primarily to prevent racial dis-

Senate Roll Call Vote on Civil Rights Bill. Page A-4

crimination at the ballot box, cleared its last hurdle last night when the Senate accepted a House compromise on the jury trial amendment.

Final action came about 11 p.m., soon after Senator Thurmond, Democrat of South Carolina, ended his one-man filibuster in a futile effort to block action.

Substance of Measure

Here is what the bill will do:

1. Empower the Attorney General to seek Federal injunctions against anyone who is interfering with the voting rights of another citizen.

2. Set up a six-member civil right commission with subpoena power, to investigate complaints for a period of two years, to determine whether further legislation is needed.

3. Provide for a new assistant attorney general to specialize in the enforcement of civil rights.

Passage of the bill will be the distinguishing mark of this session of Congress. It also is a feather in the cap of Senate Democratic Leader Johnson of Texas, because for many years all civil rights bills have been filibustered to death in the Senate.

Election Issue Set Up

The bill undoubtedly will be an issue in the 1958 and 1960 elections in the big Northern States, where the Negro vote is an important factor. Which party gains the most from it may depend on how it works out in practice.

The Republicans are expected to tell the voters that a Republican-controlled Congress would pass a stronger bill. The Democrats will reply that it took a Democratic Congress to pass the first legislation on the subject since reconstruction days.

One thing is certain. The Democrats are better off politically than if the Southerners had followed their time-honored custom of blocking the bill with a filibuster.

They apparently became convinced that, with the recent trend of Supreme Court decisions against racial segregation, the next session of Congress would have a bill more distasteful to the South.

Harmony Increases

They also have made possible a greater degree of harmony than has existed for a long time between the Northern and Southern wings of their party.

The final roll call came after the Senate had been in continuous session for 39 hours, most of which was taken up by Senator Thurmond's last-ditch stand.

The vote on final passage was 60 to 15. On this roll call 37 Republicans and 23 Democrats voted for the bill. The Southerners provided all 15 "no" votes. Majority Leader Johnson and his Texas colleague, Senator Yarborough, and the two Tenessee Senators, Kefauver and Gore, supported the bill.

The civil rights issue had held the center of the stage since the House first passed the bill on June 18.

The House measure was broad enough to permit use of Federal injunctions to prevent racial segregation in all public places, or to protect any civil right. It also made no provision for trial by jury for persons charged with contempt for failure to obey the injunctions.

Star P. 4-a

Limited to Voting Rights

With some Republican help, Senate Democrats succeeded in limiting the scope of the bill to the protection of voting rights. The Senate also adopted an amendment requiring jury trials in criminal contempt cases under this or any other Federal law.

In this form the bill passed the Senate on August 7. Then followed weeks of stalemate between House and Senate leaders over the jury trial issue. At times it threatened to put off final action until next year.

Last week a compromise was reached under which Federal judges will have discretion to try criminal contempt cases with or without a jury. But if they proceed without a jury and impose a penalty of more than $300 fine or more than 45 days in jail, the defendant may demand a new trial with a jury.

The compromise also limits the jury trial provision to this bill, thereby eliminating its application to labor, anti-trust and other laws.

Southerners contended the compromise is unconstitutional, and this belief may be another reason why they decided not to go along with Senator Thurmond in his last-minute filibuster.

The South Dodges Injunctive Proceedings

Black Dispatch p. 4
Oklahoma City, Okla.
Fri. 5-31-57

We have just read a 930-page copy of the hearings before the subcommittee on constitutional rights, held before the judiciary committee of the United States Senate of the 85th Congress. It is one of the most interesting documents we have ever read, in that it brings so forcibly to the front and in the open the issue we have contended is the most important one in the nation at this time.

The clash between national rights and states rights in this discussion is opened to a place where it is almost raw, and at one time during the hearings, Senator Ervin, who led the discussion of the Southerners, asked Attorney General Herbert L. Brownell:

> "Now as a matter of fact, don't the provisions on these bills (Brownell's civil rights proposals), the third and fourth parts of S. 83, contribute very much to the theory that the states ought to be destroyed instead of preserved?"

Of course, Senator Ervin, of South Carolina, was trying to prod the Attorney General into making that observation, but the New Yorker was too sharp to be caught in that net. But this is exactly the position we have assumed for years. Law and order and peace and comity will not be established in the South until we get rid of this dual citizenship. The South is interested only in state citizenship and spends all of its waking hours attempting to trample upon national citizenship.

That is what all of this talk about interposition is based upon. The states below the old Mason and Dixon line issued several manifestoes about that question last year, and while Senator Ervin had the cart before the horse when he asked that question, that is precisely what we are going to have to do before peace and tranquility returns to this nation.

Take the question under discussion, when Senator Ervin made his inquiry. The issue developed upon whether or not it would be wise for the government or the state to determine qualifications for electors. The Black Dispatch immediately votes for the government to make up a set of rules that will be standard all over the 48 states.

If a man is not convicted of a felony, if he is in his right mind, and if he can pass a literacy test that should be standard for everyone, we believe he should be given the right to vote under his national citizenship. We do not think that any other state qualification should be required.

But, Roy Wilkins, testifying for the NAACP, said in some states electors, especially if they are Negroes, are required to read portions of the Constitution to the satisfaction of the registrar, who probably cannot read intelligently, and that a man could be denied in previous years the right to vote, unless he could prove that his parents voted prior to 1896. (No Negroes in the United States voted at that time.)

In one instance it was shown that electors in some states were required to tell how many bubbles there are in a bar of soap, and it was quite evident, by reason of the fact the registrar did not require white electors to meet the test required of the blacks, that the particular qualification was based upon the color of the registrant and not upon a valid statute. This whole situation could be cleared if a standard qualification could be formulated that would be a set and reasonable qualification for all American citizens.

Senator Ervin virtually admitted it would be a contest between the state and federal governments respecting voter rights when the state set up one qualification and the federal government another.

Of course, while the discussion is predicated upon the determination of the government to halt qualifications set up by state government, which deny Negroes the right to vote for national officers, such as president of the United States and members of Congress, Attorney General Brownell, in his new civil rights proposal, has designed an injunctive method by which Negroes stricken from the registration rolls, can enjoin state government, then vote, and adjudicate the question of their disqualification following the election.

Senator Ervin, who has been an able trial lawyer in South Carolina for many years and was later a judge before elevation to the Senate, is unquestionably a stubborn jurist who is asking many questions, one of which is the concept that government by injunction denies the individual who is cited for contempt the right of trial by jury. This is the first time this attack has been made upon injunction proceedings and Senator Ervin is heaping up a tremendous pile of objections, while Attorney General Brownell presents the federal record that shows there are something like 18 federal rules on this procedure that Senator Ervin, as a former judge, is entirely familiar with.

The South is determined not to allow the Negro to vote, and if the courts follow the rule laid down by Brownell, the Negro will vote. That's why Senator Ervin is piling up this tremendous word record in this 930-page volume of testimony.

SOUTHERNERS LOSE CIVIL RIGHTS BATTLE

Times - Picayune p. 7
New Orleans, La.

House Rejects Jury Trial Amendment 199-167

Sat. 6-15-57

By DOUGLAS B. CORNELL

WASHINGTON, June 14 (AP) — Northern Democrats and Republicans teamed up in an important victory for President Eisenhower's civil rights bill today, smashing back an attempt to require jury trials in contempt cases.

The House vote on the key jury trial amendment was 199-167.

A score of Negroes looked on from uncrowded galleries during the count, which was conducted by tellers.

With that out of the way, the bill was well on the way to a ballot on final passage.But with an eye on ranks thinned byweekend departures, the leadership put that vote off until Monday.

Battle All But Ended

The battle all but ended today when Southerners, with a few outside recruits, failed to put across the amendment to make a jury trial mandatory for anybody accused of violating an injunction designed to enforce voting or other civil rights.

Members from Dixie contended civil rights can be enforced adequately under present law. They argued that the amendment merely would guarantee another basic right of Americans and make a bit more palatable what Rep. Cooley (D-NC) called "a dastardly measure" that was "conceived in putrid politics."

Supporters of the legislation said the jury trial amendment would have destroyed the bill's effectiveness in the South.

Powell Accuses Bill's Foes

A Negro member, Rep. Powell (D-NY), told the House:

"When American citizens are faced with juries in the Southern section of the United States we know that a colored citizen cannot get equal justice."

Accusing enemies of the bill of "hypocrisy and dishonesty," Powell said that "a minority in this country has made up its mind that under no circumstance is it going to allow colored citizens the right to vote."

For strategy and vote getting purposes, backers of the amendment tapped a freshman Republican from the North, Rep. Russell W. Keeney of Illinois, to bring it before the House.

Keeney Attacks Measure

A former state's attorney and county and circuit judge, Keeney told the House that as the bill stood the United States would serve as plaintiff, prosecutor and judge of a person accused of depriving others of civil rights.

"And just to be sure the defendant gets convicted," he said, "they strip him of his right of trial by jury."

There are rumblings against the proposal, he said, on grounds that "in some parts of the United States they wouldn't get the right kind of trial by jury."

"I submit to you," Keeney said, "that trial by jury is the American thing, the American system, the American way of life."

Hoffman Warns Colleagues

Joining with Keeney, Rep. Hoffman (R-Mich) said that "I don't propose to go and criticize any other section of the United States as being lawless." Hoffman said there is murder after murder in New York and New Jersey and the "record is full of beatings and murders that have gone unpunished in Chicago."

"It's a good thing to clean up your own house," he said, "before you travel around to the neighbors to tell them what to do."

The heart of the bill is a section empowering the U. S. attorney general to go direct to a federal court for an injunction to protect voting or other civil rights.

Davis Fails In Bid To Kill Rights

Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.
Fri. 6-14-57

By ALBERT RILEY
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, June 13—Rep. Davis was voted down today in a second attempt to knock the

civil rights bill off the floor of the House as Northern liberals beat back a series of crippling amendments.

Southern Congressmen were still waging a last-ditch fight against the bill as debate dragged through another day, with a key vote yet to come on a jury trial amendment.

HELD LITTLE HOPE

Davis actually had little hope of getting his amendment adopted to eliminate the enacting clause of the bill. The same attempt was made two days ago by Rep. Hoffman (R-Mich), one of the few allies the Southern Democrats have on the GOP side of the House.

Hoffman's amendment was quickly rejected by voice vote, and Davis' motion met the same fate.

The Georgian's move did enable him to get more time to speak, however, as he and Rep. Flynt both took the floor to attack the bill.

Specifically, Davis and Flynt were arguing for an amendment by Rep. Dies (D-Tex) that actually would have broadened the powers of the proposed civil rights commission.

RIGHT TO VOTE

The bill would empower the commission to investigate any allegation of persons, being deprived of their right to vote "by reason of their color, race, religion or national origin."

Dies' amendment would have eliminated any reference to color, race, religion or national origin. But it was rejected first by a 123-96 standing vote and then by a 139-119 teller vote.

Constitution

With some Republican help, the Southerners almost put across another amendment by Rep. Tuck (D-Va) to strike out any reference to religion, but after an apparent voice vote victory, that proviso was defeated, 114 to 106 on a teller count.

Fri. 6-14-57

An attempt by Rep. Colmer (D-Miss) to require the commission to consider states' rights in their studies was defeated 91 to 78 by standing vote and then 128 to 95 by teller.

DAVIS WARNS NORTH

Davis warned the House that Northerners are going to experience more of the racial problems the South has been having to handle for years.

He pointed to a 1951 race riot in Cicero, a Chicago suburb, where he said a mob of 10,000 white people milled around a residential area into which a Negro family had moved. Illinois National Guardsmen, armed with bayonets, had to restore order, he pointed out.

Davis also cited a 1954 Chicago area riot that required 2,000 policemen to restore order.

"We in the South have kept and cared for and done the best that could be done for two-thirds of the Negro population of this country," Davis said. "We have done in the South more than our part. Open your arms and do your part by them."

ATTACKS REPORT

The Stone Mountain congressman attacked statistics on Negro voting in the South as prepared by the Southern Regional Council and quoted to the House by Rep. Celler (D-NY).

Davis, in his speech, linked the Southern Regional Council with an earlier Southern Conference for Human Welfare, some of whose members he said had long records of connection with subversive front organizations.

"I say that is not a respectable source of information for us to pass on in connection with this bill," he asserted.

Flynt urged the House to vote for the Dies amendment and permit investigations of civil rights violations "wherever they may take place."

"The South is not the only place where civil rights are violated," Flynt said. "You in Illinois are better qualified to solve your problems than we are (qualified to solve yours). Grant us that same right."

As the amendments fight went on there were indications that the jury trial question would not come up before tomorrow. And one report that the Southerners had as many as 81 amendments to offer hinted that a Saturday session may be necessary before the bill is finally disposed of in the House.

'Civil Wrongs' Held More Accurate Tag for 'Rights'

Times-Picayune New Orleans, La. Thurs. 6-13-57

Rep. Colmer Heads Strategy Group in Fight

(Times-Picayune Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON, June 12—Rep. William M. Colmer, the dean of the Mississippi delegation in Congress, has been general chairman of the Southern strategy in the fight against civil rights. Actually, he maintains that the series of proposals could more accurately be called "civil wrongs."

The Southern strategy, which has been to fight the measures every step of the way before the bills were disposed of by the House, was blue-printed through zone meetings.

While Congressman Colmer has been the general chairman, Rep. Howard Smith of Virginia, chairman of the House rules committee, served as floor leader.

A major strategy group of two members from each Southern state played a powerful role in prolonging the debate and consideration of the bills. The opponents figure that the longer that the bills can be delayed, the better chance there will be in the Senate for them to be side tracked.

Strategy Group Active

There was never any doubt, once the proposals reached the floor, that they would pass in some form as they have passed previously in the House only to be blocked in the Senate where the rules are different and there is unlimited debate.

Rep. Edwin E. Willis of Louisiana, member of the House judiciary committee, along with Colmer and Smith, and Rep. James C. Davis of Georgia, has comprised the directing or quarterbacking strategy group. Willis has also served as a member of the strategy organization from Louisiana along with Rep. F. Edward Hebert.

The members of the strategy group from each state in addition to Hebert and Willis, are Congressmen John Bell Williams and Thomas G. Abernethy of Mississippi; George W. Andrews and George M. Grant of Alabama; A. S. Herlong Jr., and Robert L. F. Sikes of Florida; E. C. Gathings and Oren Harris of Arkansas; James C. Davis and E. L. Forrester of Georgia; Graham Barden and George A. Shuford of North Carolina; Robert T. Ashmore and W. J. Bryan Dorn of South Carolina; Tom Murray and Clifford Davis of Tennessee; Martin Dies and Walter Rogers of Texas; William H. Tuck and Burr P. Harrison of Virginia.

Abernethy of Mississippi was general whip, and each state had a socalled whip that saw that all members stayed on the floor as much as possible and answered quorum calls and roll calls.

House Takes Recess During Rights Work

Alabama Journal Montgomery, Ala. Wed. 6-12-57

Gives President Another Chance To Boost Bill

WASHINGTON (AP) — President Eisenhower and Republican House leaders, holding the first in a series of breakfast meeting today, have another chance to plead for GOP solidarity behind the administration's civil rights bill.

The House took a recess in the midst of its work on proposed amendments to the bill, written largely to Eisenhower's specifications and backed also by most Northern Democrats.

Voting on the first two amendment yesterday was inconclusive and the major test—on a jury trial provision—lies ahead.

SOUTHERNERS CONCERNED

In private conversations, some Southern members tempered their earlier optimism about tacking a jury trial amendment onto the bill. They said the continuing strong efforts by the Republican leadership were having visible effect. GOP House Leader Martin (Mass) was reported "bearing down."

Southerners say they need the votes of at least 70 of the 200 House Republicans to carry the amendment.

Among other things, the bill would permit the attorney general to seek a federal court injunction if he had reason to believe civil rights were being violated. The amendment would require that anyone accused of violating such an injunction must be given a jury trial.

UNFAIRNESS CLAIMED

Opponents say this is a departure from usual enforcement of court orders and would nullify the effect of such injunctions in the South.

Southerners picked up enough Republican support to carry one amendment—a relatively minor one—yesterday 106-76. It would limit the subpoena power of the proposed civil rights investigating commission by providing that witnesses may be summoned to hearings only within their own states.

A major amendment, introduced by a Republican, Rep. Gross of Iowa, but backed by the Southerners, was defeated 127-88. It would have knocked out of the bill entirely the provision for an investigating commission.

Bitter Rights Squabble Is Shaping Up

Post-Herald B'ham, Ala. Thurs. 7-4-57

Senate Ready For Long Filibuster

BY JACK STEELE
Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

WASHINGTON, July 3—Members of the U. S. Senate prepared today to gather rest and strength over the four-day July 4th holiday to get ready for what may be the longest filibuster in history.

The Senate met in an atmosphere supercharged with bitterness as it raced to clear the decks for the impending fight next week over civil rights.

The senators had little taste for the ordeal ahead of them. Northerners and Southerners alike were being pushed into it by the inexorable necessities of politics.

Republican Leader William F. Knowland (Cal.), heading up the civil rights forces, served notice that he will move to take up the House-passed bill on Monday.

And Sen. Richard Russell (Ga.), chief strategist for the Southern Democrats, told the Senate he and his Dixie colleagues plan to "take a long time" to talk about the bill.

But the outcome of the talkathon remained clouded.

One thing was sure—there are plenty of votes in the Senate to pass the civil rights bill if it can ever be brought to a ballot.

But it was by no means certain that the bill's proponents could muster the 64 votes needed for cloture to shut off the filibuster, or the endurance to break it by sheer force.

There was even some cloakroom speculation that the Republicans, after a token attempt to break the filibuster, might agree to lay the bill aside until next year — when its passage would give them maximum political advantage.

Whatever the ultimate outcome may be, the filibuster will have to go on for several weeks and possibly a lot longer.

It will keep the Senate in session in sweltering Washington throughout July and August. The House, its work nearly finished, is expected to recess while the senators talk.

Resolution Backs Civil Rights Bill

Daily World Atlanta, Ga. 7-3-57

DETROIT—Any senator who votes for "the spurious jury trial amendment to the civil rights bill is voting to wreck the bill, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People warned in a resolution passed at the Association's 48th annual convention.

The resolution also pointed out that "the so-called right to work amendment" was device "to divide the supporteds of the bill and destroy the legislation." Despite these dangers of the delegates expressed the opinion that "the year 1957 offers civil rights legislation the best chance for passage it has had for more than a half century. The President, the Vice President, the Attorney General and a bi-partisan team of senators and representatives all are in favor of the bill which passed the House by a vote of 286 to 126."

10 1957

45-39 Vote Breaks an Old Custom

By ALBERT RILEY
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, June 20—Republicans and Northern Democrats overcame Southern opposition tonight and voted 45 to 39 to bypass the Judiciary Committee and place the House-approved civil rights bill on the Senate calendar.

By this six-vote margin, the Senate set a new precedent for its own legislative procedures and overturned long-standing custom.

This sensational move also placed the civil rights bill on the table where it will be ticking like a time bomb and can be taken up any time by the Senate.

Most observers believe, however, that the civil rights advocates will not attempt to call up the bill until around July 1, when it will certainly run into a Southern filibuster.

The liberal coalition of Republicans and Democrats was helped in their action tonight by a parliamentary ruling of Vice president Nixon, who held that the bill should not automatically go to committee.

Nixon held that the Senate should vote on the question, in a controversial ruling that was attacked by the Southerners, led by Georgia's Sen. Russell, with a futile assist by Sen. Morse (D-Ore).

When the key roll call vote was taken after nine hours of debate over parliamentary procedures, only five Republicans voted with the Southerners.

The count showed 34 Republicans and 11 Democrats voting to bypass the committee in what Sen. Russell called "the Knowland-Douglas axis."

In addition to the five GOP votes, Dixie senators polled a total of 34 Democratic votes, including some Northerners, notably Morse and Sen. Kennedy of Massachusetts.

The key vote of 45 to 39 came on the question of whether the Senate should sustain a point of order by Sen. Russell that would have referred the bill to committee in accordance with Senate Rule 25.

RUSSELL'S POINT

Russell's point of order was not sustained and then a clincher vote of 49 to 36 had the effect of placing the bill on the calendar, as sought by GOP Floor Leader Knowland of California.

The Senate's action came in the face of grave warnings by Russell, Morse, Senators Holland (D-Fla), Long (D-La), and others that it could lead to complete chaos in the Senate and utter destruction of the committee system of legislative procedures.

Although he is an advocate of civil rights legislation, Morse warned that the Senate was about to take an action "that will live to haunt us."

PROPER WAY

The proper way to get action on a civil rights bill, he contended, as did Sen. Holland, was not by circumventing the committee process but by adopting a discharge petition t oforce such legislation out of the committee.

Russell and Morse argued that Nixon, by his ruling, will set a precedent whereby any Senate or House bill or resolution could go straight to the calendar without proper hearings.

Attacking the vice president's ruling, Morse said it was actually no ruling at all and left the Senate in a position where it has no committee rules and will have to vote over and over again on whether to send future bills to a committee for consideration.

TALMADGE BLASTS NIXON

Sen. Talmadge issued a statement in which he blasted Nixon's opinion as "a flagrant violation of the rules of the Senate and a direct contravention of the reorganization act of 1947.

"It is alarming for the future of constitutional government in this country," Talmadge said, "when so far-reaching a precedent can be established by a public official whose only motive is political expediency and whose sole objective is partisan gain.

"Many of us in the Senate who believe in constitutional government will use every weapon at our command to fight this monstrous legislation," he added.

KEFAUVER CAUTIONS

Even Sen. Kefauver (D-Tenn.), who indicated he would support the civil rights bill and cloture to limit debate, cautioned against breaking precedent and destroying the committee system.

But the liberals, led by Knowland, Senators Douglas (D-Ill), Humphrey (D-Minn), and Javits (R-NY), argued that the end justified the means.

Humphrey summed up the liberals' argument in this respect when he argued that the committee procedures have been abused by Southerners in blocking civil rights bills.

The Senate Judiciary Committee for years, he said, "has been the tomb, the graveyard, the burial ground for civil rights bills. The time has come for action on this bill.

"Justice delayed is justice denied," Humphrey declared as he said that "if the NAACP's patience has run out, I can certainly understand why.

CIVIL RIGHTS BILL PASSED BY HOUSE

Vote Is 286-126 After South Fails Fourth Time to Get Jury Trial Guarantee

By C. P. TRUSSELL
Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, June 18—President Eisenhower's civil rights bill was passed by the House of Representatives today.

The vote was 286—126. It followed a bitter fight by Southerners, who received some support from the North.

Just before the passage, the House rejected by 251—158 the South's fourth attempt to write into the legislation an amendment to require jury trials in contempt actions arising under the bill.

The measure as passed would permit the United States to seek injunctions in the event of violations or threat of violation of civil rights. Defiers could be punished for contempt of court.

The Administration has fought jury trials on the implied ground that Southern juries would be reluctant to convict violators.

Senate Backers Map Move

The measure also would set up a bipartisan commission to study civil rights problems and would establish a civil right division on the Department of Justice.

The measure was sent to the Senate at once.

Waiting there was a coalition of civil rights backers who have studied up on parliamentary rules for a plan to put the House bill on the Senate calendar at once.

The idea is to bypass the Senate Judiciary Committee, which has held up the Senate's version of the President's program since January.

The move would prevent a possible imprisonment of both the Senate and House bills within the Senate Judiciary Committee, headed by Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi a foe of civil right legislation.

Considering Atom Treat

At best, the civil rights program, which from the start was an assured winner in the House, was running into the usual Senate storm.

That branch has been the burial ground for such legislation for many years. The Southern minority there can employ the filibuster using the right of unlimited debate to prevent a vote.

Southern lungs and strength apparently were on the starting line today. Proponents were on the mark, too, as the rights bill came over from the House. But the bill was blocked by a parliamentary rule.

The Senate was under an agreement to continue consideration of the treaty to establish an international agency for the peaceful employment of atomic energy.

Thus the civil rights measure was crowded out for the time being.

There were thoughts in some Senate quarters that his parliamentary situation might start a filibuster in the debate on the atomic energy treaty, to delay a showdown on civil rights.

Senator Spessard L. Holland, Democrat of Florida, said that no such plan was contemplated when he inquired into the parliamentary intricacies of the civil rights battle coming up.

But Senator Richard B. Russell, Democrat of Georgia and leader of the Southern bloc, reserved the right for other matters to enter the debate on the atomic energy program.

Filibuster Is Expected

Such a filibuster, even though continuous night and day sessions were ordered, seemed to be within the strength of the South. It would delay the defense appropriations bill, the foreign aid program, and other urgent measures.

However, after a White House conference of Republican Congressional leaders this morning, Senator William F. Knowland said that he favored early debate on the civil rights program, filibuster or no filibuster.

In today's House test 118 Democrats and 168 Republicans favored passage of the bill. Opposed were 107 Democrats, mostly from the South. Nineteen Republicans joining them were from the South and from Michigan, Idaho, Ohio, Illinois, Minnesota and New York.

The three New Yorkers in the opposition were Representatives Clarence E. Kilburn, John Tabor and John H. Ray, all Republicans.

In the fourth try by the South to include a guarantee of jury trials in the measure, the vote was 251-158 against the move.

Favoring the inclusion were 113 Democrats and forty-five Republicans. Against the proposal: 112 Democrats and 139 Republicans.

Nixon Weighs Decision

The real fight is expected tomorrow when Vice President Richard M. Nixon, in the Senate chair, may rule on whether the Judiciary Committee should be bypassed to allow the question of early consideration of the bill by the Senate.

It was indicated that Mr. Nixon had not yet reached a final conclusion on the ruling he would make. But whatever that ruling will be, it is certain to be challenged with a real filibuster setting in.

The position of the South is that the Constitution provides a guarantee of a jury trial.

The Administration's position is that a Southern jury would, at least in some cases, not convict in a case in which a Negro fought for his voting rights.

The fight in the House, as well as the Senate, appeared to be built largely on the premise of whether the Negro could and should vote.

The new legislation also would strengthen existing statutes. It would put serious penalties upon persons who intimidated witnesses and upon witnesses who changed their testimony.

Sponsors of the program maintain that its principal purpose it to prevent violations of civil rights. To go to court with a jury, they hold, would mean than an election would be over before a settlement of a question could be reached.

Therefore, they say, the opposition to the present legislation seeks to nullify the remedies.

Provisions for appeal are provided in the bill. Opponents contend that appeals would be too time-consuming to be of any use.

SENATE FILIBUSTER AGAINST RIGHTS BILL IS EXPECTED JULY 1

Time Depends On Return Of Knowland From Trip To California

FIRST READING ROUTINE

Southerners Indignant At GOP Plan To Leapfrog Committee — Russell Hits 'Smoke Screen'

By MORRIS CUNNINGHAM
From The Commercial Appeal Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, June 19. — Dixie senators braced themselves Wednesday for the start of a Senate filibuster against

President Eisenhower's House-passed Civil Rights Bill on Monday, July 1, or shortly thereafter.

The hotly disputed bill, spurred by a fresh statement by President Eisenhower, passed the routine first reading in the Senate Wednesday.

Thursday it is expected to pass second reading, also routine, and then to be leap-frogged over the Senate Judiciary Committee and onto the Senate calendar through a parliamentary maneuver Southerners called "unprecedented."

Knowland To Insist

Normally when bills pass second reading they are automatically referred to committee—in the case of civil rights bills, to the Judiciary Committee.

But Senate GOP Leader William Knowland (R., Calif.) reiterated Wednesday, despite spirited protests by Senator Richard B. Russell (D., Ga.) and others, that he will move to by-pass the Judiciary Committee.

Senator Russell accused civil rights advocates of "smoke screen" tactics and a "hate-the-South campaign the like of which hasn't been seen in this country in many a year."

"They talk about the right to vote, but what they are thinking about is schools," he declared. He said the bill would permit the attorney general to jail every school board official in the South without a jury trial unless public schools were integrated.

"Do not be deceived by this smoke screen about voting," he said. "That is one of the very smallest problems in the South."

Nixon To Rule

He accused civil rightists of adopting a "holier than thou" attitude and of saying, in effect: "We are going to kick the rules and laws and the Constitution out of the window. We'll get at these infernal Southerners in a hurry."

Senator Knowland insisted his planned motion is justified because the Judiciary Committee, headed by Senator James O. Eastland (D., Miss.), has held a companion bill nearly six months and has shown no disposition to release it.

His motion will require a ruling by Vice President Richard M. Nixon, a fellow California Republican and the eSnate presiding officer. The ruling, regardless of which way it goes, is expected to be appealed to the Senate as a whole. Only a simple majority is required to sustain it.

With the Senate Republican leader allied with Democratic liberals in support of the motion, Dixie senators appeared to have little chance to block it.

A second motion, and the prospective signal for the start of a Southern filibuster, apparently will be delayed until Senator Knowland returns from a trip to California and other points.

This would be a motion to take the bill from the Senate calendar for consideration by the Senate.

Dixie senators figured the bill's other backers would hesitate to make this motion during Senator Knowland's absence. Because of his leadership of the Senate's 46 Republicans, he looms as a key man in the proceedings.

Leaving Tonight

An aide reported Senator Knowland is slated to leave Thursday night for California for the wedding of his daughter. He is to speak Saturday, June 29, at Rockford, Ill., and Sunday, June 30, at Montevideo, Minn.

It was indicated the GOP leader will not return to his office here until Sunday night, June 30, or Monday morning, July 1. This prompted the predicition the filibuster will not start before July 1.

The affirmative votes of 64 of the 96 senators is required to invoke cloture and stop a filibuster. If this should succeed in halting debate on the motion to take the bill from the Senate calendar, a second cloture vote may be necessary later. This would be on a motion for final passage of the bill. Thus, two cloture votes may be necessary if the bill is to be passed this year.

At his news conference Wednesday, President Eisenhower called his bill a "very moderate, decent" measure, "designed and conceived in the thought of conciliation and moderation, not of persecution of anybody."

He said after the Supreme Court's desegregation decision he thought it was time "for moderation and development of a plan that everybody of good will could support."

"I have been very badly disappointed that some people see in this program an opportunity to disturb their own rights, or to interfere in their own social order, in an unjust and improper way," the President said.

Question Unanswered

He did not answer a question as to whether he would recommend that Senate Republicans stay on and try to break any possible filibuster."

Senator Knowland's impending move to by-pass the Judiciary Committee sparked a new protest from Senator Russell. The issue arose in the Senate as the bill passed first reading.

The Georgia Democrat asked unanimous consent for the bill to be given two readings and referred to committee, which he called the "historic usual procedure."

Senator Knowland announced he would object to a second reading Wednesday, thus setting the stage for second reading and his by-passing motion Thursday.

The exchange came in a tense moment with most senators on the floor, the galleries well filled, and Vice President Nixon presiding.

Senator Russell asked the Senate to consider the consequences of a move designed to overthrow traditional procedures "to gain temporary advantage for special legislation."

He warned the Senate might be setting a precedent that would "haunt any leadership . . . for years to come." If supporters of the bill want it on the floor, he said, they should offer a motion to discharge it from committee. A motion of that kind would require a two-thirds majority.

Move Defended

Senator Knowland insisted his plan is "strictly in accordance" with the rules and procedures of the Senate.

"We all know," he added, "the rules are strictly enforced at times and sometimes lightly enforced."

Senator Olin D. Johnston (D., S. C.) served notice he will demand that the bill be read aloud word by word when it comes up on second reading Thursday. Rules requiring this are seldom invoked but may be on demand. The bill contains about 4,000 words.

Filibuster Looms As Senate Votes Short Cut On Civil Rights Bill

WASHINGTON, June 20 (AP)—The Senate voted tonight to take a short cut on civil rights legislation—a decision that spelled a big preliminary victory for backers of the bill.

Over hot Southern protests, the chamber in a dramatic night session voted to by-pass the Senate Judiciary Committee, where Dixie members have bottled up civil rights legislation for months, and put the bill on the Senate calendar.

The vote was 45-39.

That means any member can move to take it up for debate. But when such a motion is made a real fireworks will begin. Southerners are in a position to launch a filibuster against the measure—a talkathon that could be broken only by exhaustion or by a vote of 64 of the 96 senators.

Thus tonight's decision, while a jolt to the Southerners, was strictly a preliminary one.

There seemed to be no likelihood of any immediate action by the Senate on the civil rights bill and at least a week or more might elapse before it is called up.

The Senate tackles controversial Hells Canyon legislation tomorrow.

In ordering the parliamentary shortcut, the Senate overrode bitter protests from Southerners that the procedure smacked of "a legislative lynching bee" and would lead to "chaos."

But supporters of the move contended it was perfectly proper under Senate rules and was made necessary by the failure of the Judiciary Committee to act.

The issue came to a vote after Vice President Nixon announced he would not rule one way or the other but would leave it to the Senate's decision.

Nixon did say, however, that he regarded as not well taken a point of order raised by Sen. Russell (D-Ga) against the unusual parliamentary procedure invoked by advocates of the civil rights bill.

The showdown vote came on whether or not to sustain Russell's point of order. The Senate voted to override it, with the result that the civil rights bill went to the calendar.

Voting to put the bill on the calendar were 34 Republicans and 11 Democrats. Voting to send it to the Judiciary Committee were 34 Democrats and five Republicans.

After their victory, the advocates of the civil rights bill nailed it down with a 49-36 vote to table a motion to reconsider the previous vote.

The move to bypass the Judiciary Committee and put the bill directly on the senate calendar was initiated by Senate Republican Leader Knowland of California.

Knowland contended that this course was permitted under the Senate's Rule 14. Russell argued that Rule 14 had been superseded and annulled by the Congressional Reorganization Act of 1946.

Nixon, the Senate's presiding officer, read a lengthy statement in which he said that if Russell's point of order is overruled, "the Senate will have expressed its will and the bill will go on the calendar."

On the other hand, he said, if the Senate sustained the point of order, the House-passed measure would be referred to the Judiciary Committee.

Russell and other Southern senators had protested that success of the move launched by Knowland would mark the start of "a legislative lynching bee."

But Knowland and those backing him replied that use of the seldom-used rule was justified because civil rights legislation has been bottled up in the committee for months.

After Nixon made his ruling, Russell declared that the vote to be taken would set "a very fateful precedent in the Senate."

Russell said that if the vote went against his point of order, it would mean that an objection by one senator in the future could send a bill directly to the calendar, by-passing all committees.

The Georgian asked Nixon about this, and at first the vice president appeared to agree with the interpretation.

But Sen. Clifford Case (R-NJ) insisted Russell was in error, asserting that the Senate was not setting any precedent but just deciding the "substantive question" of what to do with the civil rights bill.

Nixon then clarified his ruling.

He said the effect of it was that in the future the Senate would decide all disputed cases of whether to send a bill to committee, if one senator desired to force a vote.

In all future cases, he said, if objection were raised to referring a measure to committee, such as the objection made today by Knowland, a point of order could be interposed by any senator just as Russell did in the pending case.

The result of this sequence, the vice president said, would be to bring a vote of the full Senate on the question.

Both Sen. Kefauver (D-Tenn), Democratic vice-presidential nominee in 1956, and Sen. Kennedy (D-Mass), whom he defeated for the nomination, voiced their support of Russell's point of order.

Southerners Lose Rights Bill Maneuver

By the United Press.

WASHINGTON, June 6.—Southerners in the House played a trump card today against the administration's civil rights bill, but lost.

They tried to force the bill off the House floor and back to the Judiciary Committee on grounds that the committee's report on it was defective.

The House spent a tense hour as the issue was argued pro and con. Speaker Sam Rayburn (Tex.) finally ruled against the Southern complaint. Formal debate on the bill then began.

Civil Rights Bill Called 'Reprisal'

FLORALA, June 24 (U.P.)—U. S. Rep. Albert Rains (D., Ala.) told a Masonic Day audience here today that the civil rights legislation "means no more than a Northern reprisal towards the South."

"The South is experiencing the worst reprisal we have seen since the days of reconstruction," Rains said. The South will not "stand for desegregation and there will be no desegregation to any extent," he added.

Marion Causey of Florala and

Marie Byrd of Rockhart were here before an audience of sev-
crowned king and queen of the eral hundred.
87th annual Masonic celebration J. A. Ingram of Troy installed
the Masonic officers

10 1957

Sen. Ervin Speaks

Civil Rights Bill Is Likened To The Action Of British

News + Courier Thurs-6-13-57 P. 15-a

Charleston S.C.

BOSTON, June 12 (AP)—Sen. Ervin (D-NC) likened the administration's civil rights bill today to action taken by the British Parliament in 1765 to deprive the American colonists of the right to trial by jury.

A leader of the Southern opposition to the bill, Ervin said it was "altogether fitting" for him to discuss it in a city "whose citizens were once made the victims of similar legislation enacted by the British Parliament at the instance of King George III and his ministers."

Under the Stamp Act and other revenue measures enacted by the British in 1765, he said, American colonists were deprived of their jury trial rights "by a device astoundingly similar to that invoked by the pending civil rights bill."

Ervin said the British did this "by extending. . .beyond its ancient limits. . .the jurisdiction of the courts of admiralty in which trial by jury was not available."

Similarly, he said the administration bill seeks to by-pass jury trials in civil rights cases by giving the government authority to seek injunctions rather than having to rely on criminal prosecutions.

Ervin spoke his views in an address for the Suffolk Law School Assn.

Ervin already has won adoption by the Senate Judiciary Committee of a jury-trial amendment to the civil rights bill. The issue is expected to come to a vote in the House in the next dav or two.

Brief Civil Rights Truce Follows Test in Senate

Star Fri. 6-21-57

Washington D.C.

P. 4-a

45-39 Vote Keeps House Bill Available for Floor Action Soon

By J. A. O'LEARY P. 1

The Senate began a short truce today in the battle over the civil rights bill, after voting last night to keep the House-approved measure on the calendar, where it can be reached again next month.

The first test vote came on a parliamentary technicality, but it had the effect of keeping the House bill from going to the Senate Judiciary Committee, which has failed to act on a similar bill since March.

The vote by which the bill was kept away from the committee was 45-39. On the roll call, 11 Democrats joined with 34 Republicans in voting to keep the bill in the Senate, where it can be called up again in the near future. Only five Republicans joined 34 Democrats in voting to uphold the contention of Senator Russell, Democrat of Georgia, that the bill should have gone to committee.

Long Fight Ahead

The decision was a victory for supporters of a Federal civil rights program, but they still have a long, hard fight ahead of them to pass the bill this year.

The real test will come some time in July or August when the backers of the bill try to muster the 64 votes required to invoke the cloture rule to break the filibuster that is anticipated whenever a move is made to call up the bill.

In fact, backers of the bill may have to invoke cloture twice—first on the motion to take the bill from the calendar, and later to bring it to final vote, assuming they win on the first cloture vote. The net effect of yesterday's preliminary skirmishing was to avoid the possibility of a third filibuster on a motion to force the bill out of committee.

Argue 8 Hours on Rules

The vote came at 9:45 p.m., after Senators had spent eight hours in one of their favorite pastimes—arguing over their book of rules.

Senate Republican Leader Knowland of California touched off the parliamentary wrangle by invoking a seldom-used rule, which makes it possible to keep a House bill on the Senate docket without routing it through a committee if one Senator objects to further consideration after the bill has been read for the second time.

Senator Russell, leader of the Southern opposition, promptly made a point of order against the Knowland move. He argued that the Congressional Reorganization Act of 1947 makes it mandatory to send all bills to committee, and that this act supersedes the rule relied on by Senator Knowland.

Lets Senate Decide

From 1:30 yesterday afternoon until after 9 p.m. Vice President Nixon permitted Senators to debate the question. Then he read a long statement, in which he said he did not agree with the Russell point of order.

But, instead of overruling the point himself, Mr. Nixon decided to let the Senate vote on the issue of whether it wanted the bill sent to committee or placed on the calendar.

Although the Vice President disagreed with Senator Russell, he also expressed the view that the Senate should have an opportunity to refer bills to committee if it so desires before any one Senator could have it placed on the calendar without committee action.

The Vice President concluded that the best solution to the problem until the rules can be clarified was to submit the question to the Senate, which he has a right to do under another rule.

In taking that course, Mr. Nixon was following a suggestion made to him several days ago by Senator Case, Republican of New Jersey. The Case proposal was designed to deprive opponents of the civil rights bill of the chance to argue that one Senator, with the backing of the Vice President, could by a parliamentary ruling prevent the Senate from following the normal procedure of sending bills to committee.

Senator Russell argued that it would create legislative chaos to get in the habit of putting bills on the calendar without committee study.

Senator Knowland has conceded that the rule he invoked yesterday should be used sparingly, but argued its use in this case is justified because of the failure of the Judiciary Committee to act on the civil rights bill it has had before it since January.

The Southerners had the backing yesterday of Senators Morse, Democrat of Oregon, and Kennedy, Democrat of Massachusetts, who argued that the proper procedure would be to let the House bill follow the regular course of going to committee, and then move to discharge the committee if it failed to act within a reasonable time.

Supporters of the bill are understood to have agreed not to press for further floor action until after July 4, to enable the Senate to dispose of other urgent business, including several appropriations bills.

The main feature of the House bill, which corresponds to the Eisenhower program, is the authority it would confer on the Attorney General to seek injunctions in civil courts to protect the civil rights of individuals, including voting rights.

Jury Trial Issue in Fight

When the Senate battle begins in earnest, it is expected to center around Southern efforts to include a jury trial amendment. The House turned down such an amendment, but the Southerners have been able to have the jury trial provision written into the Senate bill in the Senate Judiciary Committee, even though that bill has not been reported to the Senate.

The Southerners fear that State officials and others who may be accused of violating an injunction will be jailed on contempt charges by Federal judges without a jury trial. Some observers believe the jury trial amendment has more chance of adoption in the Senate than it had in the House.

Adoption of such an amendment would render the bill less objectionable to Southerners but it is not expected they would abandon their fight to prevent its passage. But inclusion of a jury trial provision might make it easier for the Republicans and liberal and Northern Democrats to get the 64 votes they will need to break a filibuster and pass the bill.

Dixie May Defy Civil Rights Bill

Adv.-Herald 6-19-57

Dothan, Ala.

Wed. 6-19-57

MONTGOMERY, June 18 (AP)—Alabama legislators deplored the passage of President Eisenhower's civil rights bill in the House in Washington today and spoke openly of defiance if the measure becomes law.

State Rep. Charles W. McKay Jr. of Talladega County, Democratic National committeeman for Alabama, said in a statement:

"Despite any bills passed by Congress or any legislation enacted by the Supreme Court, the people of Alabama will continue to maintain their traditional way of life with segregation for many years to come."

McKay, who sponsored a legislative resolution seeking to set aside several Supreme Court integration decisions by declaring them null and void in Alabama, said the civil rights bill if enacted into law would be **"a drastic step toward the ultimate centralization in Washington of all powers of government."**

Sen. Sam Engelhardt of Macon County predicted that "the entire country will be screaming for repeal of this contemptible act" within five years if the Senate also approves the civil rights measure.

Engelhardt is executive secretary of the pro-segregation Alabama Association of Citizens' Councils.

The senator said the refusal of the House to write a trial by jury amendment into the civil rights bill is "comparable to the Hitler regime." He branded the action as a "despicable way to pick up Negro votes."

Lt. Gov. Guy Hardwick of Dothan predicted that unless the Senate kills the civil rights bill "it will mean federal troops sooner or later in the South."

However, Hardwick expressed hope that the Senate will recognize what he called dangerous hazards in the bill, particularly the absence of a trial by jury guarantee on civil rights voilations.

Watch On The Potomac

Texas "Liberal" Mum On Civil Rights

By ROBERT G. SPIVACK

WASHINGTON—Ralph W. Yarborough, the new Senator from Texas, is getting the "let's look him over" treatment from friend and foe alike as he settles down to his new role as a legislator. As his colleagues, Sens. Kefauver, Douglas, and Humphrey well know, being a liberal anywhere is tough enough these days. But being a "liberal" in oil-rich Texas is probably as tough an assignment as any man can impose upon himself.

SPIVACK

In his first eight weeks in the Capitol, Yarborough has acquitted himself on several scores but still has to prove himself on others.

• • •

YOU GET some idea of the problems facing a man like Yarborough in examining a speech he made here recently before the Woman's National Democratic Club. It might have made headlines but for some reason many Capitol correspondents did not know about it until several days after delivery.

"Coming, as I do, from five years of continual political warfare in Texas where every force of greed and avarice in that state were aligned against us . . . I have been stunned almost to silence by the kindness and generosity of the treatment accorded us in Washington," Yarborough said, speaking for himself and his family.

His remarks were interspersed with comments that indicate he spoke with considerable feeling.

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YARBOROUGH'S topic was "The Democratic Future". The text, we understand, is now being studied carefully by his fellow-Texans, Senate Democratic Leader Lyndon Johnson and Speaker Sam Rayburn. There are many who think his remarks were aimed primarily at them.

"When the Democratic Party quits tiptoeing down timidity street, and, boldly, as Roosevelt, proclaims its faith and belief in men over money and machines, then will America again place her faith in the Party of Jefferson and Jackson and of Wilson, of Roosevelt and Truman.

• • •

"**I FERVENTLY** pray for that day," Yarborough said. "I want my children and their children to live in the same pure air that was on this earth in the days of man's first creation."

Yarborough then did what few Democratic senators do these days. He listed the "issues" which, in his judgment, indict the Eisenhower administration as the "cult of the dollar worshippers."

To any northern liberal, though, there were two obvious gaps in Yarborough's political manifesto. There was not a word on civil rights. Nor was there any mention of the new efforts to put across a Natural Gas bill.

• • •

POLITICAL realities being what they are in Dixie it is probably asking too much of any Texas officeholder to speak up on these issues. Yarborough's talk would probably have had greater impact if he had, at least, acknowledged that the problems exist.

Sen. Douglas said recently that no one expects a man in political life to "commit suicide". But there are others who will await with interest some comments from Yarborough, they will want to hear what suggestions an intelligent southern "moderate" has for solving these perplexing problems.

Civil Rights Bill Passes House, Senate 'Hot Air' Next

Washington - (ANP) - A civil rights bill with a specific proposal to protect the voting rights of all American citizens was approved Tuesday by the House of Representatives and sent to the Senate for action.

The 286-126 vote approval came in the House after the opposition had failed in its last minute effort to attach a "Trial-by-jury" amendment. This controversial amendment, which would have stripped the bill of all of its effectiveness, was defeated by an outright vote on Friday. Nevertheless, it was offered again Monday by Rep. Howard Smith (D.-VA.) but was again defeated.

In a final desperate effort, Rep. Richard H. Poff (R.-Va.) offered a motion Tuesday that the bill be recommitted to the committee for writing in the amendment which would in effect guaranteed a jury trial for contempt cases. The motion to recommit was defeated by a vote of 251-115.

The opposition monopolized the entire day Monday offering amendments to the bill, listening to debate on the amendments and calling for "teller" votes.

The "right-to-work" amendment which had been ruled out last week on the grounds that was not germane to the bill, was re-offered Monday by Rep. Mendel Rivers of North Carolina. But again it was ruled out on a point of order.

After the majority of the amendments were defeated the bill came out practically as it was proposed by the Administration.

It contains 4 specific points:

1. The establishment of a Commission of Civil Rights.
2. The appointing of an additional Assistant Attorney General.
3. Strengthening of the civil rights statutes.
4. Providing means of further securing and protecting the right to vote.

The proposed commission will be charged with the responsibility of investigating allegations that certain citizens are being deprived of their right to vote by reason of their color, race, religion, or national origin.

Information on the denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution will be collected by this commission and appraised under the laws and policies of the Federal Government. Reports will be submitted to the President with recommendations for action.

The additional Assistant Attorney General will be assigned to the Justice Department to assist the Attorney General in the performance of his duties on the question of civil rights violations.

The bill proposes to strengthen the existing civil rights statute to permit the Attorney General to issue a permanent or temporary injunction, or restraining order against persons engaged in any acts or practices which would violate the civil rights of other citizens, including the right to vote.

There was no indication when the upper chamber would dispose of this measure and take action on the controversial civil rights bill. Some fear that the opposition will begin its filibuster immediately by making long and irrelevant speeches to delay action on the legislation now under consideration. This would automatically hold up action on the civil rights bill which lay tabled in that body.

Senate Fight On Rights Bill Set Monday

Southerners Will Filibuster To 'Expose' Measure

WASHINGTON, July 3 (UP) — Senate Republican Leader William F. Knowland (Cal.) and Southern Democratic senators announced today that the battle over President Eisenhower's civil rights program will begin on the Senate floor Monday.

Their decision came shortly after the President strongly objected to a Southern proposal to hold a national referendum on his program. He told a news conference he knew of no constitutional machinery for submitting legislation to a vote of the people.

Knowland told the Senate he would move to bring the civil rights bill before the Senate early Monday afternoon. He had said earlier he would decide on the timing after a conference with Senate Democratic Leader Lyndon B. Johnson (Tex.).

Sen. Richard B. Russell (D., Ga.), leader of the Senate Southern bloc, promptly assured Knowland that "some of us will be here on the floor to discuss" the measure.

The President replied to Russell's charge that the House-approved bill was a cunning device to enforce racial integration in the South, at the point of bayonets if necessary.

Mr. Eisenhower said it was "rather incomprehensible" to him how anyone could read such things into the bill.

He said his objective in offering the legislation was to prevent illegal interference with voting rights, to create a civil rights commission and to set up a special division in the Justice Dept. to handle civil rights cases.

Russell indicated the Southerners will try to pace themselves in at least the early stages of the anti-civil rights filibuster. He said "early discussion" will be "at no greater length than usual to make a record of those who have expressed their position" on the bill.

He expressed hope that there might be "a meeting of the minds" and a vote on "provisions of the bill I consider most vicious." But he made no mention of any possible vote on final passage of the legislation.

Sen. John C. Stennis (D., Miss.) said in a statement that "our purpose is to defeat the bill, and we will do it by whatever legislative means we can, but our main weapon will be to expose it fully in debate."

10 1957

The 's 4-Point Civil Rights Bill

Herald Miami Fla.

WASHINGTON—(UP)—The House approved President Eisenhower's four-point civil rights bill Tuesday and rushed it to the Senate where an angry new North-South fight looms.

Wed. 6-19-57

The roll-call vote, which climaxed eight days of sometimes stormy wrangling, was 286 to 126. On the showdown, 118 Democrats and 168 Republicans voted for the measure. Opposed were 107 Democrats and 19 Republicans.

Senate GOP Leader William F. Knowland of California promptly threw his support behind a drive to put the bill directly on the Senate calendar for debate. This would bypass the Senate Rules Committee headed by segregationist James O. Eastland (D., Miss.)

Knowland pledged a "prolonged fight, if necessary" to give the Senate a chance to express itself on the issue. He said the chamber should stay in session as long as necessary so it can at least debate the House bill.

Southern civil rights foes in the Senate already have threatened to wage a filibuster against the measure which could keep Congress in session deep in to the summer.

The House passed the measure after defeating, 251 to 158, an eleventh-hour Southern attempt to write into the bill a guarantee of trial by jury for persons accused of violating court orders in civil rights cases.

The next step in the fight will come when Senate backers of the measure try to bypass the Eastland committee which has been marking time on similar legislation since March 19.

But even if the maneuver succeeds — as now seems likely — the Senate will not be able to take up the measure for two or three weeks because it first must clear a backlog of other legislation.

During a week of House consideration of the bill Southerners won only one consequential amendment. It would prohibit the proposed civil rights commission from subpenaing witnesses to go outside their home state to testify before it.

As approved by the House, the bill would:

CREATE a bi-partisan, six member federal commission with subpena powers to investigate complaints that voting and other civil rights are being denied and to study legal developments affecting them. The presidentially-appointed commission would function for slightly more than two years.

CREATE a separate civil rights division in the Justice Department.

AUTHORIZE the government to seek federal court injunctions or other orders to prevent denial of voting and other civil rights. The suits would be started directly in federal courts without first going through state courts.

PROHIBIT private individuals as well as officials from interfering or trying to interfere with the right to vote in any general, primary or special election in which federal officials are chosen.

Florida's eight congressmen, one Republican and seven Democrats, all voted against the civil rights bill.

YOUNG REPUBLICANS OK RIGHTS PROGRAM

Over Protests Of Dixie's Delegations

MODIFICATIONS ARE WON

Commercial Appeal Sun. 6-23-57

Memphis, Tenn.

From The Commercial Appeal Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, June 22. — Young Republicans Saturday endorsed President Eisenhower's civil rights program over the protests of Dixie delegates to the national convention.

But B. B. McClendon Jr. of Jackson, Miss., reported Southerners won a modification in language before the 344 to 266 convention vote.

He reported the civil rights resolution originally called for a flat endorsement of the House-passed bill now pending before the Senate.

Get 29 States' Backing

Mr. McClendon and other Southerners got this deleted by the Resolutions Committee, but, when it went to the convention floor, the endorsement of "the President's program" was added by amendment.

"In the fight on the amendment we got the support of 29 states, but the big delegations from New York, New Jersey, Illinois and other states beat us."

As it came from the committee, the civil rights resolution stated merely that "true progress" could best be achieved by "mutual understanding and good will."

"We feel," Mr. McClendon said, "that we achieved a victory in that we prevented an endorsement of the bill now pending in Congress.

"We're pleased with the support we got outside the South. Of course, Tennessee didn't vote with us but Tennessee isn't really a Southern state."

Heads 'Splinter' Group

Mrs. Robert G. Parks of Memphis, who headed a "splinter" group from Tennessee, lost a fight to be seated as a part of the Tennessee delegation.

"I'm not a delegate, I took no part in the convention, and I can't be held accountable for what happened on the floor this afternoon," she said.

The pro-civil rights Tennessee delegation was headed by William K. Moody of Memphis and included Negro members.

Mrs. Parks was sent to the convention by a rival group, the Memphis Young Republican Club. She said a "peacemaker" in Tennessee, whom she declined to name, assured her before she left Tennessee that she would be seated as a member of the Tennessee delegation.

However, she reported that, despite an appearance before the Credentials Committee and other efforts she was not seated.

Chat With Nixon

"I want the people in Memphis to know I tried," she said. "And if nothing else, I've convinced a lot of Young Republicans that there's someone ir Memphis besides Mr. Moody."

In addition to Mr. McClendon the Mississippi delegates were Tom Crockett Jr. and John H. Geary, both of Jackson.

While here, they talked briefly with Vice President Richard M. Nixon about the civil rights issue. They reported Mr. Nixon expressed regret that the issue exists.

Senate Set For Lengthy Rights Fight

West Times Herald Washington, D.C. Mon. 7-1-57

House Also Facing Spirited Debates On Hells Canyon, Aid to Education

By Robert Barkdoll
United Press

The 85th Congress heads into the closing stretch of its first session today with the Senate set for a civil rights battle that may chain its members to their desks indefinitely.

The House also faces some spirited fights over such legislation as the Hells Canyon Dam bill and possibly Federal aid to education. But once appropriations bills are out of the way it may decide to take a vacation until the Senate civil rights row is settled.

Senate leaders plan to dispose of the big defense appropriations bill and clean up some routine legislation this week before taking an extended 4th of July weekend. When members return July 8 the stage will be set for a move to bring up civil rights.

It may not be launched immediately. But some time between July 8 and July 13 the Senate Republican leadership, aided by some northern Democrats, will propose that the Senate act on President Eisenhower's four-point civil rights program.

Southern Filibuster Due

The move will touch off an immediate filibuster by Southern Senators. Their staying power probably will determine how much legislation Congress passes in the remainder of the session.

Estimates on how long the filibuster will last run from 10 days to a month. Once the issue is settled—by victory for one side or by compromise—the Senate must act on several appropriations bills, including the big foreign aid money bill.

House leaders are considering two plans to cope with the Senate's legislative situation. They may stay in business right through in hopes of winding up by late August, or they may act on all Senate-approved bills and then declare a recess and come back after the civil rights fight.

Outlook for Bills

Here is the present outlook for major legislation still before Congress:

Civil Rights — Chances of passing a civil rights bill are greater than ever before. But even some civil rights backers are doubtful it can be approved, especially in the form submitted by Mr. Eisenhower. If so, there is a chance the Senate could agree on some kind of compromise bill.

Foreign Aid — The Senate has voted a 200-million-dollar slash in Mr. Eisenhower's $3.865.000.000 authorization program. The House Foreign Affairs Committee last Friday piled another 400-million-dollar cut on top of that, and may order more. The program could be cut still further when Congress takes up a bill actually appropriating the funds.

School Construction—House leaders publicly declare they will bring up the Federal aid to education bill, but many observers consider it unlikely. Even if the House acts, the Senate is expected to bypass the bill rather than get into another civil rights row over school segregation.

Pay Boost Veto Seen

Postal Rates and Pay—The House is expected to pass legislation increasing postal rates and pay for postal workers. The Senate is considered almost certain to kill them, especially the rate increase bill. Mr. Eisenhower would be expected to veto any pay increase bill.

Hells Canyon—The Senate has passed a bill calling for Federal construction of a Snake River dam on the Idaho-Oregon border. The House will take it up and probably kill it.

On the congressional doubtful list are bills to exempt natural gas producers from direct Federal controls, changes in the immigration laws, statehood for Alaska and Hawaii. At best these probably would be carried over until next year.

But the House is expected to act on a bill calling for a revision of the so-called status of forces agreements under which foreign nations try American soldiers for crimes committed on their soil. It is an outgrowth of the furor over Army Specialist William S. Girard, who killed a Japanese woman.

Bypass Move Left Up To Entire Senate

Post-Herald Miami Fla. Fri. 6-21-57

Russell Loses In Argument For Committee Referral

WASHINGTON, June 20 (AP)—Vice President Nixon submitted to the Senate tonight the question of whether the House-approved civil rights bill could be placed on its legislative calendar without being referred to committee.

Nixon said he did not regard as well taken a point of order made by Sen. Russell (D., Ga.) against parliamentary procedure

which had been invoked by advocates of the measure.

However, he said that rather than rule one way or the other himself, he would put the issue to the Senate for a decision by majority vote.

The vote could come very soon, but was not immediately ordered.

Nixon's statement capped nearly six hours of debate on a move by a coalition of Republicans and Northern Democrats to force action on the legislation and bypass the Senate Judiciary Committee, where a companion measure has been stalled for months.

The move to bypass the Judiciary Committee and put the bill directly on the Senate calendar was initiated by Senate Republican Leader Knowland of California.

Knowland contended that the Senate's Rule 14 permits a bill already passed by the House to be placed on the Senate calendar for action without reference to a committee.

Russell raised a point of order, disputing this. He said Rule 14 had been "superseded and annulled" by the Congressional Reorganization Act of 1946. He said this act requires that all House bills be referred to committee for consideration before they can be brought to the floor for Senate action.

The Senate Judiciary Committee has not yet reported out a civil rights bill which a subcommittee approved last March 19. This bill, like the administration bill passed by the House, would set up new federal procedure for dealing with complaints that Negroes' civil rights are abridged in the South.

Knowland told the Senate Rule 14 should be used sparingly to by-pass a committee, but he said its use was justified when it becomes "obvious that an attempt is being made to prevent the Senate from functioning as a legislative body."

Sen. Humphrey scoffed at Russell's argument that the Senate would be thrown into chaos if committees were bypassed. Humphrey said the only arguments that opponents have to using the rule is that "they don't like it."

"Some of us don't like not having a chance to vote on civil rights legislation," Humphrey said.

Russell recalled that in 1948, in a somewhat similar situation on an oleomargarine bill, Knowland supported the argument of Sen. Millikin (R., Colo.) who contended that the Reorganization Act had made Rule 14 inoperable. In reply, Knowland said this was not a fair comparison since in the earlier case there was also a dispute over committee jurisdiction.

In the 1948 case, Russell said, the Senate voted 56-15 in favor of Millikin's argument "and that the bill should go to committee."

If it should reverse itself now, Russell said, it would "throw us into legislative chaos." He agreed with Sen. McClellan (D., Ark.) who said the effect would be to enable any senator at any time to place any bill on the calendar without it having been considered by a committee.

Sen. Sparkman (D., Ala.) had predicted Nixon would rule that the House bill can be put before the Senate.

"Vice President Nixon is running for president," Sparkman said. "It (his ruling) will be favorable to the Eisenhower civil rights program and a bid for the Negro vote."

GOP Buoyant Over Civil Rights Gains

By Marquis Childs

IN THE WHITE House these days there is an atmosphere of buoyant confidence reminiscent of the first heady weeks when President Eisenhower had led the Republicans back to power after 20 long years of wandering in the desert.

Childs

The immediate reason is the passage of a civil rights bill in the House, with the Southern Democrats routed again and again on the jury-trial amendment by a nearly solid phalanx of Republicans. The White House succeeded in switching a minimum of 25 Republican votes, and the number may have been as high as 45.

"Look, we did it," is what White House aides are saying with an almost incredulous sense of what the power of the Executive can mean when it is turned on.

Northern Democrats active in the civil rights fight, such as Rep. Richard Bolling of Missouri, are saying that it could have happened at any time during the past four and a half years of the Eisenhower Administration had they wanted it to happen. Bolling more than a year ago advised his fellow Democrats that the only chance of getting civil rights legislation was if the Administration were to label a bill an Eisenhower bill and then get behind it.

THE SENATE will be much tougher. But Senator Douglas (D-Ill.), leader of the civil rights group on his side of the aisle, is optimistic. He points out that the maneuver whereby the House bill was put directly on the calendar, short-circuiting the Judiciary Committee, had cut the number of filibusters from four to two. And Douglas believes that two filibusters are not an insuperable obstacle. It means that if the battle is joined, Congress will be here at least until Sept. 1 and perhaps well into the fall.

Senator Ives (R-N. Y.) is pessimistic about the chances for civil rights in the Senate. But, as Douglas says, to concede probable defeat is to insure the death of the right-to-vote bill in the morass of a filibuster.

Win or lose in the Senate, the Republicans are going ahead with extensive plans to attract and hold the Negro vote in the North as the key to the election of 1960. The sparkplug is Vice President Nixon, who now plans to go to Atlanta, Ga., in the early fall to make a speech putting the whole issue of civil rights and discrimination on the line.

Ostensibly Nixon will be going as chairman of the President's Committee on Government Contracts.

But actually, as will be evident to all concerned, Nixon will be going in response to the plea of the Rev. Martin Luther King, leader of the antisegregation fight in Montgomery, Ala., who recently had a well-publicized meeting with the Vice President.

IN THE FIELD of foreign policy, the Republicans are pushing a move that has strong implications in domestic politics. This is to create a division and an Assistant Secretary for African Affairs. The authorizing bill has already passed the Senate and is waiting action in the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

This, together with additional consulates in Africa and improved and increased personnel in what has for American diplomacy been largely unknown territory, was one of Nixon's principal recommendations when he returned from his good-will mission to Africa.

With him on that trip was Rep. Frances Bolton of Ohio, who two years ago made an extensive African survey tour with two or three Foreign Relations staff members. She is one of the most ardent advocates of an American policy that will actively aid Africans moving toward independence and statehood.

She was talked about at one time as the Assistant Secretary for African Affairs, even though this frightened State Department bureaucrats, who were fearful that she would come right out, as she has in the past, and say that naughty word "colonial." Mrs. Bolton is now said to have been persuaded that she can be more helpful in advancing her ideas if she stays in the House.

These are deeds that speak louder than words. Democrats with large numbers of Negro voters in their districts are distinctly uneasy, and they are thinking not of 1960 but 1958.

Washington Dateline

Civil Rights Start Is Made

From Our Wire Services

WASHINGTON, June 5.

THE House voted 290 to 117 today to begin debate tomorrow on the Administration's controversy-laden Civil Rights Bill, with approval late next week probable.

Planning their principal fight in the Senate, even Southerners privately conceded the likelihood that the House would repeat the performance of last year, when a civil rights bill carried the House 279 to 126, only to die in the Senate.

The chief effort of the Southern-led opposition to the bill will be to tack on an amendment requiring jury trials of persons who flout civil injunctions against civil rights violations. The Senate Judiciary Committee approved such an amendment Monday.

Reuther Hits Congress For Civil Rights Delay

DETROIT, June 27 (AP).—Walter P. Reuther says "the people in Congress have been on the longest sitdown strike in America —80 long years" in not enacting full civil rights legislation.

"We think it is about time for them to terminate the sitdown strike," the United Auto Workers president told the convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People last night.

"We need the courage to tell both political parties they should be ashamed of their shoddy efforts on civil rights," he said.

Pledges UAW Backing

In a speech before a mass meeting in the Henry and Edsel Ford Auditorium, Mr. Reuther pledged the support of the UAW's 1.5 million members to help the NAACP obtain civil rights for Negroes in the South.

Mr. Reuther told the applauding crowd, "We are with you all the way until victory is ours."

Sharing the platform with Mr. Reuther was the UAW's Washington attorney, Joseph L. Rauh, jr., national vice chairman of Americans for Democratic Action.

Mr. Rauh drew applause with his declaration that the White House should throw its weight behind the association to halt "the current effort in many Southern States to put the NAACP out of business."

Test Suits Proposed

Mr. Rauh proposed that President Eisenhower "use his great influence to call for an end to the attacks upon the NAACP." He suggested that Vice President Nixon "address public meetings in the heart of the South" in support of NAACP. He also called on the Attorney General to bring test suits on behalf of the NAACP.

Mr. Reuther declared "the problem of civil rights in the United States is an international issue." He called it "the key issue in the world."

Half the world's population, he said, is made up of colored people and he added: "They are asking us 'How do you square your noble professions with ugly practices in the civil rights field?'"

Mr. Reuther predicted segregationists in the Senate will filibuster next month in an attempt to defeat the House-approved civil rights bill. He called on supporters of the bill to "outlast the filibuster" if it takes until next January.

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'Civil Righters' Request Action Following Easter

Times-Picayune P.5
Fri. 3-22-57
New Orleans, La.

WASHINGTON, March 21 (AP)—Four members of the House rules committee, abandoning hope of a House vote on civil rights legislation before the Easter recess, moved Thursday for prompt consideration thereafter.

The move, intended to prevent delay beyond the last week of April or first of May, was aimed at Chairman Howard Smith (D-Va.), an outspoken opponent of the legislation. Smith has at his command parliamentary means to slow up the measure even though a majority of the committee may favor it.

Southerners in the House, expecting passage in that branch of the measure backed by President Eisenhower and many Northern and Western members, have concentrated on delaying it so that Southern members of the Senate may be able to stage a filibuster in that branch late in the session when legislation is piling up.

The four rules committeemen Thursday made a formal request in writing to Smith for a special meeting to determine when hearings will be held on a resolution sending the bill to the House for action.

Rep. Bolling (D-Mo.), one of the signers, said that rules require Smith to call such a meeting within a week after receiving such a request and that he must announce his decision within three days.

Bolling said the main purpose of the letter was to start the specified time running. Even so, he calculated, if all permissible procedures are used, the bill would be kept from the House until just before the recess, expected to begin April 18 and last about 10 days. The House would not attempt to act on the bill without several days of debate.

Signing the request, beside Bolling, were Reps. Madden (D-Ind.), Delaney (D-N. Y.), and O'Neill (D-Mass.).

CIVIL RIGHTS HAS A CHANCE TO WIN THIS TIME

Times P.7-C
3-24-57

By CABELL PHILLIPS

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, March 23—Congress may very well be on the way to passing the first substantial body of civil rights legislation in fifty years.

Signs accumulated on Capitol Hill this week that this perennial issue is heading for a showdown in the next month or so, and that the margin of power in the controversy appears to rest narrowly with the civil rights advocates. Southern opponents, who are as adamant as ever, may upset this prophecy, but their prospects of doing so are slowly diminishing.

The week's significant developments were these:

(1) The full Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives reported out its bill after exhaustive hearings and with only a few modifications.

(2) A companion measure cleared a Judiciary subcommittee in the Senate and was sent up to the full committee.

(3) Efforts were begun in both chambers to bypass the principal civil rights road blocks in each—Representative Howard W. Smith, Democrat of Virginia and chairman of the House Rules Committee, and Senator James O. Eastland, Democrat of Mississippi and chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee. These efforts are rated as having a better-than-even chance of frustrating the delaying tactics by which civil rights bills have been strangled in the past.

(4) A growing, but so far unsubstantiated, conviction that the two key leaders of Congress, Senator Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson and Speaker of the House Sam Rayburn, Southerners both, would do nothing to hinder the orderly progress of civil rights through the legislative mill, up to and including passage.

Administration Request

The bills facing the House and Senate are closely modeled on the original proposal asked by the Administration last January. In substance they provide for:

(1) Creation of a six-member nonpartisan commission to study the status of civil rights throughout the country and to make legislative recommendations to Congress within two years.

(2) Setting up of a civil rights division in the Department of Justice under an Assistant Attorney General.

(3) Authority for the Attorney General to initiate civil actions (temporary or permanent injunctions) to prevent persons' being deprived of their civil rights.

(4) Addition of new language to the civil rights statutes aimed specifically at preventing interference with a person's right to vote in any election for national officers.

Long History

Proponents of civil rights legislation regard this as a modest effort to correct a body of evils which, they argue, has served to disenfranchise hundreds of thousands of Negroes in the South since the turn of the century. They have striven repeatedly over the last two decades to get such laws as these on the statute books, and the campaign platforms of both parties have, superficially at least, endorsed their objectives.

With unfailing regularity, however, Southern opposition to any Federal "meddling" with states right and established racial patterns has prevailed. While civil rights bills have passed the House on several occasions—one similar to that now under consideration was voted 279-126 last July—they have uniformly been buried in the Senate, either by filibuster or by parliamentary suffocation. The 1956 bill was bottled up in Senator Eastland's Judiciary Committee until the Senate adjourned.

There have been extensive hearings on both the House and Senate bills in the last sixty days. Southern Governors, Attorneys General and other influential spokesmen for the region heaped abuse on the measures as contrary to the Constitution, as an invasion of states rights and as a device for further aggravating the already tense racial situation in the South.

The sharpest fire has been aimed at the proposal granting the Attorney General the right to move in on real or suspected deprivation of rights without waiting for the aggrieved party to exhaust the remedies available to him in the local and state courts.

The opponents' argument was that the Federal courts would usurp the responsibilities of local authority, and that the attendant investigations of the alleged crimes would create a "national Gestapo." At the very least, the Southerners argued, it should be stipulated that such cases should be tried by a jury.

Federal Issue

The response to this has been, first, that interference with the right to vote and other civil liberties is in violation of the Constitution and thereby within the jurisdiction of the Federal courts; and, second, since only civil remedies are sought under the proposed legislation, there is no obligation to stipulate trial before a jury instead of before a judge.

At the heart of this latter argument is the fact, demonstrated many times over, that Southern juries have often been swayed by prejudice rather than by evidence in deciding civil rights cases.

The stratagems by which the bills' sponsors hope to force early and decisive action are seemingly well laid.

In the House, four Democratic members of the Rules Committee from Northern states took the unusual step of formally requesting Chairman Smith to schedule a prompt committee vote on clearing the civil rights measure to the floor. This initiative is customarily left to the chairman. If a vote can be forced, however, clearance of the bill is almost certain. So, also, is its passage once it reaches the House floor.

On the Senate side, Senator Thomas C. Hennings Jr., Democrat of Missouri, who was chairman of the subcommittee in charge of the civil rights bill, has made a similar request of Chairman Eastland to force a full Judiciary committee vote to send the measure to the Senate floor. (The Rules Committee procedure is not followed in the Senate). He says he has the votes to force the chairman's hand if he proves reluctant.

Hennings Move

In a second step on Thursday, Senator Hennings, joined by Senator Everett Dirksen, Republican of Illinois, introduced the House civil rights bill as a substitute for their own. The two differ only in minor details. By this gambit he hopes to undercut the familiar Senatorial stall of "waiting to see what the House does," and to force virtually simultaneous debate in both chambers.

Should these stratagems work, the civil rights bill will be up for consideration possibly within a month. This is of high importance, since Southern opponents are certain to resort to their familiar weapon of the filibuster to prevent a Senate vote on the bill. A filibuster in midsession, when there is no pressure of other legislation blocked behind it, or when there is no threat of a delayed adjournment, operates under more than the usual handicaps.

Another unusual handicap of the filibuster this time is that there seems to be a conscientious and high-level determination not to let it again be the graveyard of civil rights legislation. Both parties have taken official positions promising such legislation, and both are cognizant of the large shift in Negro voting last November.

Civil Rights Bill Softened by OK Of Jury Trials

Inquirer P.1
Tues. 6-4-57
Philadelphia Pa.

WASHINGTON, June 3 (UP).—The Senate Judiciary Committee voted 7-to-3 today to wipe out one of the South's chief objections to President Eisenhower's civil rights bill by guaranteeing jury trials to certain accused violators.

The committee acted a few hours before the Justice Department made public a letter from Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., in which he declared that the change in the Administration's bill would destroy the effectiveness of civil rights legislation. He said the amendment would "undermine the authority of the Federal courts by seriously weakening their power to enforce their lawful orders."

GRANTS TRIAL BY JURY

The committee adopted an amendment by Sen. J. Ervin, Jr. (D., N. C.), which would grant a jury trial to persons charged with violating Federal court injunctions forbidding interference with the right to vote.

The amendment was a substitute for a right-to-work proposal by Sen. John L. McClellan (D., Ark.). McClellan said he might reword his amendment and offer it later. It would outlaw the union shop in labor-management contracts.

WEIGHTED JURIES CITED

The vote was a victory for Southern Democrats, who have argued that the original bill would violate the right of trial by jury. They said persons accused of violating court injunctions would be charged with contempt of court and tried only by a judge.

Opponents of the Ervin amendment have argued that most civil rights cases presumably would be heard in the South and juries would be weighted in favor of defendants. They said judges always consider contempt of their own orders.

Voting for the Ervin amendment were Chairman James O. Eastland (D., Miss.) and Sens. Olin D. Johnston (D., S. C.), Joseph C. O'Mahoney (D., Wyo.), John Marshall Butler (R., Md.), Estes Kefauver (D., Tenn.), McClellan and Ervin.

Opposed were Sens. Alexander Wiley (R., Wis.), Arthur V. Watkins (R., Utah) and Everett M. Dirksen (R., Ill).

Thomas L. Stokes

Glib Tongues Erect Civil Rights Barrier

WASHINGTON—If you've ever lived in a Southern town where the big trees reach confidingly over the sidewalks to create a comfortable oasis of shade on hot days, you can understand how much a part of life in such a beguiling atmosphere is talk, just talk.

It took only a half-hour of talk—which for a Southerner is really no talk at all—to delay for another week consideration by the Senate Judiciary Committee of President Eisenhower's civil rights bill which, among other things, would try to protect Negroes in their right to vote in the South.

It happened Monday in the Judiciary Committee. Sen. Tom Hennings (D-Mo), chairman of a subcommittee which recently approved the bill after prolonged hearings, finally got recognition after an hour and a half from the committee chairman, Sen. Jim Eastland (D-Miss) for a motion to take up the bill. Only half an hour remained before the automatic end of the committee session at noon.

That was not even a workout for a couple of Southerners who took their cue from their chairman—the somewhat pixy Sen. Sam J. Ervin Jr. (D-NC) with such an innocent face and manner—and Sen. Olin Johnston (D-SC), a solemn thunderer.

They consumed the half-hour by objecting that neither the subcommittee report nor its hearings had been printed and that any action should wait that.

The upshot: Postponement until the next regular meeting of the committee next Monday.

Meanwhile, in the House another Southerner, the veteran Howard Smith (D-Va), chairman of the Rules Committee, is holding up the Eisenhower administration civil rights bill there, though it already has been approved by the House Judiciary Committee. But sooner or later the bill will get to the floor there and get passed, as was the case last year.

The Senate always has been the barrier impossible to hurdle. Despite all the smooth talk from Southern leaders that there is certain to be action on some sort of civil rights bill this session, you can feel the iron determination behind the purring voice.

For Ervin it can be said that he has cleverly created an issue which has wide appeal. This is his insistence on the right of trial by jury in cases under this bill affecting election officials who prevent Negroes from voting. The bill would authorize a judge to issue an injunction against interference with the right of Negroes to vote.

As Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell Jr., who sponsors this injunctive process, and every Southerner know, it will be hard to get Southern juries to punish election officials who prohibit Negroes from voting. That it is believed necessary to bypass the jury trial is a reflection on the South. But the attorney general thinks that not only is essential, but also is entirely proper and legal. He and Ervin argued that for three days before the Judiciary Committee.

But Ervin has got hold of a crusade with his defense of the right of trial by jury.

Watkins Says Rights Bill Will Reach Senate Floor

By the Associated Press

Senator Watkins, Republican of Utah, said today proponents of civil rights legislation "have the votes' 'to get the bill out of the Senate Judiciary Committee but it will take "several meetings."

Senator Watkins, a leader in administration forces battling for the measure, told a reporter he was not all all dismayed because the committee did not act on the bill yesterday—the first day it was before it.

"This is not unusual," he said. "This is a complex piece of legislation about which many Senators feel very deeply. It will take time but I am sure we will get it out to the Senate in a reasonable time."

By "a reasonable time," he said he meant a number of committee meetings.

The Utah Senator said the Judiciary Committee yesterday "got involved in another matter" and had only 20 minutes for the civil rights bill.

Hennings to Fight On

Senator Hennings, Democrat of Missouri, chairman of the subcommittee which approved the administration's proposals on civil rights, had sought immediate consideration of the subject, but was unable to get a vote on the motion. He said he would press for action "again and again and again."

He estimated a vote yesterday would have been 8-4 for his proposal.

Clarence Mitchell, Washington director for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, charged the measure was being held up by "deception and filibuster."

Southern Senators have boasted of pigeonholing bills, he said, adding that at yesterday's judiciary session they gave "a practical demonstration of how this technique works."

The bill, as reported to the full committee by Senator Hennings' group, would empower the Government to use court injunctions to enforce civil rights, create a presidential commission to investigate complaints of civil rights violations and establish a civil rights division in the Justice Department.

Stress Injunction Provision

Southern Senators so far have concentrated most of their fire on the injunction provision, contending it would deprive many citizens of the right of jury trials.

In line with this strategy, Senator Ervin, Democrat of North Carolina, yesterday took the Senate floor in a bid for labor support on the issue.

"The most shameful story in the judicial annals of America," he declared, "was written during the generation preceding our own when Federal judges robbed labor of its right to trial by jury, its right of freedom of speech by substituting government by injunction for government by law."

Civil Rights Advance

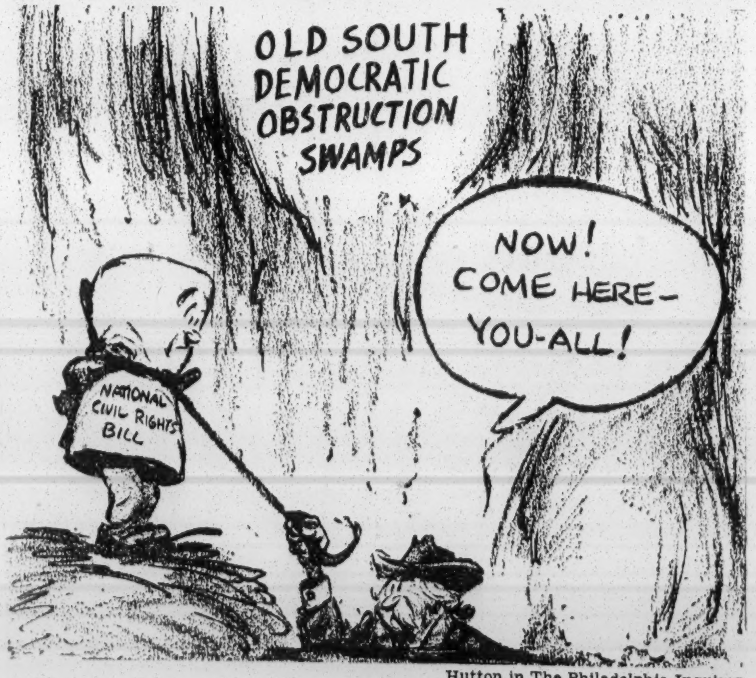
(From The New York Times)

President Eisenhower's civil rights bill has now been approved with some modifications by the House Judiciary Committee, more than a month earlier than a comparable measure last year, which was delayed until April, when the Administration finally got around to sending its proposals to Congress. However, the new bill still has a long and difficult road to travel; and the President will have to work hard for it if it is not to suffer the same fate as the abortive 1956 attempt to enact a civil rights program.

Most immediate obstacle is the the House Rules Committee, frequently a burial ground for lost and liberal causes. Sexton of this graveyard is Representative Howard W. Smith of Virginia. Last year it took two months for the bill to clear the Rules Committee alone, and still another month before it passed the House itself—only to be sidetracked in the senate. This year, if and when it does reach the Senate floor, it will face an almost certain filibuster. Nevertheless, the political situation is such that chances for passage of some kind of civil rights legislation do seem slightly brighter than usual.

As it has come out of the Judiciary Committee the bill is weaker than when it went in. But it still provides a basis for Federal legal action to support the efforts of Negroes in the South (and of course any place else where necessary) to obtain the rights guaranteed them under the Constitution, especially their voting rights. Passage even of the mild legislation now before Congress would be a long-overdue recognition of Federal responsibility; but it cannot be achieved, in the face of formidable Southern opposition, without vigorous backing from the White House *and* on down through the ranks of the liberals in both parties. Quite apart from the moral issue, which is clear, there are also great political stakes in this struggle as the Negro vote assumes an ever-increasing importance.

Supporters Hope Bill Gets to Floor In Time to Weather a Filibuster



Hutton in The Philadelphia Inquirer

"Captive."

HOUSE KILLS BID FOR JURY TRIALS IN RIGHTS CASES

Rejects Demand of South by 199 to 167 After a Debate Lasting Six Days

VOTE ON BILL MONDAY

Passage of Administration's Measure Likely but Stiff Test Waits in Senate

By C. P. TRUSSELL

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, June 14—The House of Representatives rejected today a demand from the South that jury trials be guaranteed to defendants accused of denying civil rights, especially in the field of voting. The vote was 159 to 167.

This test foreshadowed passage of the bill on Monday. It will then go to the Senate, where it will face fiercer and perhaps more effective opposition from the South.

The jury question was the biggest issue in House consideration of President Eisenhower's new effort to get a civil rights program through Congress. The House had spent three days of general debate and three more in arguing the jury trial proposal. The issue was viewed as the crux of the whole fight.

The Administration bill seeks to give the Attorney General the right to institute injunctions, as a civil law proceeding, against persons or groups accused of depriving anyone of his legal right to vote. The mere entry of the Government into a case would ban a jury trial.

Debate Almost Record

Six days of House debate—almost a record in the place where debate is supposed to be limited rigidly—have pointed to a conlcusion that a denial of jury trials in cases of alleged contempt of injunctions would strike hardest at the South.

Arguments, including those of Herbert Brownell Jr., Attorney General, have included a suggestion that all-white juries in the South would hesitate to convict a defendant accused of denying voting rights.

House leaders at first were determined to get a final vote on the whole program tonight or tomorrow night. In midafternoon, Representative Emanuel Celler, Brooklyn Democrat handling the bill as chairman of the Judiciary Committee, attempted to close debate within an hour. When he asked how many still wanted to speak on the subject, forty-two members arose.

It finally was agreed to take a vote on the jury trial amendment and then adjourn until Monday, when a final voting would be taken.

Meanwhile, the Southern proponents of a jury trial guarantee were aided by members from the North. Surprisingly, the proposed amendment that underwent hours of debate was offered by Representative Russell W. Keeney, Republican of Illinois, a first-term member of the House.

Mr. Keeney's amendment somewhat watered down the original plans of the Southern delegations. It would have limited a guarantee of jury trials to cases in which violators of injunctions had committed a criminal offense under Federal or state law. This left open to wide controversy what would constitute a civil or a criminal offense.

It was argued in some quarters that, even in civil proceedings, a person who had violated an injunction still would be liable to fine or prison penalty under a Federal judge's finding. This, it was said, would put the violation in the criminal law column.

Representative Celler raised a point of order against the Keeney amendment. It was overruled by Representative Amie J. Forand, Democrat of Rhode Island, presiding officer.

The South seemed to bow to the Keeney amendment, though it fell short of the original plan. No substitutes were offered despite the fact that other and stiffer proposals had been prepared for a test.

The vote, taken without a recording of the members' decisions, was not necessarily the last test. There remained a chance that the whole House could be put on record Monday, through a motion to recommit the measure with instructions to insert the jury trial and other provisions. Any such moves are expected to fail.

Monday's big fight is expected to be over a provision in the Administration bill that would let the Federal Government step in with injunctions against denial of civil rights even though all of the state remedies in such cases have not been exhausted.

States' Rights an Issue

This is called the states' rights amendment. The issue of states' rights has figured in every civil rights fight during the last generation. The South has contended, in this instance, that the Administration bill would permit the Federal Government to nullify state laws and centralize legal power within the Federal establishment.

A rough fight is expected Monday. The South has accused House members of voting against the sponsors of amendments rather than deciding according to the merits of the proposals.

This appears to explain why Northerners instead of Southerners have sponsored the most recent amendments. Members of the North have denied that they are voting according to amendment sponsorship.

Debate today was bitter but generally polite. Representative Keeney said he had offered his amendment because, as a former Illinois judge, he had always viewed a jury as an integral part of any court.

Representative Adam Clayton Powell Jr., Democrat of Manhattan, returned to the House chamber from his sick bed to denounce those who had fought the Administration program.

Stripped of the "hypocrisy, dishonesty and subterfuges" employed by the opposition, he told the House, the battle against the program is without validity. The House, he said, has a choice between "hypocrisy and honesty."

Liberals Traded Rights For Dam, Alcorn Says

WASHINGTON, June 23 (UP) — Republican National Chairman Meade Alcorn charged today that six "self-styled Liberal Democrats" sold out civil rights in the Senate last week to win Southern Democratic support for the Hell's Canyon Dam bill.

Sen. Mike Mansfield (D-Mont), Senate Democratic whip and acting majority leader, promptly denied the charge. He said there was "no deal of any kind, sort or nature and there were no trades on the part of any Democrat with any other Democrat for votes."

Those accused by Alcorn of having made "a deal to swap off civil rights for Hell's Canyon" were Sens. Wayne Morse (D-Ore), John F. Kennedy (D-Mass), Warren G. Manguson (D-Wash), James E. Murray (D-Mont), Joseph C. O'Mahoney (D-Wyo) and Mansfield.

'TRUE COLORS'

Alcorn said the "band of self-styled 'Liberal' Democrats who have been hoodwinking minority groups for years showed their 'true colors' when they backed a move to send the civil rights bill to the Senate Judiciary Committee, which has bottled up civil rights legislation.

The move was defeated Thursday, 45 to 39. A move will be made sometime after July 8 to bring the civil rights bill up for a vote. Sen. Allen J. Ellender (D-La) has warned that the move will be met with a Southern filibuster.

Alcorn noted in a statement that the day after the civil rights vote the Senate passed a Democratic-sponsored bill to build a government-financed high dam in the Hell's Canyon region of the Snake River on the Oregon-Idaho border.

BACKERS

He recalled that all of the Democrats he named, except Kennedy, were sponsors of the Hell's Canyon bill.

"These Senators were joined in against Hell's Canyon." Alcorn than a dozen anti-civil rights Southern Democrat Senators, five of whom had in other years voted against Hells Canyon," Alcorn said.

"When it came to a choice between free-wheeling New Deal spending and civil rights, the Northern Democrat 'Liberals' chose spending," he said. "This is an object lesson in political double-standard morality. The people who were sold out will not forget it."

Mansfield, defending Northern and Southern Democrats alike, noted that three Republicans — Sens. Margaret Chase Smith (Me), Edward J. Thye (Minn) and George Aiken (Vt)—changed their positions on Hell's Canyon from last year and voted for the bill.

"I am quite certain they, like the Democrats, did not enter into any deal of any kind with anyone," he said.

Mansfield said that "if Alcorn would look into the matter" he would find that "the private power people were taking soundings for 10 days" before the Hell's Canyon vote.

He said they found that the rapid tax write-off granted Idaho Power Co. for construction of two private dams had "caused a lot of Republicans and Democrats to review their votes of last year."

Mansfield said many of these Senators changed their position on the basis of the special tax privilege which had been offered to Idaho Power by the government and accepted by the firm.

On the eve of the Senate vote on the public power bill, the firm suddenly notified the government that it had switched and was rejecting the tax privilege.

Southern Strategy Unveiled

WASHINGTON, July 2 (UP)—Sen. Richard B. Russell (D., Ga.) proposed today that President Eisenhower's civil rights bill be submitted to the people in a national referendum. He said the bill would destroy constitutional guarantees.

The Southern bloc leader made the proposal in a Senate speech which clearly foreshadowed the strategy of Dixie senators when the House-passed measure is called up for action, probably next week.

Russell was drafting his proposal to provide that the civil rights bill would become effective only if approved by majority vote held in connection with the 1958 national congressional elections.

As Russell outlined Southern arguments against the bill, Republican supporters of the measure discussed their strategy with Eisenhower at the weekly White House legislative conference.

Senate GOP Leader William F. Knowland (Cal.) told reporters afterwards that Republicans would not aim for a specific adjournment date for Congress this year because of the expected Southern filibuster.

Knowland said a fixed date would give the Southerners an "ideal spot" to shoot against in their effort to talk down the bill.

Russell told the Senate the bill would cause "unspeakable confusion, bitterness and bloodshed in a great section of our common country."

He charged that newspapers and radio-television media had abused the constitutional guarantee of freedom of the press by engaging in a "campaign of deception" about the real effects of the legislation.

Russell said he was confident it would be defeated in a national referendum because the people "know you cannot deny constitutional gaurantees to the white South without endangering the loss of those guarantees to all the people of this nation."

Sen. Paul H. Douglas (D., Ill.) replied that Russell was trying to shift attention from the bill's main purpose to protect voting rights. Sen. Everett M. Dirksen (R., Ill.) commented that he had seldom seen "so many ghosts discovered under a single bed."

Senate Votes 45-39 To Bypass Committee on Civil Rights Act

News + Observer Fri. 6-21-57 Raleigh N.C. P.1

WASHINGTON, June 20 (AP)—The Senate voted tonight to take a short cut on civil rights legislation—a decision that spelled a big preliminary victory for backers of the bill.

Over hot Southern protests, the chamber in a dramatic night session voted to by-pass the Senate Judiciary Committee, where Dixie members have bottled up civil rights legislation for months, and put the bill on the Senate calendar.

The vote was 45-39.

That means any member can move to take it up for debate. But when such a motion is made a real fireworks will begin. Southerners are in a position to launch a filibuster against the measure—a talkathon that could be broken only by exhaustion or by a vote of 64 of the 96 senators.

Thus tonight's decision, while a jolt to the Southerners, was strictly a preliminary one.

In ordering the parliamentary shortcut, the Senate overrode bitter protests from Southerners that the procedure smacked of "a legislative lynching bee" and would lead to "chaos."

But supporters of the move contended it was perfectly proper under Senate rules and was made necessary by the failure of the Judiciary Commitee to act.

The issue came to a vote after Vice President Nixon announced he would not rule one way or the other but would leave it to the Senate's decision.

Nixon did say, however, that he regarded as not well taken a point of order raised by Sen. Russell (D-Ga) against the unusual parliamentary procedure invoked by advocates of the civil rights bill.

Goes to Calendar.

The showdown vote came on whether or not to sustain Russell's point of order. The Senate voted to override it, with the result that the civil rights bill went to the calendar.

Voting to put the bill on the calendar were 34 Republicans and 11 Democrats. Voting to send it to the Judiciary Committee were 34 Democrats and five Republicans.

After their victory, the advocates of the civil rights bill nailed it down with a 49-36 vote to table a motion to reconsider the previous vote.

Nixon Statement.

Knowland contended that this course was permitted under the Senate's Rule 14. Russell argued that Rule 14 had been superseded and annulled by the Congressional Reorganization Act of 1946.

Nixon, the Senate's presiding officer, read a lengthy statement in which he said that if Russell's point of order is overruled, "the Senate will have expressed its will and the bill will go on the calendar."

On the other hand, he said, if the Senate sustained the point of order, the House-passed measure would be referred to the Judiciary Committee.

Russell and other Southern senators had protested that success of the move launched by Knowland would mark the start of "a legislative lynching bee."

But Knowland and those backing him replied that use of the seldom-used rule was justified because civil rights lgislation has been bottled up in the committee for months.

Nixon's statement capped nearly six hours of debate on a move by a coalition of Republicans and northern Democrats to force action on the legislation and bypass the Senate Judiciary Committee, where a companion measure has been stalled for months.

The move to bypass the Judiciary Committee and put the bill directly on the senate calendar was initiated by Senate Republican Leader Knowland of California.

Liberals Sold Out, GOP Chief Says

Post-Herald P.1 B'ham Ala. Mon. 6-24-57

Accuses Five Demos Of Swapping Civil Rights For Hells Canyon Vote

WASHINGTON, June 23 (U.P.)—Republican National Chairman Meade Alcorn charged today that six "self-styled liberal Democrats" sold out civil rights in the Senate last week to win Southern Democratic support for the Hells Canyon Dam bill.

Sen. Mike Mansfield (D., Mont.). Senate Democratic whip and acting majority leader, promptly denied the charge. He said there was "no deal of any kind . . . no trades on the part of any Democrat with any other Democrat for votes."

Those accused by Alcorn of having made "a real to swap off civil rights for Hells Canyon" were Sens. Wayne Morse (D., Ore.), John F. Kennedy (D., Mass.), Warren G. Magnuson (D., Wash.), James E. Murray (D., Mont.), Joseph C. O'Mahoney (D., Mont.) and Mansfield.

Alcorn said the "band of self-styled 'liberal' Democrats who have been hoodwinking minority groups for years showed their true colors" when they backed a move to send the civil rights bill to the Senate Judiciary Committee, which has bottled up civil rights legislation.

The move was defeated Thursday, 45 to 39. A move will be made sometime after July 8 to bring the civil rights bill up for a vote. Sen. Allen J. Allender (D., La.) has warned that the move will be met with a Southern filibuster.

Alcorn noted that the day after the civil rights vote the Senate passed a Democratic-sponsored bill to build a government-financed high dam in the Hells Canyon region of the Snake River on the Oregon-Idaho border.

He recalled that all of the Democrats he named, except Kennedy, were sponsors of the Hells Canyon bill.

"These senators were joined in support of Hells Canyon by more than a dozen anti-civil rights Southern Democrat senators, five of whom had in other years voted against Hells Canyon," Alcorn said.

"When it came to a choice between free-wheeling New Deal spending and civil rights, the Northern Democrat 'liberals' chose spending," he said. "This is an object lesson in political double-standard morality. The people who were sold out will not forgot it."

Mansfield, defending Northern and Southern Democrats alike, noted that three Republicans—Margaret Chase Smith (Me.), Edward J. Thye (Minn.) and George Aiken (Vt.) — changed their positions on Hells Canyon from last year and voted for the bill.

Mansfield said that "if Mr. Alcorn would look into the matter" he would find that "the private power people were taking soundings for 10 days" before the Hells Canyon vote.

Civil Rights Moves On

Herald Tribune New York Sun 6-16-57

The long-contested Civil Rights Bill moved one step closer to enactment on Friday when the House rejected, in an unrecorded vote, the so-called jury trial amendment which had the ardent support of Southern Representatives. The bill would give the Attorney General the power to seek injunctions in Federal courts to safeguard the voting rights of citizens. If the amendment had been approved, then the violators of such injunctions would have been given jury trials instead of being fined or jailed by the court itself for contempt, the standard procedure. In other words, any one who prevented, or attempted to prevent, a Negro from voting in the South would have faced not the quick punishment of a Federal judge but a jury box full of presumably sympathetic white men.

Now that this subterfuge has been dealt with, the bill has a good chance of being passed tomorrow, although the Southerners still have an amendment or two up their sleeves they may try to tack on. Passage by the House, however, will represent only a minor victory. The House passed a similar bill last year, it will be remembered, but it went to its grave in the Senate Judiciary Committee, of which the powerful Senator Eastland of Mississippi is chairman. Furthermore, there is always the threat of a last-ditch Southern filibuster.

Much of the credit for what has just happened in the House can be given to President Eisenhower's personal influence. The Civil Rights Bill is a cornerstone of the Administration's domestic legislative program, and the President seems determined to secure its passage in an acceptable form. But the fight is far from over. Supporters of the bill must expect to make still greater efforts if this just, sensible and necessary measure is to become law at this session of Congress.

10 1957

Jury Trial Proposal Is Defeated In House; Aid Bill Gets Support

VOTED DOWN, 199-167

Representatives Agree To Act On Rights Measure By Monday Night

By MORRIS CUNNINGHAM

From The Commercial Appeal Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, June 14.—The House defeated a jury trial amendment to President Eisenhower's Civil Rights Bill Friday 199 to 167.

The amendment was the top issue in the bitter controversy over the bill and had been debated for six days, including six hours Friday.

Immediately after the vote, the House recessed until Monday noon with an agreement to reach a final vote on the bill by 6 Monday night.

Administration Victory

Defeat of the amendment was a victory for the Eisenhower Administration which had contended it would wreck the whole bill because Southern juries would not convict civil rights offenders.

The vote came on a non-record tally in which the opposing sides take turns moving up the middle aisle and being counted by tellers without their individual votes being recorded. Rules prevented a record vote.

Only about 30 to 40 Republicans and a scattering of Northern Democrats joined the solid bloc of Southerners voting for the amendment.

Representatives Clifford Davis (D., Tenn.) and Jamie L. Whitten (D., Miss.) said the Administration exerted heavy pressure on Republicans to oppose the amendment.

Southerners had thought last week they had enough votes to adopt the amendment. But the tide began to turn by the end of last week.

The Dixie Democrats, nevertheless, fought up until the last minute.

Offered By Illinois Man

In a surprise move, the amendment was offered by Representative Russell W. Keeney (D., Ill.). Patterned after a provision in labor's 1932 Norris-LaGuardia Act, it would have guaranteed a jury trial to anyone charged with criminal contempt of court as a result of violating Federal Court injunctions the bill would authorize to enforce civil rights.

Under a five-minute limit on speeches, nearly 50 Southerners and a scattering of Northern Republicans and Democrats spoke in behalf of the amendment.

They were answered by less than 20 Republicans and Northern and Western Democrats.

Representative Adam Clayton Powell (D., N. Y.), Negro civil rights leader, called the vote on the amendment "the acid test." Addressing himself to Northerners and Westerners, he warned: "The eyes of America are upon you and American citizens—black and white, Jew and Gentile, Protestant and Catholic—will know that you voted hypocrisy if you vote for trial by jury and then turn around and vote in favor of civil rights."

"No Constitutional Right"

Representative Emanuel Celler (D., N. Y.), manager and leading proponent of the bill, insisted there is no constitutional right to a jury trial in contempt cases.

"It is our considered judgment," the Brooklyn Democrat declared, "that this bill will not remove any of the present constitutional safeguards for trial by jury."

Representative Marguerite Stitt Church (R., Ill.) delivered a bitter attack against the South and said she would not vote for the amendment because a Southern jury refused to "punish" those responsible for the death of Emmet Louis Till, a Chicago Negro youth slain in Mississippi two years ago.

Representative Clare E. Hoffman (R., Mich.), replying to Mrs. Church and Representative Powell who also attacked Southern justice, pointed to lawlessness in Chicago and New York.

He said: "Someone seems to be getting murdered in Chicago every week." And he questioned: "What about the waterfront crime in New York?"

"If there ever was a wicked city, vice-ridden, it is the City of Chicago," the Michigan Republican, a former Chicago resident, said. And, he asked, "Does anyone think for a moment there is less crime in New York City than the whole South?"

Every member of the Mississippi delegation spoke for the amendment. Mr. Whitten, who followed Mrs. Church, cited cases in Mississippi in which juries convicted white persons for crimes against Negroes.

"There is no evidence," he declared, "that Southern juries are any less fair in dispensing justice than juries in any other part of the nation."

He Made No Real Effort

He charged the Administration has made no real effort to use present Federal criminal laws in civil rights cases and that therefore there is no evidence to support charges Southern juries are unfair in such cases.

Representative Toby Morris (D., Okla.) said Oklahoma has a constitutional provision for jury trials in criminal contempt cases and it has worked quite well.

"When you provide for jailing a man without a jury trial," he said, "you're going against the basic constitutional principles of this country."

"This vote today," the Oklahoman warned opponents, "is going to come back and haunt you. You're going to set a precedent you're going to be ashamed of."

Representative Tom Abernethy (D., Miss.) charged opponents of the amendment with "prejudice against the South." He cited Mrs. Church's speech which he called "a vicious attack against the South."

"I would like to say," he added, "that it is much easier to get a conviction against a white man in the South for a crime against a Negro than it is to get one against a Negro in the District of Columbia for a crime against a white woman."

Warns Of 'Dictators'

He charged the objective of the Civil Rights Bill is "to get around the right of trial by jury" and warned that "the dictators of Europe eliminated the right of trial by jury and the minorities were the first victims."

"The abolition of juries in Europe," Mr. Abernethy said, "led to the erection of two monuments—Buchenwald and Dachau."

Representative Frank E. Smith (D., Miss.) reviewed the history of jury trials in contempt cases and noted that labor was granted such right in the 1932 Norris-LaGuardia Act.

Representative William M. Colmer (D., Miss.) said that if the Civil Rights Bill is passed by Congress "it will contain a jury trial provision and no amount of pressure from the Administration can prevent it."

He also chided Mr. Celler for his 1932 advocacy of a jury trial amendment to the Norris-LaGuardia Act which he contrasted with the Brooklyn Democrat's opposition to the civil rights amendment.

Representative James Roosevelt (D., Calif.), whose district includes a large percentage of Negro voters, said the amendment would "establish the most evil of precedents which would destroy justice in this country."

Certain To Pass Bill

The House is certain to pass the bill when it comes to a final vote. And Southern leaders indicated they will offer only one other major amendment—one to require complainants to exhaust state administrative and judicial remedies before invoking the [illegible]eral powers in the Civil [illegible]ts Bill.

[illegible]e House-passed bill apparently will reach the Senate Tuesday where proponents have served notice they will move to bring it up for immediate consideration, by-passing the Senate Judiciary Committee.

Vice President Richard M. Nixon will have to rule on the motion and Southern senators are fearful he will rule in favor of immediate consideration.

The first test in the Senate could come on an appeal of the presiding officer's ruling to the Senate as a whole.

If the effect of these moves brought the bill before the Senate, a Southern filibuster could be expected to tsart at that point.

The Senate Judiciary Committee, headed by Senator James O. Eastland (D., Miss.), has approved a jury trial amendment to a companion bill before it.

Monday's Dilemma

The committee is slated to meet Monday and at that time its Southern members will be faced with a choice of voting out the bill before it—with its jury trial amendment—or waiting and running the risk of the House-passed bill without the amendment coming before the Senate.

A decision presumably will be made on this point before Monday's committee meeting.

The only chance for a record vote on the jury trial amendment in the House will come at the close of debate Monday. A motion that could lead to a record vote will be in order at that time and can be made providing the presiding officer recognizes the right member.

Jury Amendment Gains Strength

WASHINGTON, June 13 (U.P.)—Rep. Armistead Selden (D., Ala.) said today that a "substantial number" of congressmen have been won over to a civil rights amendment proposing jury trials in cases of criminal contempt.

The 6th District representative said his committee of three, including Rep. John Bell Williams (D., Miss.) and Rep. Robert Ashmore (D., S. C.), is contacting personally every member of the House to urge backing for the amendment.

(An Editorial)

1. Vice President Nixon disagrees with Senator Butler and declares the Senate is not a continuing body and each new Senate has the right to make its own rules.

2. Rule 22 permits a senator to talk without limit and prevent passage of any bill.

Ordinarily [illegible] of the senators can pass any bill, but a vote of 33 senators can prevent a bill from coming to the floor for consideration.

Thus Dixiecrat senators for 13 southern states have by filibuster or by veto bottled up every civil rights bill in the senate for 80 years.

They have thwarted passage of an anti-lynching bill, an anti-poll tax bill and a FEPC bill, etc.

President Eisenhower last year could not get his civil rights bills to a vote in the senate under Rule 22.

The Republican and Democratic parties are pledged to enact civil rights legislation.

Democrats pledged themselves also to change Senate rules so as to do away with the filibuster.

When 33 senators can bottle up a bill in the Senate, we have government by a minority.

Our constitution sets up a government based on majority rule.

It says nothing about unlimited debate.

That is constitutional government and colored people are not afraid of it.

If after four years in the Senate, Senator Butler doesn't know that every civil rights gain colored people have gotten has been through the courts and none through Congress, his eyes are closed to the facts.

The U.S. Senate is beating our brains out with Rule 22 and its false claim that a minority of the Senate has the right to carry civil rights bills around in its pockets so the Senate can't vote on them.

Senator Butler says he's "for civil rights, but." How shall he prove it when he voted last with the Dixiecrats to continue filibusters.

Senator Glenn Beall of Maryland was more realistic.

He voted against filibusters. Was Senator Beall wrong and Senator Butler right?

Vice President Nixon was on Senator Beall's side, not Senator Butler's.

Was Vice President Nixon wrong and Senator Butler right?

Senator Butler talks about the filibuster and minority rule preventing the late Franklin D. Roosevelt from packing the Supreme Court.

The filibuster and minority rule in the Senate prevented the United States from joining the League of Nations whereby World War II would have been prevented.

Any kind of government can be abused. But we are willing to take our chances any day on a government by a majority rather than a government by a filibustering minority.

A Few Bad Jury Verdicts Should Not Be Excuse For Destroying Trial By Jury

The Charleston, S.C., News and Courier

LIKE other wars, the war to mix the races in the South has its periods of great activity and its lulls. The last few months have been a quiet time on the integration front. One result has been a decline in concern on the part of white citizens.

A manifestation of decreased public interest in the race issue was attendance at a recent Charleston County Citizens Council meeting by only 10 persons, three of whom were officers of the group.

It is only natural that when the struggle is not vigorous, public enthusiasm for organizational activity declines. The importance of keeping the Citizens Council movement vigorous, however, becomes apparent when the struggle is intensified. It appears that the recent lull is coming to an end.

In Montgomery, Ala., last week, two white men were acquitted of the bombing of a Negro church. State's attorneys introduced evidence of signed confessions by the two men. The defense answered them, however, with assertions of coercion, intimidation and "police brutality."

We do not have any special information on the case, and we decline to set ourselves up as judges—at this distance and without all the facts—of the verdict. We do recognize however, the validity of the prosecution statement that one reason the NAACP-sponsored "civil rights" bill has strong backing in the North is the belief of Northerners that Dixie juries won't convict white men.

Certainly, Southern jurors can best protect their own region by abiding faithfully to their oaths as jurors. There is no room in the South for dynamiters or race gangsters of any type, whether black or white.

Because a jury renders a verdict that some individuals may not consider just is not cause for restricting the right of trial by jury—as the "civil rights" bill would do.

Associate Justice William J. Brennan of the U.S. Supreme Court made a statement only last month on the value of the jury system which should be read by every member of Congress. Justice Brennan said that "The jury is a symbol to Americans that they are bosses of their government. They pay the price, and willingly, of the imperfections, inefficiencies and, if you please, greater expense of jury trials because they set such store upon the jury system as a guaranty of the preservation of their liberties."

That statement should be a preface to any discussion of the Montgomery trial. One error on the part of a judge or jury is not sufficient reason for destroying a bulwark of our freedom. We repeat, we do not say that the Montgomery jury did or did not make an error.

Jury Trials Denied

The attempt to add a jury-trial amendment to the so-called civil rights bill has been beaten down in the House by a vote of 199 to 167. This 32-vote margin, according to Representative Willis, Democrat of Louisiana, resulted from White House pressure on Republican House members.

We do not know whether this is correct. If it is, it means that the President, who carried five Southern States last year, does not trust Southern jurors to live up to their oaths. For the real reason behind the drive against the jury-trial amendment was the fear, real or professed, that Southern juries would not convict defendants in civil rights contempt trials, regardless of the evidence.

Whatever the case with respect to the President, it is clear that the House has prejudged, and adversely prejudged, an entire area of the country. In effect, this was a vote of no confidence in the South, and that, we think, is a high price to pay for some supposed political advantage among Negro voters outside the South.

The jury-trial amendment was offered by Representative Keeney, a freshman Republican House member from Illinois. He said he submitted the amendment because as a judge in Illinois he had always considered a jury trial as an integral part of any court.

It required political courage for Mr. Keeney to take this stand, and, with respect to cases in which punishment for criminal contempt is comparable to punishment for other crimes, we think he is right. We do not believe that considerations of expediency, especially considerations based on speculation, justify bypassing the jury trial, and we trust that this matter will receive more earnest consideration in the Senate.

House to Pass Rights Bill, Senate Fight Shapes Up

By J. A. O'LEARY

The House is ready to pass the administration's civil rights bill today and send it to a stormy reception in the Senate.

Southern opponents, who failed several times yesterday to attach a jury trial amendment, may get a last-minute chance to offer it again as part of the motion to recommit, which precedes final passage.

In the Senate a coalition of Republicans and liberal Northern Democrats is poised for a quick showdown in the first of a three-round battle that faces the bill in that branch.

Good Chance of Winning

They have a good chance of winning the first round, which is designed to keep the House bill from going to the Judiciary Committee, which has had a similar bill before it since March without acting. Under the parliamentary situation, the pro civil righters need only a majority vote to sustain their contention that the Senate has the option of keeping a House bill on its calendar, or sending it to committee.

But to win the second and third rounds (having the bill made the pending business, and passing it) the supporters must either physically wear down a filibuster by the outnumbered Southern opponents, or line up 64 votes to invoke the seldom used filibuster-breaking rule.

Senate Republican Leader Knowland, who will play an active role in pushing the bill, made it clear today that if he succeeds in keeping the House bill from going to committee, he will not wait long to start the main battle with a motion to make the measure the pending business. He said he definitely would not put off the civil rights fight until all other major legislation is acted on. If that course was followed, Senators might not be willing to stay in Washington through the summer to pass a civil rights bill, he indicated.

The main feature of the pending bill is the authority it would confer on the Attorney General to seek injunctions in civil proceedings in Federal courts to protect the voting rights of citizens.

Fight for Jury Trial

Southerners in both houses have been fighting to obtain the right of trial by jury for State officials, or other persons, who may be cited for contempt if they violate an injunction. Friends of the bill, who want contempt cases left to the judge, say jury trials would render the bill ineffectual.

Other provisions call for creation of a six-member commission to hear complaints of violation of civil rights, and the setting up of a new civil rights division in the Justice Department, with an Assistant Attorney General in charge.

The House had expected to pass the bill last night. But the leaders put off the final roll call until today after learning of reports that opponents would have demanded the reading of the engrossed copy of the amendments. This would have forced the postponement in any event.

Without waiting for the bill to reach it, the Senate plunged into debate yesterday over the seldom-used rule which will be invoked late today or tomorrow to keep the civil rights measure from going to committee.

Contention Challenged

The Southerners, under Senator Russell of Georgia, contend that the Congressional Reorganization Act of 1947 requires the House bill to go through a Senate committee and that this law supersedes the older Senate rule 14, which is to be invoked.

Senator Knowland challenges this contention. He agreed that the rule permitting the bypassing of a committee should be used "sparingly." But he argues it is justified in this case because of the failure of the Judiciary Committee to report out the civil rights bill in six months.

Senator Douglas of Illinois spokesman for a group of 13 liberal Democrats, announced late yesterday that they will join in support of the move to bypass the committee.

He made the announcement after his group had suffered the defection of Senator Morse, Democrat of Oregon, who joined the group last week, but announced yesterday he had reversed himself because of a fear that use of this shortcut might later come back to haunt the liberals.

In a week of debate, which ended at 6 p.m. yesterday, the House made only three minor changes in the bill. All Southern attempts at basic changes were rejected by teller votes in Committee of the Whole, where roll calls are not in order.

The last hope of the Southerners today was to try to get control of the motion to recommit, on which the House may instruct the committee to make specific changes in a bill. This will make possible for the first time a roll call on the jury trial issue.

Alabama Judge Gives Formula To Fight Bill

CLAYTON, Ala., July 1 (AP)—Circuit Judge George Wallace offered a passive resistance formula today for combatting civil rights laws in the South.

If President Eisenhower's program now pending in the Senate is enacted, Wallace said Southern law enforcement officers should refuse to cooperate with federal authorities in any investigations.

In a charge to the Barbour County Grand Jury, the judge said the FBI and other federal agencies have been successful in the past only because of "the cooperation of local law enforcement agencies and local people."

Without that cooperation, he said, "the federal authorities would not know where to turn."

Wallace, who once threatened to jail any federal agent caught investigating "our courts," predicted that "999 out of 1,000" investigations resulting from passage of civil rights legislation would be "spurious and inspired either for political reasons or spite."

"The local law enforcement officials should use their offices to defend the local citizen instead of harassing him," the judge continued. "No local law enforcement officer should even discuss civil rights investigations with federal authorities except in defense of the local citizen and state sovereignty."

Wallace told the grand jury "there is no law which says we must cooperate with federal authorities in the harassment of local citizens," and said, "I hope that no local law enforcement official will aid in any investigation under these pending bills."

10 1957

House Turns Down Rights Amendments; Senate Tangle Seen

BYPASS TO BE ASKED

Commercial Appeal

Knowland Will Seek Motion To Skip Judiciary Unit —Balloting Today

Tues. 6-18-57

By MORRIS CUNNINGHAM

From The Commercial Appeal Washington Bureau

Memphis Tenn.

WASHINGTON, June 17.—The House methodically rejected 13 proposed amendments to President Eisenhower's Civil Rights Bill Monday and set the stage for passage of the controversial measure Tuesday. P.1

Senate Republican Leader William Knowland (Calif.) meanwhile served notice he will make an unprecedented motion to bypass the Senate Judiciary Committee when the bill reaches the Senate — possibly Tuesday afternoon.

Nixon Must Rule

Vice President Richard M. Nixon, the Senate's presiding officer, will be called upon to rule upon the validity of Senator Knowland's motion.

If he sustains it, Southerners will appeal his ruling to the Senate. A Senate vote upholding the ruling would place the bill on the Senate calendar.

A Dixie filibuster against the bill could start at this point, or on a subsequent motion to consider the bill for passage. Dixie leaders were undecided on this point Monday night.

As the House closed debate on the bill early Monday night, Southern leaders were assured—barring later upsets—of a record vote Tuesday on a jury trial amendment.

The vote is scheduled to come on a motion by Representative Richard H. Poff (R., Va.) to recommit the bill to the House Judiciary Committee with instructions to write in the hotly disputed amendment.

"Mr. Poff is prepared to make this motion," Representative William M. Colmer (D., Miss.) said, "and unless there is some slip up he will be recognized by the speaker for that purpose."

Another Monument

Because of a complicated parliamentary situation limiting recommittal motions, it will be another monument to Dixie parliamentary skill if Mr. Poff is recognized for the motion.

The amendment would guarantee jury trials to persons charged with contempt of court as a result of having violated Federal Court injunctions which the bill would authorize to enforce racial integration.

A non-record vote last Friday was defeated 167-199. New non-record tests Monday on slightly different amendments also were defeated. One lost 141-163, and another 98-156.

Southerners were hopeful the prospect of an on-the-record vote would change some minds and give them a last-minute victory on the issue.

However, Mr. Colmer and others pointed to the heavy pressure being exerted by the Administration on Republican members to vote against the amendment. The Mississippian would only say the vote will be "close."

With the House preparing to complete action on the bill, interest in its ultimate fate shifted to the Senate.

Motion Called Legal

Advising the Senate he will move to bypass the Senate Judiciary Committee when the bill comes over from the House, Senator Knowland insisted Senate rules permit such a motion.

He declared the Senate Judiciary Committee, headed by Senator James O. Eastland (D., Miss.), has held a companion bill for six months without sending it to the Senate floor.

And he insisted the move he plans would not be a circumvention of the rules but gives members the opportunity to get the bill before them so they would at least have an opportunity to express themselves on this very important matter of public policy." P.3

Like several other members of the Senate, Senator Knowland is a potential candidate for President. He has announced he will not run for re-election to the Senate next year and is expected to seek the governorship of California, a possible stepping stone to the Republican presidential nomination in 1960.

Senator Knowland's remarks were sparked by a speech by Senator Wayne Morse (D., Ore.) in which the latter withdrew from a liberal coalition of 15 senators who announced last week they favored bypassing the Senate Judiciary Committee.

Senator Morse warned that such a move could set a precedent that could be used later on House-passed bills opposed by the Senate liberals.

Saying the action could boomerang, he said he was "wrong" in signing a statement with the 14 others last week.

'Wrong To Take Advantage'

"It would be wrong for us as liberals to take advantage of parliamentary procedures," he declared. "When the bill comes over from the House, it should go automatically to committee."

The prospect of a House-passed Natural Gas Bill being forced to the Senate floor in the same manner was reported to be one of the possibilities worrying Senator Morse, as well as some of his colleagues.

He did not mention this measure but did warn that the bypassing procedure could be turned into a "whiplash" to speed action on bils1 the Senate liberals oppose.

The Oregon Democrat and former Republican conceded the probability of a filibuster. But he said:

"Let them filibuster and we'll break it, but still keep the record straight that we gave them all the procedural rights. And we'll win in the final analysis."

Senator Hubert Humphrey (D., Minn.) arose to indicate his agreement with Senator Morse. But Senator Jacob Javits (R., N. Y.), one of the 15 liberals, vigorously disagreed and indirectly took his two colleagues to task for wavering on the issue.

Senator Richard B. Russell (D., Ga.), a leader of the Dixie senators, commended Senator Morse's statement. He charged that putting a House-approved bill directly on the Senate calendar would be a perversion of Senate rules "that could only lead to legislative chaos."

Should Be Sparingly Used

Senator Knowland conceded the procedure should be used only sparingly. But he said the Judiciary Committee's failure to act on a Civil Rights Bill justified it in this instance.

Senator Russell countered that Senator Knowland, in effect, was arguing that "the end justifies the means."

The House decision to postpone a final vote was forced by a Southern parliamentary maneuver. The Dixie members were prepared to invoke a rule requiring that an engrossed copy of the bill be sent to the Senate.

Since this would have required another day to prepare, floor managers of the bill agreed to postpone a final vote until Tuesday when an engrossed copy will be ready, providing the bill is not changed by the addition of the jury trial or other amendments prior to the final vote.

The amendments defeated by the House Monday, in addition to the two new versions of the jury trial proposal, would have:

1. Required state court remedies to be exhausted before Federal Court injunctions could be sought restraining interference with civil rights. Defeated 127-146.

2. Required contempt cases to be tried in the Federal Judicial Districts where they occurred. Beaten 108-118.

To Drop Commission

3. Eliminated the proposal to create a Federal Civil Rights Commission to air racial grievances, and eliminated the bill's injunctive provisions. Defeated by voice vote.

4. Prohibited a person from being placed in double jeopardy by being tried for a criminal offense after already having been convicted of criminal contempt of court for the same offense, or vice versa. Ruled out of order.

5. Inserted in the bill the right-to-work. Ruled out of order.

6. Entitled the bill "the Celler-Keating Political Act of 1957," after Representatives Emanuel Celler (D., N. Y.) and Kenheth B. Keating (R., N. Y.), the measure's chief house sponsors. Defeated 47-105 with Mr. Celler and Mr. Keating each voting against it.

7. Prohibited the proposed Civil Rights Commission from using the voluntary, non-paid services of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Americans for Democratic Action, and similar groups. Defeated by voice vote.

8. and 9. Preserved the authority of state courts in reference to elections, and state laws in reference to elections. Opponents insisted the bill does not affect these fields. Both amendments were defeated in a single vote, 118-182.

To End Work By 1959

10. Require the commission to report and go out of business by Jan. 1, 1959. Defeated by voice vote.

11. Prohibit double jeopardy (similar to an earlier amendment). Defeated 132-189.

The only amendment adopted during the day was one by Representative Basil L. Whitener (D., N. C.). Branded meaningless, it was accepted by Mr. Celler and Mr. Keating. It reasserted the right of defendants in contempt cases to be represented by counsel.

Major Test Of Measures Faces Delay

Advertiser Wed. 6-12-57 Montgomery, Ala.

By EDMOND L EBRETON

WASHINGTON, June 11 (AP) — Supporters and opponents of President Eisenhower's civil rights legislation each scored today as the House began voting on amendments—but the major test was put off at least until Thursday. P.1

The House defeated 127-88 a proposal by Rep. Gross (R-Iowa) to delee one of the main provisions of the bill—for a bipartisan commission to investigate reports of civil rights violations.

But later it voted 166-89 for an amendment by Rep. Loser (D-Tenn) that would limit the range within which the commission could subpoena winesses. The provision written in would allow the commission to call persons to sessions only within their own states. The original bill would have allowed summoning witnesses anywhere within a federal court circuit—which may be a group of states.

Opponents said the original bill would have allowed a witness to be called more than 2,000 miles—from El Paso, Tex., to Miami, Fla.

An atempt by Rep. Andrews (D-Ala) to substitute for most of the civil rights bill a scheme under which members of minorities who were dissatisfied with conditions under which they lived could be assisted to settle in other parts of the country was ruled ineligible for consideration. Rep. Forand (D-RI), presiding, sustained a poin of order that killed the amendment on the ground it was not closely enough related to the bill.

The major provision for which Southerners, with some allies from other parts of the country, are fightin gfor is a guarantee that anyone accused of violating one of the federal civil rights injunctions contemplated by the legislation would be guaranteed a jury trial. Opponents say such guarantees are out of line with other federal statutes and would stake civil rights enforcement in the South.

The House, going through the bill section by section, adjourned without reaching the injunction language. It will not again consider civil rights before Thursday.

In five hours' debate, the House went over most of the ground already covered in general discussion of the bill.

Rep. Sikes (D-Fla), predicted the measure "is going to die in the Senate" and sai d"the end of its value" is that "it helps both the proponents and the opponents to get re-elected."

DORIS FLEESON

Star P.13-a

Civil Rights and G. O. P. Survival

Fri. 6-21-57

Nixon and Knowland Submerge Rivalry In Fight to Win Negroes and Save Party

Washington D.C.

A rare silence obtained in the Senate as the civil rights debate opened.

The consummate politicians who dominate that body recognize that the struggle this time promises to be over the whole shape of national politics in the foreseeable future.

The Republican Party has the civil rights ball firmly tucked under its arm and is running with it toward the goal of recapturing the Negro vote, the pivotal States and at least eight more years in the White House after 1960.

Vice President Nixon and Senate Republican Leader Knowland have submerged their personal rivalry to act as joint quarterbacks. They will split on many issues in the next three years as they vie for the 1960 presidential nomination. On this one they are agreed—and in turn are agreed as President Eisenhower's strategists—that party survival is involved.

It is by no means clear, yet, how far they can carry with them the Republican Senate minority of 47.

Twenty years ago that minority, having achieved a respectable size since its debacle in the early Roosevelt years, was woven into a coalition with the Southern Democrats by two able men, the late Senator Taft and former Senator Millikin of Colorado, now retired.

The Southerners contributed their votes to the tax and fiscal policies important to the business and banking backers of the Republican Party. Senators Taft and Millikin kept their word on civil rights; enough Republican dissenters were always found to prevent action in that field.

For the first four Eisenhower years no Republican leader including Eisenhower made any serious attempt to upset the arrangement. It is entirely probable that only the soaring ambitions of the Vice President are upsetting it now.

Nixon intends to be President and the present strategy is largely his. Senator Knowland, Taft's personal choice to succeed Taft as leader, had been sticking with the coalition, but he had no choice after Nixon abandoned it. After all, both men need the big national convention delegation from their native California where the minority vote is decisive.

Significantly, the senior Republican Senator and pillar of the conservative coalition—Bridges of New Hampshire—was absent as debate opened. He is in the hospital being treated for "exhaustion." If he buys the new strategy, the Southerners will find that their backs really are to the wall.

As it is, for the first time in a quarter-century they are fighting on two fronts: The liberals of their own party and Republicans determined to stay in power.

Democratic liberals regret the situation, but they see it in terms of survival as well as conviction. They say they have to live, too.

The Republicans have the votes. If they are in earnest, as they say they are and appear to be, civil rights will prevail. Only the actual roll-calls will give the answer.

Associated Press

Nixon greets King: A pointed reminder

Senate's Judiciary Panel Votes To Skip Rights Bill

Constitution Tues. 6-25-57 P.2 Atlanta, Ga.

WASHINGTON, June 24 (AP)—The Senate Judiciary Committee, which was bypassed last week on civil rights legislation, voted today to take up other business.

The committee had deferred action on the administration bill since March 19 and the Senate voted 45-39 last Thursday to put on its calendar a measure already passed by the House.

Leaders have agreed not to call up the House bill before July 8. Republican Leader Knowland (Calif) told newsmen today it appeared that the floor fight will begin that day.

Sen. Hennings (D-Mo), who has been quarterbacking the Judiciary Committee's pro-civil rights members, released a statement expressing regret at today's committee action.

Chairman Eastland (D-Miss), a foe of the civil rights bill, said the committee voted 7-5 to take up first a bill to transfer enforcement of antitrust laws in the meat packing industry from the Agriculture department to the Federal Trade Commission.

CIVIL RIGHTS:

Bid for the Jackpot

Newsweek New York Mon. 6-24-57

When it comes to fighting civil-rights legislation, the Southern Democrats in Congress have learned from long experience to maneuver like skilled poker players. Last week, Southerners in the House found that two can play their game: They were called and beaten by the Administration.

Under the Administration's civil-rights bill, the Attorney General would be given the power to seek an injunction in a Federal court against anyone who interfered with anyone else's right to vote. Those who violated the injunction would face charges of contempt of court. There was little doubt that the bill would pass the House, but the Southerners hoped to emasculate it with an amendment to provide jury trials for those charged with contempt (the private reasoning of many of them: In those Southern communities where the practice persists, no jury would ever convict a fellow Southerner accused of denying the voting rights of a Negro).

It was on this point that the Southerners overplayed their hand, for their opponents drew a high card—President Eisenhower. First obtaining an explanation of the legal complexities from Attorney General Herbert Brownell Jr., the President told his Congressional leaders: The amendment must be beaten.

From that point on, the Republicans played a shrewd game. A special task force was organized in the House to convince doubtful Republicans (some worried that constituents wouldn't understand if they voted against the eminently respectable right of a jury trial). White House legislative aides got on the telephone to key representatives. Minority Leader Joseph W. Martin Jr. of Massachusetts buttonholed some of his colleagues (moving one Georgia Democrat to remark that Joe was "*really* working on the Republicans"). Vice President Richard M. Nixon stood by to answer any legal questions.

For Emphasis: As if to underscore the Administration's concern with civil rights, Mr. and Mrs. Eisenhower were photographed during the week with his Negro valet John Moaney, and the Vice President conferred with the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and the Rev. Ralph Abernathy, Negro co-leaders of the antisegregation bus boycott in Montgomery, Ala.

By the time the voting started in the House, the Republicans were clearly in the lead. The Southerners were beaten on vote after vote. They went down to resounding defeat, 199 to 167.

This victory for the civil-rights forces clearly foreshadowed passage of the bill by the House this week, but the Administration would be winning only the opening round. There was still the Senate, with its unlimited debate—and filibuster, to consider.

"We'll Fight To Finish"—Knowland

Journal + Guide Sat. 7-6-57 Norfolk, Va.

GOP Leader Is Not Interested In "Empty Gestures"

P.3

WASHINGTON —(INS) — Senate GOP Leader William F. Knowland said he isn't interested in "empty gestures" in the civil rights fight, but believes the battle should be fought to the finish once it starts in the Senate.

Knowland said the upper chamber may have to stay in session into September because of the civil rights showdown, schedule to begin July 8.

• • •

THE ADJOURNMENT date will have to be left open, he said, "depending on, as they say in the army, the terrain and the situation."

Knowland said that every effort should be made to break the expected southern fillibuster and get a vote once debate begins.

He declared: "I'm not interested in empty gestures...it would be a waste of time to the Senate and the country to call the bill up for two or three days and then drop it."

THE SENATOR made the comment after last week's meeting of GOP congressional leaders with President Eisenhower.

10 1957

HISTORIC SENATE BATTLE OPENS OVER RIGHTS BILL

FOES LAUNCH DETERMINED FIGHT TO END.

WASHINGTON, July 8 (AP) A Senate battle of historic proportions began at 2:17 P.M. today when Republican Leader Knowland, of California, moved to call up the administration's civil rights bill.

Advertiser P.1
Tue. 7-9-57
Montgomery, Ala.

The bill was immediately attacked by Sen. Ervin (D-NC) as the "most drastic and indefensible" legislation ever submitted to Congress.

Southern senators are determined to try to kill it—as they have all other civil rights legislation in recent years. A filibuster may develop from this effort. In that event, Congress might have to stay in session until mid-September.

Sen. Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, the Democratic leader, said he had been informed by Knowland and other supporters of the bill that no other business will be allowed before the Senate until the civil rights issue is settled.

ONLY EXCEPTIONS

The only exceptions, Johnson said he was advised, would be measures of "extreme urgency" or bills that could be handled by unanimous consent.

The galleries were filled and there were about 50 senators on the floor when the opening guns were fired.

Sen. Russell (D-Ga), the leader of the Southern opposition, jumped quickly into the fray with an assertion that backers of the civil rights bill have tried to "make the South the whipping boy of the nation"

"They are trying to make us a bear, being poked at all of the time to make it dance!" he cried. "We will resist—we will resist."

Russell has asked for a conference with President Eisenhower on the civil rights bill and will get an appointment, the White House announced.

Knowland told the Senate he hoped for a vote on his motion before the end of the week. He had said previously he would force the Senate into round-the-clock sessions if it became apparent that Southerners were trying to talk the bill to death.

Both Knowland's motion to bring the House-passed bill before the Senate and discussion of the bill itself are subject to unlimited debate. The vote of two-thirds of the Senate membership—64 of the present 95 senators—would be necessary to impose a limit on the debate.

NIXON NOT PRESENT

Vice President Nixon, presiding officer of the Senate, was not present for the opening of the battle but he told reporters in Rochester, N. Y.:

"I believe there is a good chance the Senate will pass a civil rights bill at this session."

Speaking for the administration, Nixon said, "We are not rigid but, generally speaking, we feel the bill in its present form is moderate and would not cause the violent reaction which some of its opponents talk about."

The bill that Knowland seeks to bring to the Senate floor was passed by the House June 18 by a vote of 286-126.

It would empower the attorney general to take into federal courts the cases of persons whose civil rights were deemed violated or threatened, and to protect their interests by seeking federal court injunctions. Those disobeying injunctions could be tried by a judge for contempt, without a jury.

SPECIAL DIVISION

It would also establish a special division in the Justice Department to handle civil rights cases and would set up a bipartisan commission to make a two-year study of civil rights problems.

Ervin's speech was the first formal one to be made in opposition to Knowland's motion.

He said President Eisenhower would not favor the civil rights bill in its present form "if he understood its provisions and implications." Eisenhower said at his news conference last week that he didn't understand "certain phrases" of the bill completely. He indicated he would seek clarification from Atty. Gen. Brownell.

SENATORS DWINDLE

As Ervin got deeper into his speech the number of senators dwindled until there were only about 20 left on the floor.

The first "compromise" proposal came today from Sen. O'Mahoney (D-Wyo), who said he would offer a novel jury trial amendment under which most contempt cases involving a denial of voting rights would be tried by a judge without a jury.

A jury would be brought in, he said, only if the presiding judge determined that matters of fact were in dispute. It is quite different from the jury trial amendment rejected by the House.

SOUTHERN FEARS

O'Mahoney told newsmen his proposal was designed to allay Southern fears that the attorney general could use his power to bring suits for damages as a result of civil rights violations, thus forcing integration of schools and changing the whole social order of the South.

Civil Rights Bill Battle Set To Roll

Daily News P.1
Wed. 7-3-57
Jackson, Miss.

Senate Proponents Gird To Defeat Expected Filibuster By Southerners

WASHINGTON (UP) — The Senate cleared its decks today for one of the biggest civil rights fights of the century. Republicans and liberal Democrats are hopeful this time they will beat a Southern filibuster and pass a racial rights bill.

With the big defense money bill passed, the Senate planned to recess tonight for the Fourth of July holiday. Its next business day will be Monday. That is the day the big battle is likely to begin.

Senate Republican Leader William F. Knowland will move then —or possibly on Tuesday—to bring up the House-passed civil rights bill. Southern Democrats will begin to "discuss" his motion. The filibuster will be on.

Republicans are getting set for the gruelling talkfest that may last several weeks and keep the Senate in session 24 hours a day for days, even weeks, on end.

PLANS STUDIED

Knowland went over his party's plans at a private conference of Republican senators Tuesday. He was reported to have indicated determination to press the fight to a conclusion this year, and to have found no dissent.

Other Republicans reported he also outlined plans for dealing with the filibuster. It was said GOP senators will be divided into four groups when the Senate reaches the expected point of round-the-clock sessions.

One group would be allowed to go home to catch up on sleep. The others would be napping in cloakrooms or in offices to be on hand for roll calls needed to keep the Senate in session. They will need the help of Northern and Western Democrats backing civil rights to muster the necessary quorums.

WEAR THEM DOWN

The GOP also will assign teams to watch the Senate floor during speeches to guard against surprise moves.

Knowland long has held the belief a filibuster can be broken by exhaustion. Others believe the civil rights bill can be passed only by mustering the 64 votes needed to choke off debate under the Senate's "gag" rule.

Since there will be upwards of 20 Southern votes against a gag, the South will need only about a dozen more votes, or absentees, to keep the anti-filibuster rule from working.

Even so, chances of passing a civil rights bill this year appear brighter than ever before.

Daily News P.3

Some legislation may be allowed through the Senate during the first week of "debate," such as a bill limiting disclosure of FBI files. But when the filibuster really settles in and all-night sessions are ordered—possibly by the end of next week—civil rights advocates are unlikely to permit much legislation to come up that would in effect help the filibuster.

This may mean shelving major administration bills until next year such as postal rate increases, school construction, and easing federal regulation of natural gas prices. It also will probably result in pigeonholing for this year proposals to ban status-of-forces treaties, the Bricker amendment, and other measures the administration is not friendly toward.

REFERENDUM

Sen. Richard B. Russell D-Ga., who will call signals for the Southern bloc, jumped the gun Tuesday by proposing a national referendum on civil rights.

In a Senate speech Russell charged the House-approved bill was aimed at breaking Southern customs of racial separation at bayonet point if necessary. He said it was misrepresentation to call it a right-to-vote measure.

He announced he will offer an amendment to make the proposed law effective only if approved in a national plebiscite. He later told reporters he was drafting an amendment to call for such a referendum in the 1958 congressional elections.

Set Date For Debate In Senate

Call P.1
Fri. 6-28-57
Kansas City, Mo.

Long Talkathon By Southerners Freely Predicted

WASHINGTON. — (INS) — The House-passed civil rights bill will be called up for Senate debate July 8 and insiders predict the action will touch off a full-scale filibuster.

Senate GOP Leader William F. Knowland's announcement Monday indicated that the Senate will be tied up throughout most of July in a talkathon by southern senators against the legislation.

Senate Democratic Leader Lyndon B. Johnson, Texas, previously said the controversial bill will not be called up before Juy 8 but Knowland was the first to give a specific date.

Meanwhile, Sen. Paul Douglas (D) Ill., has predicted that filibuster on civil rights legislation in the Senate will be allowed to run "for at least a month" before an attempt is made to invoke cloture.

Douglas said he would be willing "to stay till Christmas" if necessary.

In other developments, Oregon's two Democratic Senators denied a charge by GOP National Chairman Meade Alcorn that six liberal Democrats traded their civil rights votes for southern support on the Hells Canyon dam bill.

Sen. Richard Neuberger pointed out that Sens. Henry M. Jackson (D) Wash., Frank Church (D)

Idaho, and himself voted against the southerners in a civil rights dispute last week although all three are advocates of the Hells Canyon bill.

Sen. Wayne Morse said: "Alcorn and his reactionary senatorial private utility mouthpieces are trying to divert attention from the Eisenhower administration's political immorality."

The outspoken critic of the GOP said that Alcorn and "some other administration spokesmen" were hit "squarely on their political nose" when the Senate passed the Hells Canyon bill and "they are whispering over their political nosebleed."

Meanwhile, southerners won another victory inside the Senate Judiciary committee Monday when the group voted 7 to 5 to put its pending civil rights bill in a pigeon-hole until after the committee acts on a so-called meat bill.

Sen. Everett M. Dirksen (R) Ill., told reporters that he opposed laying aside the legislation. He explained that when debate on the House-passed civil rights program breaks out on the floor, opponents will argue that the Judiciary committee "is still working" on a bill and senate action thus would be premature.

He said he hoped the legislation can be approved by the committee to forestall such arguments.

Sen. Thomas C. Hennings (D) Mo., said that the fact that the Senate over-rode southern opposition and put the House bill on its calendar does not justify the committee in dodging a decision of its own.

He declared in a statement: "I do not think the committee members should crawl out the back door and leave this important business suspended in mid-air."

Voting for the motion to lay the civil rights bill aside temporarily were Sens. James O. Eastland (D) Miss., John L. McClellan (D) Ark., Olin D. Johnston (D) S. C., Joseph C. O'Mahoney (D) Wyo., Sam J. Ervin (D) N. C., Alexander Wiley (R) Wis., and Arthur V. Watkins (R) Utah.

Opposed to any further delay were Sens. Estes Kefauver (D) Tenn., John Marshall Butler (R) Md., Roman L. Hruska (R) Neb., Hennings and Dirksen.

The bill given the right of way was one by Watkins to transfer jurisdiction over anti-trust violations in the meat packing industry from the Agriculture department to the federal trade commission.

CIVIL RIGHTS SURVIVES GETTYSBURG—NOW FOR APPOMATTOX

By WILLIAM S. WHITE

WASHINGTON, June 22—The Senate Southerners are at last being generally pressed back, though they are characteristically resisting over every yard of dearly sold terrain, in the battles over civil rights.

These lost battles have not by a long shot yet lost them the war, but their position is increasingly difficult. They have made a fighting retirement from their Gettysburg, so to speak, and for the first time in this old contest there is now a distinct possibility that they will be thrown back along in August upon their decisive Appomattox.

This is the position now that the bipartisan civil rights forces have succeeded in thrusting aside the immense and impregnable roadblock so long formed by the Senate Judiciary Committee.

Narrow Victory

The Senate's 45 to 39 vote to bypass the Judiciary Committee and to put the House-approved Administration civil rights bill directly upon the Senate's calendar of business has given to the Republicans and Northern Democrats a parliamentary initiative they have never known before.

The victory, though an uncomfortably narrow one from the civil rights point of view, has done more even than, to keep the bill from the hitherto lethally cold embrace of the Judiciary Committee. It has demonstrated that it is possible, by organization and by determination, to turn the Senate rules upon their old and rarely challenged masters, the Southerners themselves.

It has made it possible to try to force civil rights through to enactment over only two filibusters—that is, the parliamentary technique of indefinite time-killing to prevent a vote—instead of three. Filibusters may be broken in two ways—through the sheer attrition of exhaustion upon filibusters left physically able to talk no more, or through the application of the closure. This process requires the consent of sixty-four Senators.

Chances Weighed

Had the House bill been allowed to take its normal course to the Senate Judiciary Committee, to extricate it would have required action to break one filibuster. Then would have come another filibuster test in order actually to take up the bill in the Senate and, finally, still another one in order to pass it.

The lesser problem now left is to break only these two latter filibusters.

There is every prospect now that this can be done, granted a tireless and implacable determination by the bipartisan majority and granted an ultimate Senate decision to allow the right of trail by jury in cases of civil rights violations.

South's Position

The most realistic present estimate, from among both the Southerners and the civil rights bipartisans, is that a final victory can be had almost without question if the Senate, unlike the House, will grant jury trail.

Thus, the great immediate issue, once the Senate sets out in early July to debate the merits of the bill, will be the jury issue. What is proposed in the House bill, and strongly supported by the President, is to empower the Department of Justice to intervene on behalf of individual citizens whose civil rights have been denied or put under threat of denial. The process would be to obtain Federal court injunctions against these denials and to punish through fine or imprisonment those refusing to obey injunctions. This punishment, specifically for contempt of court, could be assessed by the judge without a jury.

The position of the Southerners is that these actions—say against an election board official for refusing to allow a Negro to vote or against a school board for refusing court orders to integrate the schools—would amount to criminal trials.

The civil rights proponents insistently deny this and point to the fact that non-jury trial is the rule already for contempt cases, except for those involving labor unions.

They say, moreover, that Southern juries by and large would never convict those locally eminent persons who most of all would be likely to be involved.

Whatever the merits of these clashing arguments, the Southerners may now be expected to make their side of the contention their dominant theme from now on out under their commander in chief, Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia.

They are attempting to appeal—and with at least some degree of success—to the older and more traditional Senate liberals. Some of these, remembering the days of the labor injunctions, are quite hesitant to put a non-jury-trial feature into a civil rights law.

The civil rights forces, for their part, wholly deny the rationality of this argument but concede its power—an emotional power only, they call it—and their strategy is to put it under the unceasing critical analysis of the best lawyers in their group. It is on this legal constitutional aspect of the fight that one of the ablest trial lawyers in the Senate, Senator Thomas C. Hennings Jr., Democrat of Missouri, may be expected in the hot weeks ahead to carry the main and probably the most effective brief for the civil rights people.

Leaders in Fight

Senator Hennings in this sense will be the intellectual leader of the civil rights phalanx; other liberal Democrats, like Senators Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota and Paul H. Douglas of Illinois, will be important figures along the forward forensic line of battle.

But back of all this there stand the symbols and the operators of ultimate power—two Californians, William F. Knowland, the Republican Senate leader, and Vice President Richard M. Nixon.

For this is, in the nature of things, essentially a Republican program, though the liberal Democrats will continue to struggle to picture it as a program for their own party as well, except for its deep Southern wing.

The Senate Republicans, rallying behind a President who has now made it plain that he is going all the way for the bill, are massively united on this issue in the overt sense, although the more conservative among them undoubtedly wish it had not arisen. The Democrats, on this issue, have an undeniable and an unbridgable split personality that has forced their leader, Senator Lyndon B. Johnson, to take up a most awkward position. As a Texan, it is obvious how he will and must vote on every major test; as a majority leader he is trying to stay out of the battle to the last degree that his ultimate responsibilities will permit.

Factors in Fight

All that is fundamental, in short, is operating in behalf of, and not against, action on civil rights: A heavy bipartisan majority; a still popular and powerful President; the presumed Presidential ambitions of many men, including Messrs. Knowland and Nixon; some real but rarely noticed divisions between the "new" and the "old" Southerners as to how far resistance should be carried; and, finally and most important of all, the clear and observable movement of history itself.

But this action, all the same, seems more likely at this juncture to be in behalf of a jury trial bill then otherwise. This, too, is a prospect that could change for the worse for the Southerners if, for example, in the coming long debates, they should wound a decisive handful of pro-civil rights Democrats who as of now are disposed to go along with the South on the jury question.

Manners in this struggle will be very important, oddly enough, and particularly for the Southerners—whose best bet seems limited defeat as distinguished from a total one. No one is more aware of this than Senator Richard Brevard Russell.

Ficklen in The Dallas News

SOUTHERN VIEW: "He must be somewhere"

Hutton in The Philadelphia Inquirer

NORTHERN VIEW: "Into the big wind."

10 1957

Cooper's Civil-Rights Plan Rejected by Senate, 81-8

Courier-Journal Wed. 7-24-57
Louisville Ky. P.1

Citing Trouble In Sturgis, Kentuckian Tries To Salvage Portions of Section 3

By ROBERT L. RIGGS
The Courier-Journal Washington Bureau

Washington, July 23.—By a vote of 81 to 8 the Senate today squashed John Sherman Cooper's effort to keep the civil-rights bill from being stripped down to a federal guarantee of the right to vote.

The defeat came on an amendment proposed by the Kentucky Republican that would have modified the controversial Section 3 in the House-approved civil-rights bill on which the Senate is working.

But Cooper's efforts at salvaging portions of Section 3 ran into opposition, not only from Southern opponents of the measure, but also from leaders of the civil-rights coalition.

Northerners Oppose Plan

Hence he was opposed not only by those who follow Senator Russell of Georgia, but also by most of the entire Northern liberal bloc, including Senators Morse of Oregon, Douglas of Illinois, and Humphrey of Minnesota.

Having beaten Cooper's attempt to save something from Section 3, the Senate is expected late tomorrow to sweep that entire portion out of the bill, leaving the way clear for relatively early passage of a right-to-vote measure that is expected to be the end of civil-rights legislation in this Congress.

The amendment to remove Section 3 is sponsored by two civil-rights proponents, Senators Aiken of Vermont and Anderson of New Mexico. Predictions around the Senate are that the amendment will receive at least 53 votes.

Morton Supports Colleague

Cooper's fellow Republican from Kentucky, one of the few who stood with him in the debate, warned the civil-rights coalition that the Cooper amendment was the last chance to make the proposed legislation cover more than a right to vote.

But even as Senator Morton was talking, the news arrived that the Clinton-case jury at Knoxville had brought in a verdict of guilty against seven of the defendants.

Cooper had conceded freely during the discussion yesterday and today that, had his amendment been in force, the Clinton defendants would have faced trial before the federal judge —without a jury. The news from Knoxville inspired the advocates of jury trials in civil-rights cases to increase their attack upon the Cooper proposal.

Lausche Backs Jury Trial

Expecially strong in their assaults were Republican Senator Hickenlooper of Iowa and Democratic Senator Lausche of Ohio. Lausche said he was in sympathy with Cooper's attempt to give protection to civil rights other than that of voting. But never, he said, would he consent to protecting one civil right at the expense of doing away with the right of jury trial.

Senator Gore of Tennessee, who read the dispatch about the Knoxville verdict while Morton held the floor, asserted, "This doesn't indicate to me that Southern juries will not convict in civil-rights cases."

Morton responded, "I congratulate that great section, East Tennessee," placing heavy emphasis upon East.

Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson, of Texas, who has been pressing the Senate toward action on a bill confined to voting rights, also mentioned the Tennessee verdict, comparing it with the failure of a District of Columbia jury to convict Teamsters Union leader James Hoffa.

Would Change Language

Cooper would have changed the present language in Section 3 so that the attorney general could not initiate court action to protect the civil rights of an individual. The individual would have to start the action on his own. But if a federal court issued an injunction and if "lawless elements" sought to keep a school board or an election commission from obeying that injunction, the attorney general could step in and get a civil injunction under which those accused of interfering with carrying out the court order would face trial by federal judge without a jury.

Cooper offered the integration troubles at Sturgis, Ky., as an example of a case in which a Government unit—the School Board—tried to obey a court order, but was prevented from doing so by "menacing crowds." His amendment would have covered the Sturgis affair, he said.

"Last year in my state," Cooper said during interrogation by Senator Case of New Jersey, "there was a situation involving integration of the schools. Because of the opposition of some people, the Governor deemed it necessary to send in troops. The officials of the schools opened them to Negro children.

'Stopped Making Effort'

"The adjutant general of the state, Maj. Gen. J. J. B. Williams, told me that he led those children, with their mothers, through streets lined with people to the school for several days and that the fact that he was with them enabled them to reach the school safely.

"Finally a mother told him, 'General Williams, we cannot go through this any longer, through these menacing crowds. We cannot go every day with those children.' And finally they stopped making the effort.

"That was a case in which the crowd itself, directly or indirectly, prevented the exercise of individual rights just as effectively as though they had been able to surround the school."

During the debate yesterday and today Cooper vigorously defended his proposal to have trials conducted by a judge without a jury. He tangled not only with Hickenlooper and Lausche, but also with Holland of Florida and Ervin of North Carolina. He had to combat such verbs as "circumvent," "deprive," and "shear" the right to a jury.

Says Misconception Arises

"A misconception has arisen about the entire matter of trial by jury," Cooper said. "It has been argued here that, somehow, there is an inherent right of trial by jury for everyone. There is no such inherent right of trial by jury for everyone in every case."

In arguing for a bill broader than just the right to vote, Cooper said:

"These are federal rights and constitutional rights. The very fact that we are discussing this issue indicates that there is a defect in our system of government. It indicates that for some reason the rights of all our people have not been made equal throughout the United States. It points to the responsibility of Congress to act in a proper and reasonable way, as it may determine, to make effective these rights."

Bricker Plan Defeated

Before it rolled over Cooper's amendment the Senate beat, 61 to 29, a proposed change offered by Senator Bricker of Ohio. It would have had the president, rather than the attorney general, make the decision whether the Government should enter a civil-rights case.

The senators who supported Cooper on his amendment were, besides Morton: Bush of Connecticut, Dirksen of Illinois, Wiley of Wisconsin, and Revercomb of West Virginia, all Republicans, and Kefauver of Tennessee and Mansfield of Montana, Democrats. (Indiana Republicans Capehart and Jenner voted against Cooper's amendment.)

Forty Democrats and 21 Republicans united to defeat the Bricker amendment. Twenty-two Republicans (including Cooper and Morton) and seven Northern Democrats voted on the other side. The 22 Republicans included Senator Knowland of California, G.O.P. Senate leader and chief of the coalition supporting the civil-rights bill. (Capehart and Jenner split, Capehart voting for the Bricker amendment and Jenner against it.)

How Senators voted on Sen. Morse's proposal

Afro-American P. 8
Sat. 7-27-57
Baltimore Md.

WASHINGTON — (NPPA) — The roll-call vote by which the Senate on July 16 rejected 54 to 35, the motion offered by Sen. Wayne Morse (Dem., Ore.) to send the House-passed civil rights bill to the Senate Judiciary Committee.

The vote for the motion, being a vote to kill the bill at least for this session of Congress follows:

FOR THE MOTION — 35

DEMOCRATS—31

Harry F. Byrd, Virginia
James O. Eastland, Mississippi
Sam J. Ervin Jr., North Carolina
J. Allen Frear, Delaware
Allen J. Ellender, Louisiana
J. William Fulbright, Arkansas
Albert Gore, Tennessee
Carl Hayden, Arizona
Lister Hill, Alabama
Spessard L. Holland, Florida
Lyndon B. Johnson, Texas
Olin D. Johnston, South Carolina
Estes Kefeauver, Tennessee
Robert S. Kerr, Oklahoma
Mike Mansfield, Montana
John L. McClellan, Arkansas
Mike Monroney, Oklahoma
Wayne Morse, Oregon
James E. Murray, Montana
Joseph C. O'Mahoney, Wyoming
A. Willis Roberton, Virginia
Richard B. Russell, Georgia
W. Kerr Scott, North Carolina
John J. Sparkman, Alabama
George A. Smathers, Florida
John Stennis, Mississippi
Herman E. Talmadge, Georgia
Strom Thurmond, South Carolina
Ralph Yarborough, Texas

REPUBLICANS—4

Carl T. Curtis, Nebraska
George W. Malone, Nevada
Karl Mundt, South Dakota
John J. Williams, Delaware

AGAINST THE MOTION—54.

DEMOCRATS—16

Clinton P. Anderson, New Mexico
Frank Church, Idaho
Paul H. Douglas, Illinois
Theodore F. Green, Rhode Island
Hubert Humphrey, Minnesota
Henry M. Jackson, Washington
John F. Kennedy, Massachusetts
Frank J. Lausche, Ohio
John A. Carroll, Colorado
Dennis Chavez, New Mexico
Warren G.. Magnuson, Washington
Pat McNamara, Michigan
Matthew M. Neely, West Virginia
Richard L. Neuberger, Oregon
John O. Pastore, Rhode Island
Stuart Symington, Missouri

REPUBLICANS—38

George D. Aiken, Vermont
Gordon Allott, Colorado
Frank A. Barrett, Wyoming
J. Glenn Beall, Maryland
Wallace F. Bennett, Utah
John W. Bricker, Ohio
Prescott Bush, Connecticut
John M. Butler, Maryland
Homer E. Capehart, Indiana
Frank Carlson, Kansas
Clifford P. Case, New Jersey
Francis Case, South Dakota
John Sherman Cooper, Kentucky
Norris Cotton, New Hampshire
Everett M. Dirksen, Illinois
Henry C. Dworshak, Idaho
Ralph E. Flanders, Vermont
Barry Godwater, Arizona
Bourke B. Hickenlooper, Iowa
Roman L. Hruska, Nebraska
Irving M. Ives, New York
Jacob K. Javits, New York
William E. Jenner, Indiana
William F. Knowland, California
Thomas H. Kuchel, California
William Langer, North Dakota
Thomas E. Martin, Iowa
Edward Martin, Pennsylvania
Thruston B. Morton, Kentucky
Charles E. Potter, Michigan
William A. Purtell, Connecticut
Chapman Revercomb, West Virginia
Leverett Saltonstall, Massachusetts
Margaret Chase Smith, Maine
H. Alexander Smith, New Jersey
Edward J .Thye, Minnesota
Arthur V. Watkins, Utah
Alexander Wiley, Wisconsin

Not voting or paired but announced as against the motion: Joseph S. Clark, Democrat, of Pennsylvania; Thomas C. Hennings, Democrat, of Missouri; Frederick G. Payne, Republican of Maine, and Andrew F. Schoeppel, Republican, of Kansas.

Senate Roll-Call Vote On Rights Amendment

Times P. B-C
Wed. 7-24-57
New York

WASHINGTON, July 23 (AP)—Following is the roll-call vote by which the Senate defeated today an amendment by Senator John W. Bricker, Republican of Ohio, to require Presidential direction before the Attorney General could intervene in some civil rights cases:

FOR THE AMENDMENT—29

Democrats—7

Carroll (Colo.)	McNamara (Mich.)
Clark (Pa.)	Neuberger (Ore.)
Douglas (Ill.)	Pastore (R. I.)
Lausche (Ohio)	

Republicans—22

Allott (Colo.)	Ives (N. Y.)
Barrett (Wyo.)	Javits (N. Y.)
Beall (Md.)	Knowland (Calif.)
Bennett (Utah)	Kuchel (Calif.)
Bricker (Ohio)	Martin (Pa.)
Bush (Conn.)	Morton (Ky.)
Capehart (Ind.)	Potter (Mich.)
Case (N. J.)	Putrell (Conn.)
Cooper (Ky.)	Revercomb (W. Va.)
Dirksen (Ill.)	Watkins (Utah)
Hruska (Neb.)	Wiley (Wis.)

AGAINST THE AMENDMENT—61

Democrats—40

Anderson (N. M.)	Kennedy (Mass.)
Bible (Nev.)	Kerr (Okla.)
Byrd (Va.)	Long (La.)
Chavez (N. M.)	Magnuson (Wash.)
Church (Idaho)	Mansfield (Mont.)
Eastland (Miss.)	McClellan (Ark.)
Ellender (La.)	Monroney (Okla.)
Ervin (N. C.)	Morse (Ore.)
Frear (Del.)	Murray (Mont.)
Fulbright (Ark.)	O'Mahoney (Wyo.)
Gore (Tenn.)	Robertson (Va.)
Green (R. I.)	Russell (Ga.)
Hayden (Ariz.)	Scott (N. C.)
Hill (Ala.)	Smathers (Fla.)
Holland (Fla.)	Sparkman (Ala.)
Humphrey (Minn.)	Stennis (Miss.)
Jackson (Wash.)	Symington (Mo.)
Johnson (Tex.)	Talmadge (Ga.)
Johnston (S. C.)	Thurmond (S. C.)
Kefauver (Tenn.)	Yarborough (Tex.)

Republicans—21

Aiken (Vt.)	Langer (N. D.)
Butler (Md.)	Malone (Nev.)
Carlson (Kans.)	Martin (Iowa)
Case (S. D.)	Mundt (S. D.)
Cotton (N. H.)	Saltonstall (Mass.)
Curtis (Neb.)	Smith (Me.)
Dworshak (Idaho)	Smith (N. J.)
Flanders (Vt.)	Thye (Mnn.)
Goldwater (Ariz.)	Williams (Del.)
Hickenlooper (Iowa)	Young (N. D.)
Jenner (Ind.)	

Not voting but announced for the amendment: Payne (Me.) and Schoeppel (Kans.), Republicans.

Not voting but announced as against the amendment: Neely (W. Va.), Democrat.

Efforts Made To Safeguard 'Enforcement'

Advertiser Adv. 7-24-57 Montgomery Ala.

WASHINGTON, July 23 (AP)—Senate supporters of the civil rights bill were defeated today in two attempts to save—by compromise amendments—most of the enforcement powers in Section 3 of the bill.

P.1

They appeared to be fighting a losing battle against a bipartisan move to strip the bill of all its enforcement powers except those protecting voting rights. A vote on this question comes tomorrow.

An amenment by Sen. Bricker (R - Ohio), which would have placed endorcement power in the hands of the President instead of the attorney general, was rejected 61-29.

SECOND COMPROMISE

The Senate then proceed to crush with an 81-8 vote a second compromise proposal by Sen. Cooper (R-Ky). Cooper's amendment would have permitted the attorney general to intervene in civil rights cases only after an individual complained that a conspiracy existed to deny him rights in defiance of a court order.

Continuing its late-hour sessions on the bill, the Senate finally recessed at 7:54 p.m. until 10 a.m. tomorrow.

As Section 3 now stands, the attorney general can start injunction suits to prevent violations of a wide variety of civil rights. It has been fought bitterly by Dixie Democrats, who call it a weapon to force racial integration of the schools in the Senate.

SEVEN AMENDMENTS

The seven senators who supported Cooper on his amendment were Bush (Conn), Dirksen (Ill), Morton (Ky), Wiley (Wis), and Revercomb (WVa), all Republicans, and Kefauver (Tenn; and Mansfield (Mont), Democrats.

Forty Democrats and 21 Republicans united to defeat the Bricker amendment. Twenty-two Republicans and seven Northern Democtats voted on the other side. The 22 Republicans included Sen. Knowland, of California, leader of the coalition supporting the civil rights bill.

Arguing for his amendment, Cooper said: "The principal difficulty at present in the actual enforcement and assurance of an individual's right—and let it be remembered, after the court has established the right—is the lawless intrusion and intermeddling of third parties, who conspire to hinder, delay and prevent if possible the court's order.

FOUND GUILTY Advertiser

"This is the case at Clinton (Clinton, Tenn., where seven persons were found guilty of criminal contempt today in a school segregation case). P.10-A

"I do not see how anyone can reasonably contend that the United States should be powerless to act at this point," Cooper continued, "—that it should be denied the power to move in its own name to uphold the diginity and authority of the decrees of its own court, and this is what my amendment provides."

Cooper conceded in advance that his proposal probably would be rejected and that the amendment to strip down Section 3 would probably be adopted.

MIDDLE GROUND

But he said he thought his amendment was a middle ground which could "mark an advance" in the direction of protecting some rights besides voting rights.

Bricker told the Senate Section 3 as now constituted gives almost unlimited powers to the attorney general.

"When you get into a field as ticklish as this one," he said, "the responsibility should be in the hands of the man closest to the people." He was referring to the President.

Sen. Morse (D-Ore) argued the attorney general was the proper official to bring injunction suits.

"It would be grossly unfair to drop this political potato on the doorstep of any president," he said.

How Senators Voted On Bricker Proposal

WASHINGTON, July 23 (AP)—Here is the 61-29 roll call vote by which the Senate today defeated an amendment by Sen. Bricker (R-Ohio) to require presidential direction before the attorney general intervened in some civil rights cases:

For the Amendment (29)

DEMOCRATS FOR:

Carroll of Colo., Clark of Pa., Douglas of Ill., Lausche of Ohio, McNamara of Mich.

Neuberger of Ore., Pastore of R.I.—7.

REPUBLICANS FOR:

Allott of Colo., Barrett of Wyo., Beall of Md., Bennett of Utah, Bricker of Ohio.

Bush of Conn., Capehart of Ind., Case of N.J., Cooper of Ky., Dirksen of Ill.

Hruska of Neb., Ives of N.Y., Javits of N.Y., Knowland of Calif., Kuchel of Calif.

Martin of Pa., Morton of Ky., Potter of Mich., Purtell of Conn., Revercomb of W.Va.

Watkins of Utah, Wiley of Wis.—22.

Against The Amendment (61)

DEMOCRATS AGAINST:

Anderson of N.M., Bible of Nev., Byrd of Va., Chavez of N.M., Church of Idaho.

Eastland of Miss., Ellender of La., Ervin of N.C., Frear of Del., Fulbright of Ark.

Gore of Tenn., Green of R.I., Hayden of Ariz., Hill of Ala., Holland of Fla.

Humphrey of Minn., Jackson of Wash., Johnson of Tex., Johnston of S.C., Kefauver of Tenn.

Kennedy of Mass., Kerr of Okla., Long of La., Magnuson of Wash., Mansfield of Mont.

McClellan of Ark., Monroney of Okla.,

Morse of Ore., Murray of Mont., O'Mahoney of Wyo.

Robertson of Va., Russell of Ga., Scott of N.C., Smathers of Fla., Sparkman of Ala.

Stennis of Miss., Symington of Mo., Talmadge of Ga., Thurmond of S.C., Yarborough of Tex.—40.

REPUBLICANS AGAINST:

Aiken of Vt., Butler of Md., Carlson of Kan., Case of S.D., Cotton of N.H.

Curtis of Neb., Dworshak of Idaho, Flanders of Vt., Goldwater of Ariz., Hickenlooper of Iowa.

Jenner of Ind., Langer of N.D., Malone of Nev., Martin of Iowa, Mundt of S.D.

Saltonstall of Mass., Smith of Maine, Smith of N.J., Thye of Minn., Williams of Del.

Young of N.D.—21.

Not voting but announced as for the amendment:

Sens. Payne (R-Maine) and Schoeppel (R-Kan).

Not voting but announced as against the amendment:

Sen. Neely (D-WVa).

Cooper's Amendment Loses By 81-8 Count

WASHINGTON, July 23 (AP)—Here is the 81-8 roll call vote by which the Senate today defeated an amendment by Sen. Cooper (R-Ky) to the civil rights bill to authorize the attorney general to intervene in cases where individuals complain a conspiracy exists to thwart court orders in civil rights cases:

For the amendment—(8)

no5 **DEMOCRATS FOR:**

Kefauver of Tenn.; Mansfield of Mont.—2.

REPUBLICANS FOR:

Bush of Conn.; Cooper of Ky.; Dirksen of Ill.; Morton of Ky.; Revercomb of West Va.

Wiley of Wis—6.

Against the amendment—(81)

DEMOCRATS AGAINST:

Anderson of N.M.; Bible of Nev.; Byrd of Va.; Carroll of Colo.; Chavez of N.M.

Church of Idaho; Clark of Pa.; Douglas of Ill.; Eastland of Miss.; Ellender of La.

Ervin of N.C.; Frear of Del.; Fulbright of Ark.; Gore of Tenn.; Green of R.I.

Hayden of Ariz.; Hill of Ala.; Holland of Fla.; Humphrey of Minn.; Jackson of Wash.

Johnson of Tex.; Johnston of S.C.; Kennedy of Mass.; Kerr of Okla.; Lausche of Ohio.

Long of La.; Magnuson of Wash.; McClellan of Ark.; McNamara of Mich.; Monroney of Okla.

Morse of Ore.; Murray of Mont.; Neuberger of Ore.; O'Mahoney of Wyo.; Pastore of R.I.

Robertston of Va.; Russell of Ga.; Scott of N.C.; Smathers of Fla.; Sparkman of Ala.

Stennis of Miss.; Symington of Mo.; Talmadge of Ga.; Thurmond of S.C.; Yarborough of Tex.—45.

REPUBLICANS AGAINST:

Aiken of Vt.; Allot of Colo.; Barrett of Wyo.; Beall of Md.; Bennett of Utah.

Bricker of Ohio; Butler of Md.; Capehart of Ind.; Carlson of Kans.; Case of N.J.

Case of S.D.; Cotton of N.H.; Curtis of Neb.; Dworshak of Idaho; Flanders of Vt.

Goldwater of Ariz.; Hickenlooper of Iowa; Hruska of Neb.; Ives of N.Y.; Javits of N.Y.

Jenner of Ind.; Knowland of Calif.; Kuchel of Calif.; Langer of Md.; Martin of Iowa.

Martin of Pa.; Mundt of S.D.; Potter of Mich.; Purtell of Conn.; Saltonstall of Mass.

Smith of Maine; Smith of N.J.; Thye of Minn.; Watkins of Utah; Williams of Del.

Young of N.D.—36.

May come tonight—

Vote on jury bill nearing

News Birmingham Ala. Thurs 8-1-57

WASHINGTON, Aug. 1 (AP)—The possibility of a showdown vote tonight on a jury trial amendment to the civil rights bill was raised today by Senate Democratic Leader Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas.

But Sen. Knowland of California, the Republican leader, said he thinks that to be fair to Senators a definite time tomorrow should be fixed for a vote.

Knowland said this would give senators who are out of town or in hospitals an opportunity to be present. Johnson said he felt the "quickest way out of this dilemma" would be to vote without any prior agreement.

KNOWLAND HAS voiced confidence that backers of the administration bill will beat down the amendment. It would require jury trials in criminal contempt cases arising from federal court injunctions against interference with voting rights.

Johnson said he does not know how the decision may be influenced by a new addition to the amendment, which he said would "confer an important new civil rights" on American citizenship.

Serving notice that a vote on the jury trial issue might come at any time, Johnson said in an exchange with Sen. Douglas (D., Ill.) that "I do not predict that we will have a vote this evening."

EARLIER, however, he had said that he hoped the Senate would be able to vote on the amendment before it quit for the night.

The vote is a crucial one, since Southern Democrats have said they will use their every weapon—including the filibuster—to try to defeat the bill unless a jury trial amendment is added to it.

The discussion took place in the Senate after word spread in the corridors that there was a possibility of a vote tonight on the jury trial amendment.

Douglas, a leading supporter of the bill, protested that Johnson was "trying to spring a vote" at a time when some opponents of the amendment might be absent.

Johnson retorted that Douglas was frequently questioning the motives of the Southerners. He promised first a quorum call to bring senators to the chamber and then "a slow roll call."

AT THE TIME the discussion took place, the Senate was technically considering the Agriculture Department money bill. It had voted to displace civil rights temporarily, but reverted to debate on the subject.

P.11

Johnson said a new civil right would be granted by a section added to the amendment last night. That new language would permit Negroes or others to serve as federal court jurors regardless of whether or not they were qualified under state laws. Federal jurors now must meet state jury standards.

Johnson read to the Senate a letter sent to all senators from the presidents of the 12 railroad brotherhoods urging adoption of a jury trial amendment. Thurs. 8-1-57

"The right to trial by jury has been recognized as an essential safeguard of liberty since the birth of Western democracy," the letter said. "We therefore favor the enactment of an amendment to the civil rights bill that would preserve or extend the right to trial by jury."

KNOWLAND PROMPTLY reread a statement issued earlier in the week by the AFL-CIO Executive Committee saying that any meaningful right-to-vote bill "must not be burdened with a crippling jury trial amendment."

Johnson said all except two of the railroad brotherhood presidents are members of the AFL-CIO. He listed the two as R. O. Hughes, president of the order of Railway Conductors and Brakemen, and W. P. Kennedy, president of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen.

The United Mine Workers president, John L. Lewis, had urged approval of a jury trial amendment at the same time the AFL-CIO Executive Committee opposed it.

IN ITS PRESENT FORM, the jury trial amendment to the civil rights bill would apply to contempt cases arising under all federal laws—including injunctions issued in labor disputes.

South Wins Rights Bill Round

Bayonet-Point Proviso Eliminated

Post-Herald P.1
Tues, 7-23-57
B'ham, Ala.

WASHINGTON, July 22 (AP)—The Senate made its first change in the civil rights bill today, voting 90-0 for an amendment designed to relieve Southern fears that school integration might be enforced at bayonet point.

While the unanimous vote removed one major Southern objection to the legislation, other big ones remained.

The roll call cleared the way for a vote—probably tomorrow—on a key amendment to strip the bill of all its enforcement powers except those protecting voting rights.

Minority Leader Knowland R., Cal.) and Sen. Humphrey (D., Minn.) sponsored today's change, which would serve to repeal an old law authorizing the President to use federal troops to enforce court orders.

Knowland told the Senate the administration had no intention of using soldiers to carry out any court decrees which might be issued under the bill. But he said if the amendment would serve to relieve the fears of Southerners in this regard it would serve a useful purpose.

As the bill came from the House, it linked its enforcement provisions with a Reconstruction era statute providing for the use of troops if necessary.

The opposition protested this would allow the government not only to force racial integration of the schools on the South but to use armed force to bring about other social changes there.

In supporting the Knowland-Humphrey amendment. Sen. Lausche (D., Ohio) demanded to know who sponsored the "nefarious" proposal for reliance on the Reconstruction act in the first place.

"I think we ought to find out whose creature this was," Lausche said. He added the provision was inspired by "fanaticism."

Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson (D., Tex.) congratulated the Senate on the unanimity of its action today. He suggested the Senate limit itself to six hours of debate tomorrow on the amendment to strike most of Section 3 from the bill. This is the section containing enforcement powers.

There was no immediate agreement on debate limitation, however.

Sen. Morse (D., Ore.) said he would block future unanimous consent agreements for votes on amendments unless they also include a time for a final vote on the bill. He suggested 4 p.m. next Saturday as the time for a final vote.

"I don't propose to buy this filibuster on the installment plan," Morse said.

Sen. Russell (D., Ga.) leader of the Southern opposition, made it clear he was not ready to settle on a time for a final vote.

Meanwhile there were increasing signs that the bill may be whittled down to a measure protecting only voting rights.

Two senior Republicans, Sens. Saltonstall of Massachusetts and H. Alexander Smith of New Jersey, announced they would vote to strike the controversial Section 3 from the legislation.

Post-Herald P.6

This part of the bill would empower the attorney general to seek federal court injunctions against violations in the whole field of civil rights. Persons flouting the injunctions could be charged with contempt of court and tried without a jury.

Sen. Johnson predicted the measure could not be passed unless it is limited to voting rights.

Smith agreed with him. "If that title (Section 3 remains in the bill," Smith told the Senate, "it could result in a filibuster and no civil rights measure this year."

"Let us accomplish first things first — the right to vote," he urged.

Use Of Troops Barred By 90-0 Senate Vote On Civil Rights Issue

Commercial Appeal
Memphis, Tenn.

EXTREMISTS SWAYED

Tues. 7-23-57

Jubilant Foes Of Bill Also Try But Fail To Get Title III Ballot

By MORRIS CUNNINGHAM

From The Commercial Appeal Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, July 22.—The Senate blasted its first hole in the Administration's House-passed Civil Rights Bill Monday, voting 90 to 0 to bar the use of Federal troops to enforce integration decrees.

Extremists who had bitterly opposed any changes in the bill were overwhelmingly engulfed by the obvious Senate tide and meekly joined in the unanimous vote.

One important effect was to require the bill to go to conference with the House when the Senate finishes with it to reconcile differences with the House-passed version.

Chance To Filibuster

The resultant conference report will provide Dixie senators with another opportunity to filibuster, should they need it.

The vote was on a bipartisan amendment by Senator William F. Knowland (R., Calif.) and Senator Hubert Humphrey (D., Minn.) to repeal an old Reconstruction era law which the Administration bill would revive.

Enacted April 20, 1871, the old law authorized the President or his agent, "to employ such part of the land and naval forces of the United States, or of the militia, as may be necessary to aid in the execution of judicial process" applying to civil rights.

Forty-seven Democrats and 43 Republicans joined in the unanimous vote. The only senators who did not vote were five who are absent because of illness — Senators Styles Bridges (R., N. H.), Thomas C. Hennings Jr. (D., Mo.), Matthew M. Neely (D., W. Va.), Frederick G. Payne (R., Maine), and Andrew F. Schoeppel (R., Kan.).

Knowland Demands Time

Jubilant foes of the bill immediately tried to get a vote on an amendment to eliminate integration-enforcing Title III, the bill's most hotly disputed section.

But Senator Knowland objected, saying more time should be allowed for the bill's supporters to try to get together on a modified version of Title III.

Senator Richard B. Russell (D., Ga.), leader of the Southerners, quickly withdrew his request for a vote.

"Under the circumstances," the Georgian wryly observed, looking to the Republican side of the Senate, "I threaten easily."

The Title III eliminater is sponsored by Senators Clinton P. Anderson (D., N.M.) and George D. Aiken (R., Vt.).

Senate Democratic Leader Lyndon B. Johnson (D., Texas) served notice he will try to get a vote on the Anderson-Aiken amendment by early Tuesday night.

Necessary Votes Claimed

The bill's foes have been insisting for more than a week that they have the votes to eliminate Title III. Their willingness to vote bolstered their contention.

Senator Russell flatly predicted that the Anderson-Aiken amendment will be adopted. And Senator Anderson predicted it will get more than 50 votes — well over a majority of the Senate's present 95 members.

Title III would authorize the attorney general to seek court injunctions restraining anyone who had or who was "about to" interfere in the civil rights of others.

Commercial Appeal

These so-called "rights," most of which have been handed down by Supreme Court interpretations of the Fourteenth Amendment rather than congressional action, would include the right to attend a non-segregated school, ride a non-segregated bus, and a long list of others, including such varied things as "the right not to be held in peonage" and "the right, when charged with crime, to a fair trial."

Tues. 7-23-57

Under Title III, persons who violated the injunctions would be denied trial by jury. Instead, they would be tried — on contempt charges — by the judge who issued the injunction.

Complicates Issue

Senator Anderson predicted the Senate would pass the bill in eight or 10 days if Title III is knocked out.

Joining the move to eliminate Title III, Senator Johnson declared it "merely complicates what should be the central theme of this bill—the right to vote."

The Democratic leader said it's apparent that "nobody knows what this section means" and that "its only clear certainty is that it grants broad powers—and the limit of those powers is undefined."

"I hope we can reach an early vote on this question," he said. "It would clear the air — and perhaps pave the way for earlier votes on other issues."

Meanwhile, Senator Russell noted the rising tide of compromise in the Senate and foresaw the bill being modified to such an extent "that I could support it."

Wants Scope Restricted

The Georgian emphasized, however, that the amended bill would have to be restricted to voting rights and be aimed fairly at all sections of the nation.

The use-of-troops provision in Title III had been seized upon by Southerners to dramatize the bill's sweeping scope.

As a result, both President Eisenhower and Atty. Gen Herbert Brownell Jr. had said they had no intention of using troops to enforce racial integration in the South.

Before the Senate recessed Monday night, until Tuesday at noon, two more Republican senators announced their support for the elimination of Title III—Senators Leverett Saltonstall (R., Mass.) and H. Alexander Smith R., N. J.).

Senator Smith's move was significant since it put him at odds with Senator Clifford P. Case R., N. J.), one of the bill's strongest supporters.

Substitute Offered

Senator John Sherman Cooper (R., Ky.), meanwhile, introduced a substitute for Title III which would restrain the attorney general from acting until a Federal judge already had issued a preliminary injunction.

Under questitoning by Senator Spessard Hollard (D., Fla.), the Kentucky Republican conceded the principal change that his amendment would make in present laws would be to make the United States a party to integration injunctive proceedings and thus deny defendants jury trials.

The bill's present denial of jury trials is one of the hottest issues in the debates.

Senator John L. McClellan (D., Ark.) also offered an amendment. It would make the bill applicable to communists accused of violating the Federal Anti-Subversive Act.

Under the McClellan amendment, the attorney general could enforce anti-subversion laws by seeking court injunctions restraining subversive activities. Persons who violated the injunctions would be denied jury trials —which they presently are guaranteed.

South Smothers Rights Backers In 2 Test Votes

Constitution 9.1
Atlanta, Ga.
Wed. 7-24-57

By ALBERT RILEY
(Constitution Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON, July 23—The Senate today defeated two Northern liberal attempts to save Part 3 of the Civil Rights Bill and moved toward a showdown vote tomorrow on striking most of that section from the bill.

Under heavy attack from Southerners, Part 3 is the section of the bill that would empower the attorney general to seek federal court injunctions to enforce all kinds of civil rights.

The senate will vote late tomorrow on an amendment by Sens. Anderson (D-NM), Aiken (R-Vt) and Case (R-SD) to eliminate most of Part 3 and thereby confine the bill to a protection of voting rights.

KNOWLAND CONCEDES

Senate Republican Leader William F. Knowland, who is spearheading the fight for the bill, conceded that he could not muster enough strength to salvage Part 3, even in modified form. He said he told the President at a White House talk today the Senate was "quite likely" to delete the section.

In today's action, the Senate rejected, 61 to 29, what amounted to a substitute amendment by Sen. Bricker (R-Ohio) that would have permitted the attorney general to seek civil rights injunctions only at the direction of the President.

Both the Southerners and the advocates of a strong civil rights bill then teamed up to defeat, 81 to 8, another amendment by Sen. Cooper (R-Ky).

Cooper's amendment would have authorized the attorney general to act only when local authorities are trying to comply with a federal court order and are being opposed by a conspiracy of local citizens.

WENT TOO FAR

While the Southerners want none of Part 3's enforcement powers, the Northern liberals seemed to believe that Cooper's amendment went too far in weakening the bill.

Encouraged by today's victories, backed by Senate Majority Leader Johnson and having picked up powerful Republican support, the Southerners have an excellent chance of getting the Anderson-Aiken-Case amendment adopted tomorrow, confining the bill to voting rights.

Meanwhile, today's federal court jury verdict in Clinton, Tenn., convicting John Kasper and six codefendants in a school integration contempt case, raised Dixie hopes of getting a jury trial amendment to the civil rights bill.

The vote on the Anderson-Aiken-Case amendment is expected to be closer than today's test on the Bricker amendment. It could hinge on what President Eisenhower has to say at his weekly news conference tomorrow.

Constitution

Advocates of a tough civil rights bill have complained that the President up to now has pulled the rug out from under them by failing to take a consistently strong position on the bill.

Wed. 7.24-57

Eisenhower is certain to be asked by newsmen Wednesday if he would favor or accept the Anderson-Aiken-Case proposal to confine the bill to voting rights.

Forty Democrats and 21 Republicans voted against the Bricker amendment while seven Democrats and 22 Republicans supported it.

Some strong advocates of civil rights legislation, including Democratic Sens. Humphrey (Minn.), Clark (Pa.) and Morse (Ore), voted with the Southerners against the Bricker plan.

But they are almost certain to vote against the Southerners and against the Anderson-Aiken-Case amendment.

Almost all of the liberal civil rights extremists voted against the Cooper amendment, too, as the Kentucky Republican got only five members of his own party and two Democrats — Sens. Kefauver of Tennessee and party whip Mike Mansfield of Montana to go along with his plan.

In a NBC radio-television debate Tuesday night, Sen. Russell cited the election of a Negro member to the Atlanta Board of Education as a refutation of charges that Negroes are unable to vote in Georgia. "Voting is the least of our social worries in Georgia," he added.

In the program carried on WSB-TV and radio Sen. Douglas (D-Ill) pointed out that in at least two Georgia counties with populations of thousands of Negroes of voting age there are none on the voting lists.

"While Negroes can vote in Atlanta, that great city is grossly under-represented in the (state) Legislature," Douglas continued. He pointed out that two or three Georgia counties with only a fraction of Atlanta's population have a greater voice in state government than the capital city.

SENATE ACTS, 90-0, TO VOID 1870 LAW ON USE OF TROOPS

Times 7.1
Tues. 7-23-57
New York

Votes in Effect to Amend Controversial Section of Civil Rights Measure

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SOUTH HAD VOICED FEAR

Administration-Backed Bill Cited the Legislation of Reconstruction Era

By WILLIAM S. WHITE
Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, July 22—The Senate voted 90 to 0 today to repeal a Reconstruction era law empowering the President to use troops to enforce the civil rights decrees of the Federal courts.

In effect this was an amendment to the Administration's civil rights bill. That bill referred to the long disused powers granted in the Reconstruction law—Section 1993 of the United States Code.

The law became effective in 1870 as one of the Federal Government's means of dealing with the conquered South after the Civil War.

The bipartisan civil rights leaders, Senators William F. Knowland of California for the Republicans and Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota for the Democrats, offered the repealer.

Their purpose was to take out of the most controversial section of the Administration's bill, Part III, a legal link to a long dead past that is still looked upon by Southerners and many Northerners as a time of trial and shame.

Every faction of the Senate welcomed the action, as tending to remove from the debate any possibility of the use of military force in the South.

Southerners Voice Fears

President Eisenhower specifically had disclaimed any such thought; the Southern opposition nevertheless had argued that some future President conceivably might take a different line.

This disposition of the troop issue had no effect, however, toward retarding an accelerating retreat, involving some of the Administration's strongest Republican supporters, from the central aspect of Part III.

That provision would create Federal injunctive sanctions to force school integration in the South.

Such senior Eisenhower Republicans as Senators Leverett Saltonstall of Massachusetts and H. Alexander Smith of New Jersey announced that they would not go along with it. Mr. Saltonstall is a member of the Senate Republican leadership group.

Would Delete Section

The pro-civil rights coalition was further fragmented by a move on the part of the liberal leaders of an anti-Part III group, Senators George D. Aiken, Republican of Vermont, and Clinton P. Anderson, Democrat of New Mexico.

Senators Anderson and Aiken are co-authors of a motion to knock out Part III altogether. It is likely to be voted upon tomorrow or tomorrow night and by every sign will carry handily.

They modified their proposal toaday so that a minor phase of Part III would be retained. It effect would be to guarantee what many contended was an existing privileget—he privilege of an individual to sue for an injunction in Federal court to halt depravations of his civil rights.

Times 7.17-C

The other purposes of this change were:

¶To give the Administration's supporters and the bipartisan civil rights forces in general the opportunity to vote for a bill not totally shorn of Part III.

¶To preserve in the text some slight section of the original as a simple necessity of legislative draftsmanship. Some reference to Part III had to remain, because the repealer of the Reconstruction act rested on Part III; if its base of references were destroyed the repealer itself would not exist.

Support Dwindling

Tonight, the surviving support for an unchanged Part III appeared to be confined largely to the more advanced liberals of both parties.

The Senate Democratic leader, Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, asserted that the bill itself would never pass until Part III had been stricken.

That part, he asserted, merely serves to "complicate what should be the central theme of this bill—the right to vote."

Senator Smith of New Jersey agreed from the Republican side, saying: "the big question seems to me to be this: Shall we now unitedly join in a sincere movement towards real cooperation with a view to accomplishing first things first—the right to vote?"

Senator Saltonstall went further. Part III, he asserted, would "violate one of the cardinal principles upon which our Government is founded—the principle of home rule or Government close to the people."

He was referring to the fact that the section would permit the Department of Justice, with or without the consent of the victim, to go into Federal Court for injunctions against denials of civil rights, such as the right to attend an integrated school.

Local officials refusing to obey injunctions to integrate could be tried by a Federal judge, without a jury, and fined or imprisoned for contempt.

Such a grant of power to the Attorney General, Herbert Brownell Jr., and his successors, Senator Saltonstall declared, would mean that "individual rights are not promoted but rather demoted."

The same injunctive process is carried in another aspect of the bill to protect the right to vote.

Senator Smith of New Jersey argued that once the Senate had stricken Part III it would be possible to find decisive support for the voting section, even though the Southerners are demanding jurq trials in that connection.

There would be "no need or justification" for jury trials in that area, once Par III was out of the bill, Mr. Smith asserted.

The one hope of the civil rights forces to avoid a heavy defeat over Part III was to find some widely backed substitute so that the choice would be between Part III and nothing.

Senator John Sherman Cooper, Republican of Kentucky, a liberal, Eisenhower Republican, proposed a substitute as a compromise.

Under this, the Justice Department could intervene with Federal injunctions only against persons — including mobs — seeking to obstruct or intimidate local officials from carrying out the civil rights decrees of the court.

Under this plan, the attorney general could move only in support of local authorities.

Senator Paul H. Douglas, Democrat of Illinois, a civil rights leader, at once rejected the Cooper approach as inadequate.

Senator John L. McClellan, Democrat of Arkansas, put in an amendment to make the non-jury trial procedures of the bill applicable also to the Smith Act, which deals with subversion.

"If these procedures are sound, practical and justified for punitive purposes against the white race in the South," he asserted, "then such procedures are a thousandfold justified in fighting the communist conspiracy."

The debate was taking a tone that was increasingly critical of Mr. Brownell, for one or another aspect of the bill as drafted in his department.

Senator Frank J. Lausche, Democrat of Ohio, referring specifically to the incorporation in the measure of the Reconstruction law, said the Senate should discover "who sponsored this thought and who possessed this fanaticism."

Senate Limits Rights Bill To Vote Enforcing Power

52-38 Ballot Gives South Solid Victory

WASHINGTON, July 24 (AP) — President Eisenhower's civil rights bill was stripped in the Senate today of all its enforcement powers except those covering voting rights.

The vote on the crucial issue, coming after five hours of debate, was 52-38.

It was a solid victory for Southern senators, who have argued for weeks that the bill as it came from the House would permit the federal government to force racial integration of the schools in their states and impose other social changes.

Thirty-four Democrats and 18 Republicans joined to adopt an amendment by Sen. Anderson (D-NM) and Aiken (R-Vt) to eliminate almost all of Section 3 from the measure. Thirteen Northern Democrats and 25 Republicans voted against the amendment.

JURY TRIAL FIGHT

Section 3 would have empowered the attorney general, on his own initiative, to seek federal court injunctions against all kinds of civil rights violations or threats of violations. Persons flouting the injunctions could be charged with contempt of court and tried by federal judges without jury.

Northern supporters of the amendment hailed the vote as diminishing the chances of a Southern filibuster against what's left of the bill and increasing the chances of passage.

"I think this vote makes the enactment of a workable civil rights bill very likely," Aiken said.

BILL IN JEOPARDY

Some of those on the other side declared knocking out Section 3 would be followed by Southern assaults on other sections of the measure. Sen. Javits (R-NY) said today's action "leaves the bill in great jeopardy."

"I hope those who are really for civil rights will see the jeopardy of losing one position after another and rally to support the other provisions of the House bill," the New Yorker told the Senate.

Still in the bill is authority for the attorney general to seek injunctions in voting rights cases. In addition, persons who felt their right to vote was being denied illegally could bypass state courts and go directly into federal courts with petitions for restraining orders or demands for damages.

SUBPOENA POWER

Also in the bill are provisions to set up a bipartisan commission with broad subpoena powers to investigate the civil rights problem, and to create a civil rights division in the Justice Department.

But all the remaining provisions are under attack in varying degrees, and further efforts probably will be made to soften the legislation.

Immediately after adoption of the Anderson-Aiken amendment, Majority Leader Johnson (D-Tex) called up a jury trial amendment proposed by Sen. O'Mahoney (D-Wyo). This was a surprise, since supporters of the bill had expected to go to work next on amendments to the commission part of the bill.

FOLLOWS CUSTOM

Vice President Nixon, who was presiding, followed Senate custom and recognized the majority leader first, although Minority Leader Knowland (R-Calif) was seeking recognition at the same time. Knowland heads the bipartisan coalition backing the bill.

The O'Mahoney amendment would provide for jury trials in injunction proceedings where persons were charged with contempt and threatened with criminal penalties. It is one of several pending proposals for jury trials under the bill.

Knowland's coalition opposes a jury trial amendment as weakening the legislation, some members of the group contending that juries in the South would not convict in cases involving the voting rights of Negroes.

CRUCIAL TEST

As the Senate prepared to vote on the Anderson-Aiken change, Johnson said it would be a crucial test that "well may be the deciding factor as to whether we have a bill or no bill."

"The issue is simple," the Democratic leader told the Senate. "We can write an adequate bill to safeguard the right to vote. We can create a commission which can study the problems and return to us with recommendations.

"Or we can attempt to write into law new and drastic enforcement procedures that cover a wide variety of vaguely defined, so-called 'civil rights'."

Sen. Bricker, (R-Ohio) agreed with Johnson regarding the chances of passing the bill as it came from the House last month.

WILKINS GLUM

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People commented glumly that the vote "calls for the whistling of Dixie but hardly for 'My Country 'Tis of Thee'."

Sen. Potter (R-Mich) said the amendment would "sweep under the rug an entire category of individual rights guaranteed by the Constitution."

Aiken and Anderson both voiced final pleas that Section 3 as drafted would have injected the federal government too deeply into state and local affairs.

"I don't desire a government by injunction," said Anderson.

MANSFIELD STAND

Sen. Mansfield (D-Mont) joined those calling for elimination of everything but the voting right clauses in Section 3. He said no one denies that the powers contained in the section are "broad and sweeping."

Sen. Douglas (D-Ill) took the other side. He said in his prepared speech:

"If the Anderson-Aiken amendment carries there will be gleeful pleasure among the advocates of apartheid and white supremacy but deep sadness amongst those who are struggling for a better way for men to live together."

How Senate Voted On Rights Amendment

WASHINGTON, July 24 (AP)— Here is the 52-38 vote by which the Senate adopted today the Anderson-Aiken amendment stripping the administration's civil rights bill of all enforcement authority except protection of voting rights.

For the amendment—52

Democrats for (34):

Anderson of N.M.; Bible of Nev.; Byrd of Va.; Chavez of N.M.; Church of Idaho.

Eastland of Miss.; Ellender of La.; Irvin of N.C.; Frear of Del.; Fulbright of Ark.

Gore of Tenn.; Green of R.I.; Hayden of Ariz.; Hill of Ala.; Holland of Fla.

Johnson of Texas; Johnston of S.C.; Kefauver of Tenn.; Kerr of Okla.; Long of La.

Mansfield of Mont.; McClellan of Ark.; Monroney of Okla.; Murray of Mont.; O'Mahoney of Wyo.

Robertson of Va.; Russell of Ga.; Scott of N.C.; Smathers of Fla.; Sparkman of Ala.

Stennis of Miss.; Talmadge of Ga.; Thurmond of S.C.; Yarborough of Texas.

Republicans for (18):

Aiken of Vt.; Barrett of Wyo.; Bennett of Utah; Bricker of Ohio; Butler of Md.

Case of S.D.; Cotton of N.H.; Curtis of Neb.; Dworshak of Idaho; Flanders of Vt.

Goldwater of Ariz; Hickenlooper of Iowa; Malone of Nev.; Mundt of S.D.; Saltonstall of Mass.

Smith of N.J.; Williams of De.; Young of N.D.

Against the amendment

Democrats against (13):

Carroll of Colo.; Clark of Pa.; Douglas of Ill.; Humphrey of Minn.; Jackson of Wash.

Kennedy of Mass.; Lausche of Ohio; Magnuson of Wash.; McNamara of Mich.; Morse of Ore.

Neuberger of Ore.; Pastore of R.I.; Symington of Mo.

Republicans against (25):

Allott of Colo.; Beall of Md.; Bush of Conn.; Capehart of Ind.; Carlson of Kansas.

Case of N.J.; Cooper of Ky.; Dirksen of Ill.; Hruska of Neb.; Ives of N.Y.

Javits of N.Y.; Jenner of Ind.; Knowland of Calif.; Kuchel of Calif.; Langer of N.D.

Martin of Iowa; Martin of Pa.; Morton of K.; Potter of Mich.; Purtell of Conn.

Revercomb of W. Va.; Mrs. Smith of Maine; Thye of Minn.; Watkins of Utah; Wiley of Wis.

Not voting nor paired but announced as for the amendment: Schoeppel (R-Kan).

Not voting nor paired but announced as against the amentment: Hennings (D-Mo), Neely (D-W Va) and Payne (R-Maine).

Senate Leader Sees Main Fight On Voting Rights

BY ROSE McKEE

WASHINGTON — (INS) — Senate GOP leader William F. Knowland predicted Saturday the Senate will defeat a Civil Rights bill amendment to guarantee a jury trial for persons accused of interfering with voting rights.

The California Republican was less optimistic, however, about the administration's chances of preventing a jury trial guarantee from

written into the bill's disputed section III.

GENERAL RIGHTS

This section would permit the Attorney General to obtain a court injunction to protect the general rights of any American. Southerners charged it could be used to enforce school integration in their states.

The Eisenhower Adminstration will make its main fight on the section IV provision for the Attorney General to protect Negro voting rights by injunction power, without a jury trial for an accused violator.

MIGHT DELAY ENFORCEMENT

The Administration contends that using the jury trial process in the proposed civil action might delay enforcement beyond an election day.

Knowland said in an interview: "I'm inclined to believe the jury trial amendment in any event will be kept out of section four of the bill. Whether we can keep it out of section three I don't know."

The GOP leader said that there is "little likelihood" that any coalition compromise amendment will be offered to modify the hotly contested section III.

The way was cleared for a direct vote on this proposal when Knowland and Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D) Minn., abandoned plans to try to modify the section three. Both said the vote on eliminating section III will be "very close."

Aiken of Vermont said that there will be more votes for killing the section "as it now stands than there would have been had it been" softened by compromise proposals of either Knowland or Humphrey.

Sen. Clinton P. Anderson (D) N. M., who led the fight of civil rights supporters last January to change the Senate's anti-fillibuster rule, is the democratic sponsor of the "strike-out" amendment.

The Anderson-Aiken proposal won surprise support Saturday from Sen. H. Alexander Smith (R) N. J

A GOOD BILL

He said: "I am inclined to sup- to secure compliance with the Supreme Court ruling," he declared. "Talk of bayonets and guns is inflamatory and not a real issue."

World P.6

Proposals to provide for jury trials in contempt proceedings in equity cases, Mr. Wilkins said, would definitely make the bill ineffective. "Traditional," he asserted, "such proceedings have been without jury trial. There are on the books many laws which do not provide for jury trials in contempt cases. Courts have long had the right to enforce their decrees in such cases. Some of the Senators who are protesting now have voted for such laws."

The bill, he pointed out, has from the beginning been designed not only to protect the right to vote, but also to protect other constitutional rights, "It is a disortion to make believe now that it was ever intended to be confined to voting rights only," he said.

Mr. Wilkins denied that Part III had been "sneaked" into the bill. "It was there from the first draft in 1956," he said. "Its clear intent is and has always been to assist Negro citizens in securing constitutional right in addition to the right to vote. It was discussed at committee hearings and on the floor of the United States Atty. General, he charged.

Jury-Trial Amendment Is Called Up

Courier-Journal Thurs. 7-25-57 Louisville, Ky. P.1

From Wire Dispatches

Washington, July 24—President Eisenhower's civil-rights bill was stripped in the Senate today of all its enforcement powers except those covering voting rights.

The vote on the crucial issue, coming after 5 hours of debate, was 52 to 38.

It was a solid victory for Southern senators, who have argued for weeks that the bill as it came from the House would permit the Federal Government to force racial integration of the schools in their states and impose other social changes.

There was no reaction from the White House.

Thirty-four Democrats and 18 Republicans joined to adopt an amendment by Senators Anderson (D., N. M.) and Aiken (R., Vt.) to eliminate almost all of Section 3 from the measure. Thirteen Northern Democrats and 25 Republicans voted against the amendment.

Covered Broad Field

Section 3 would have empowered the attorney general, on his own initiative, to seek federal court injunctions against all kinds of civil-rights violations or threats of violations. Persons flouting the injunctions could have been charged with contempt of court and tried by federal judges without a jury.

Northern supporters of the amendment hailed the vote as diminishing the chances of a Southern filibuster against what's left of the bill and as increasing the chances of passage.

Newsmen could be fined or imprisoned for an all-out reporting job on the proposed civil-rights commission, according to a story on Page 11.

"I think this vote makes the enactment of a workable civil-rights bill very likely," Aiken said.

Some of those on the other side declared that knocking out Section 3 would be followed by Southern assaults on other sections of the measure. Senator Javits (R., N. Y.) said today's action "leaves the bill in great jeopardy."

Cooper Pleads In Vain

"I hope those who are really for civil rights will see the jeopardy of losing one position after another and rally to support the other provisions of the House bill," the New Yorker told the Senate.

Senator Cooper (R., Ky.) pleaded with fellow senators not to limit the bill to a guarantee of the right to vote.

"The central issue before us," he said, "is whether Congress will take cognizance of other constitutional rights, other civil rights, other human rights. We are voting on the question of limiting our interest solely to the right to vote.

Courier-Journal P.16

"If we keep in the bill this section covering other rights, we can write into it the right of jury trial, if the Senate so desires. We can limit the power given to the attorney general if we so desire.

'I See Nothing Wrong . . .'

"The powers given in this section would not be used against those communities which are moving toward compliance with the decisions of the Supreme Court. But they would be used where there has been a failure on the part of local authorities to go forward. I see nothing wrong with that.

"I shall vote to enforce the rights guaranteed to every citizen of this country."

Still in the bill is authority for the attorney general to seek injunctions in voting-rights cases. In addition, persons who felt their right to vote was being denied illegally could bypass State courts and go directly into federal courts with petitions for restraining orders or demands for damages.

Also in the bill are provisions to set up a bipartisan commission with broad subpoena powers to investigate the civil-rights problem and to create a civil-rights division in the Justice Department.

Jury-Trial Change Called Up

But all the remaining provisions are under attack in varying degrees, and further efforts will probably be made to soften the legislation.

Immediately after adoption of the Anderson-Aiken amendment, Majority Leader Johnson (D., Tex.) called up a jury-trial amendment proposed by Senator O'Mahoney (D., Wyo.). This was a surprise, since supporters of the bill had expected to go to work next on amendments to the commission part of the bill.

Vice-President Nixon, presiding, followed Senate custom and recognized the majority leader first, although minority leader Knowland (R., Cal.) was seeking recognition at the same time. Knowland heads the bipartisan coalition backing the bill.

The O'Mahoney amendment would provide for jury trials in injunction proceedings where persons were charged with contempt and threatened with criminal penalties. It is one of several pending proposals for jury trials under the bill.

Coalition Opposes Amendment

Knowland's coalition opposes a jury-trial amendment as weakening the legislation. Some members of the group contend that juries in the South would not convict in cases involving the voting rights of Negroes.

As the Senate prepared to vote on the Anderson-Aiken change, Johnson said it would be a crucial test that "well may be the deciding factor as to whether we have a bill or no bill."

"The issue is simple," the Democratic leader told the Senate. "We can write an adequate bill to safeguard the right to vote. We can create a commission which can study the problems and return to us with recommendations.

"Or we can attempt to write into law new and drastic enforcement procedures that cover a wide variety of vaguely defined, so-called civil rights."

Bricker Agrees With Johnson

Senator Bricker (R., Ohio) agreed with Johnson regarding the chances of passing the bill as it came from the House last month. "We can have legislation more adequately protecting the right to vote or we can have no legislation at all," he said.

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for The Advancement of Colored People, commented glumly that the vote "calls for the whistling of 'Dixie,' but hardly for 'My Country 'Tis of Thee.'"

Associated Press Wirephoto

RIGHTS STRATEGISTS . . . Senators Anderson (D., N. M.), left, and Aiken (R., Vt.) appear together as cosponsors of move to kill Section 3 of civil-rights bill.

"The adoption of this motion," he added, "says plainly to American Negroes that, as far as the Senate is concerned, they can expect little, if any, assistance from the Federal Governmnt in attempts to win enjoyment of their constitutional rights."

Senator Potter (R., Mich.) said the amendment would "sweep under the rug an entire category of individual rights guaranteed by the constitution."

Federal Control Feared

Aiken and Anderson both voiced final pleas that Section 3 as drafted would have injected the Federal Government too deeply into State and local affairs.

"It would inject federal controls into all phases of life," said Aiken.

"I don't desire a government by injunction," said Anderson.

Senator Mansfield (D., Mont.) joined those calling for elimination of everything but the voting-rights clauses in Section 3. "It seems to me the choice is clear," Mansfield told his colleagues. "We can return to Reconstruction and refight battles that are over and done. Or we can try to meet the problems of the present day in a spirit of reason. . . ."

Douglas Takes Other Side

Senator Douglas (D., Ill.) took the other side. He said:

"If a senator believes that Negroes should be denied equal access to public parks, paid for in part by them, let him vote to strike . . . for that is the effect of his vote.

"If a senator believes that Negro children in the schools should be segregated forever, and that a State has no duty to even begin compliance with the law of the land, let him vote to strike . . . for that is the effect of his vote.

"If the Anderson-Aiken amendment carries, there will be gleeful pleasure among the advocates of apartheid and white supremacy, but deep sadness amongst those who are struggling for a better way for men to live together."

Might Offer Substitute

A coalition of Republicans and Northern Democrats supporting the bill has made repeated efforts to find compromise language for Section 3, but has had no success.

Senator Knowland, leader of the coalition, told newsmen a modified substitute for Section 3 might be offered later. He said, however, it would depend on whether language could be found that would be "helpful" and would attract "widespread support."

10 1957

Mundt, Russell Joining To Jerk Rights 'Teeth

Solons Gird For Battle Over Rights

Advertiser Sun. 7-7-57 Montgomery, Ala. P.1

Other Legislation May Become Mired In Dixie Filibuster

WASHINGTON, July 6 (UP)—The Senate plunges Monday into a civil rights bill fight which could bring all other pending legislation to a dead stop.

At 2 p.m. Senate Republican Leader William F. Knowland will move that the Senate take up the measure endorsed by President Eisenhower and already passed by the House. This will signal the start of a southern Democratic filibuster which could last indefinitely.

Knowland himself says the fight "easily could and probably will tie up the Senate for at least eight weeks. But he is optimistic that the fight will bring victory to civil rights forces and finally clear the way for "quite a bit of legislation."

ENDURANCE CONTEST

Sen. Richard B. Russell (D-Ga), a leader of the southern bloc thinks otherwise. He and his Dixie colleagues are ready for any endurance contest required. In past years, such talkathons have killed bills intended principally for protection of Negroes.

If Knowland is right the regular session of Congress could continue beyond Labor Day for the first time since 1951.

Meantime, the President's legislative program seems all but doomed. Even if the House acts on major bills—and many are opposed by Eisenhower's own party—they will have no chance as long as the Senate is deadlocked.

In this category are bills for federal aid to school construction, immigration law revisions, "clean" elections, expanding coverage of the national minimum wage law, postal rate increases and measures to overturn Supreme Court decisions on subversives and exposing FBI files to public view.

Before leaving with a congressional delegation to attend the dedication of the Truman library at Independence, Mo., Knowland told reporters he expects a "fairly normal" Senate schedule next week.

He said longer sessions may be in order late in the week if necessary to get a vote on the motion to take up the bill. In past years southerners generally have been able to block a vote on such motion but they have little chance of winning that preliminary round this year.

Knowland acknowledged that long contest could sidetrack some administration bills until next year but he would not specify what might go over. He said Eisenhower is "familiar with the implications" of the civil rights debate.

Advertiser P.2-A

He again expressed belief a filibuster can be broken eventually just by keeping the Senate in session until foes of the bill give up. If he should prove wrong, the measure could be brought to a vote only by invoking the anti-filibuster rule, which requires 64 votes to limit debate.

Described by Eisenhower as a measure intended primarily to protect voting rights, the bill would permit the Justice Department to seek court action, by injunction, to prevent a denial or threatened denial of civil rights.

It also would set up a new Justice Department division on civil rights and create a commission to investigate alleged violations of civil rights.

New Proposal Would Ditch Force Clause

Advertiser P.1 Sun. 7-14-57 Montgomery Ala.

WASHINGTON, July 13 (AP)—Sen. Mundt (R-SD) joined Sen. Russell (D-Ga) today in a bipartisan move to take some of the enforcement teeth out of the administration's civil rights bill.

With supporters of the measure fighting against "compromise" moves, Mundt announced he will offer a substitute which would delete enforcement authority for civil rights other than those involved in voting.

The Senate meanwhile ended its sixth day of debate, at 6:50 p.m., on a motion to take up the bill.

Mundt said he is in "a neutral corner" in the civil rights battle because South Dakota has few Negro or minority voters or problems.

REASON DISPLACED

"Emotion has displaced reason in many parts of the North and South," Mundt said, adding that his proposed amendments would remove most controversy from the bill.

Previously Russell, commander of the bill's opponents, had offered a series of amendments. One of these would strike out Part III of the bill.

It authorizes the attorney general to bring civil suits to prevent infringement or threatened infringement of civil rights in general. He could seek injunctions in federal court and anyone violating the injunction could be fined or jailed for contempt without jury trial.

Russell has contended this portion of the measure is aimed at enforcing the Supreme Court's school desegregation opinion and at bringing about integration in the South. He has said it makes possible the use of troops to reach these objectives.

Mundt told a reporter his substitute proposal is designed to place before the Senate "a measure the Southerners can't vote for, but one with which they can live."

In addition to striking out Part III, Mundt said his substitute would incorporate a so-called jury-trial amendment offered previously by Sen. O'Mahoney (D-Wyo). This would provide for jury trials in federal court contempt cases where the facts are in dispute.

Mundt also moved to cut down the authority of a proposed six-member commission which would be set up under the bill to investigate and report on civil rights developments.

His substitute would give the commission subpoena power only in cases involving voting rights. It would be limited otherwise to hearing voluntary witnesses in public hearings and to making recommendations to state legislatures, Congress and the president for laws providing fuller protection of civil rights.

Russell also moved to make the appointment of a staff director of the proposed civil rights commission subject to Senate confirmation. He sought to bar use by the commission of unpaid, volunteer investigators. He said reformers have been "running around the country stirring up trouble."

Significantly, Russell made no move to delete a section of the bill which would authorize the attorney general to seek injunctions to prevent violations or threatened violations of voting rights.

President Eisenhower has said the protection of such rights was his principal objective in asking Congress to act on the legislation.

No sooner had Russell made his proposals than Sen. Javits (R-NY) cautioned supporters of the bill against talking at this time about compromises. He said the objective now should be to get the bill officially before the Senate when the chamber votes on that question late Tuesday.

Describing the House measure as "a very moderate bill," Javits said he doesn't believe compromises will win the bill any more supporters.

"We all should know from our legislative experience that those who are unalterably opposed will often support and vote for amendments reducing the scope of the bill, its enforcement powers — indeed, emasculating it — and then vote against the bill," he said.

Solon Wants Civil Rights Put To Vote

Advertiser Wed. 7-3-57 Montgomery, Ala. P.1

Nationwide Test Asked By Russell In Attack On Bill

WASHINGTON, July 2 (AP)—The Senate jumped the gun today on its forthcoming civil rights debate.

Sen. Russell (D-Ga) blasted the House-passed right-to-vote bill, sponsored by the Eisenhower administration, as a device for "bayonet" enforcement of school integration. He urged that the whole measure be submitted to a nationwide popular vote.

Some Northerners scoffed at Russell's impassioned speech. Said Sen. Dirksen (R-Ill): "Seldom have I seen so many ghosts under a single bed."

The flurry of orations came as Republican Senate Leader Knowland (Calif) told at the White House of plans to bring the civil rights bill up for debate early next week. Southerners, led by Russell, are ready to try talking it to death.

PLAIN IMPLICATION

Russell took issue, by plain implication, with President Eisenhower's past statements that the bill is a "moderate" and "decent" attempt to assure the voting rights of Southern Negroes and others.

The Georgia senator told his colleagues that actually the bill was "deliberately drawn to enable the use of our military forces to destroy the system of separation of the races in the Southern states, if it be necessary to take this step."

With a fervor seldom seen on the Senate floor these days, Russell told his Republican and Northern Democratic antagonists: "If you propose to move into the South in this fashion you may as well prepare your concentation camps now, for there will not be enough jails to hold the people of the South who will today oppose the use of raw federal power to forcibly comingle white and Negro children in the same schools and places of public entertainment."

Advertiser

Dirksen said Russell was greatly exaggerating the possible effects of the bill. If it is enacted, Dirksen said, "the heavens will not be rent asunder, the earth will not rock and roll."

P.2-A

Voicing agreement, Sen. Douglas (D-Ill) said the measure does not envision all the "horrible consequences" predicted by Russell.

"Its primary purpose is to throw added protection around the right to vote," said Douglas.

Russell told newsmen the referendum he proposed would be similar to those frequently conducted among farmers on the question of production and marketing controls.

As he explained it, the bill itself would be amended to provide for a national referendum on the civil rights legislation, with the issue to be decided by simple majority vote.

APPROVED BY PEOPLE

Times P.14 New York Wed. 7-10-57

Associated Press Wirephoto

. . . IF IT TAKES ALL SUMMER: Senator Irving M. Ives of New York is prepared for a long siege if the Senate fight over civil rights bill reaches filibuster stage. He moved this full-sized single bed into his office for use in case Senate goes into night sessions.

All-Out Filibuster Unlikely At Opening Of Rights Debate

Advertiser Fri. 7-5-57 Montgomery, Ala. P.1

WASHINGTON, July 4 (AP)—The civil rights battle in the Senate, due to open Monday, may begin with considerably less force than a filibuster.

This became apparent today in the wake of statements by Sen. Russell (D-Ga) that Southern opponents do not plan, at the outset, to make speeches of unusual length.

Russell, leading the oposition, also said that the critical Dixie senators nevertheless would speak on different phases of the administration's civil rights bill "in order that it may be clearly understood."

In this connection, they are expected to seize on a statement of President Eisenhower at his news conference Wednesday. Eisenhower, who has been plugging the bill as fair and moderate, said then that he had been reading parts and "there were certain phrases I didn't completely understand."

The President made the statement in a discussion in which he also said he found it "rather incomprehensible" that highly respected men have described the bill as extreme and leading to disorder.

Russell has so dscribed it. He contends the legislation is a device contrived to force racial mixing on the South; Eisenhower and other supporters describe it as primarily intended to make sure that no citizen is deprived of his right to vote.

After the bill is called up Monday, the first speaker against it is expected to be Sen. Ervin (D-NC).

Ervin, through committee hearings and otherwise, has hit hard at the fact the bill does not guarantee a jury trial for any one charged with disobeying a judge's injunction issued under the proposed law.

Ervin says this is a denial of a vital right of a man to have his case heard by a jury, rather than by a judge alone. The Justice Department response to this has been that there is no constitutional right to a jury trial in such cases; others backing the legislation wouldn't convict in such a proceding.

Advertiser P.2-A

Two possible filibusters confront the bill—one as soon as Knowland offers his motion to call it up, and the other on the bill itself.

However, there were indications the Southerners might pass up the chance to filibuster the motion to call it up, if an agreement can be reached to modify the bill. Here is the way Russell put it:

"I hope that as the debate progresses in the Senate chamber, we may arrive at some meeting of the minds, at least as to the portions of the bill which I regard as being most objectionable and most vicious, and that the time may come when, after full and fair debate, the Senate may proceed to vote on amendments to the bill."

Russell emphasized that, while he wants to modify the bill, his goal is still to kill it.

The amendment would provide that other sections of the bill would not become effective until approved by the people.

Russell suggested such a vote might be held in conjunction with the 1958 congressional elections.

He said that if supporters of th civil rights bill are correct in the contention that there is "a b popular demand" for it, he sa no reason why they should oppo a referendum.

Rather Have No Law at All

Black Dispatch Fri. 8-2-57 Oklahoma City Okla. P.1

NEW ORLEANS.—Eighty-five persons from 18 southern and border states and the District of Columbia joined today in opposing the jury trial amendment to the Civil Rights bill. They said it would be better to pass no bill at all than to pass one which limits the powers of courts to enforce their decrees.

The statement, entitled "An Open Letter From the South on Civil Rights" and addressed to the Senate of the United States was published today as an advertisement in the Washington Post. The statement was coordinated by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.

"The right to vote," said the statement, "consecrated by our democratic institutions, is entitled to all means of protection existing in our judicial system. The Administration's civil rights bill H. R. 6127 will fill an aching gap in providing a means of preventive action to protect that right from encroachment.

"The confusing proposals to amend the bill by a provision for jury trial, however limited, can only cripple the enforcement of the law by introducing into the proceeding the very local prejudice against which protection is sought. Also the jury trial provision introduces a weapon of delay which can be used to withhold indefinitely the right to vote.

"A court's decree is an order to those before it to do or to refrain from doing certain things. A party dissatisfied with the decree has his full rights of appeal and review. In the rare case in which a party refuses to honor the decree of an equity court, the court has the power to punish him for contempt.

"The contempt powers of equity courts are founded on the fundamental sanctity and authority of the court to enforce its own decree, and not on any concept of crime against the state, in which the right to jury trial is inviolate, and is unaffected by the Administration's bill.

"It would be better not to pass any civil rights legislation at all than to pass a bill which limits the power of courts to enforce their orders. We are in a better position to get justice in civir rights cases under existing laws than we would be if you pass the proposed 'jury trial' amendments."

Sponsors of the advertisement were Charles G. and Jennie E. Gomillion, Jessie P. Guzman, J. E. LeFlore, E. D. Nixon, Non-Partisan Voters League of Mobile Alabama, and Aubrew W. Williams, Alabama; Emmett McLaughlin, Arizona; L. C. and Daisy Bates, Arkansas; Donald and Ingeborg Stephens, Louis L. Redding, Delaware.

Dr. G. G. Becknell, John M. Coe, Peter H. Robinson, Dr. Eugene R. Shippen, the Rev. C. K. Steele, and the Rev. Ben F. Wyland, Flodira; Miles G. Amos, Dr. Albert E. Barnett, and C. A. Scott, Georgia.

Carl Braden, Bishop L. C. Collins, Mrs. Floyd W. Crawford, James A. Crumlin, Lillian Elder, Ruth Felton, Roscoe Griffin, The Rev. Thomas P. Green, The Rev. M. M. D. Perdue, D. D., Dorcas Ruthenburg, Dr. Alva W. Taylor, Bishop C. Ewbank Tucker, Henry F. Wallace, and A. G. Weidler, Kentucky.

Donald W. and Juanita M. Barard, Marcus Christian, Dr. E. T. M. DeVore, A. V. Boutte sr., Dr. James A. Oombrowski, Robert D. and Helen Feild, James E. Gayle, Verneta E. Hill, The Rev. E. A. Henry, Mrs. Samuel S. Labouisse, Naomi Landry, Frederick Rhodes, M. D., Benjamin E. Smith, C. C. Weil and Marjorie Zengel, Louisiana.

G. K. Butterfield, D. D. S., Willson Whitman, The Clarence Parker, Dr. Oscar K. Rice, North Carolina; Jeanette C. Carmichael, Mississippi; Stuart Moore, Missouri; Dr. Arthur N. Bragg, William N. Bragg, Bishop C. C. Coleman, and The Rev. Calvin K. Stalnaker, Oklahoma.

Dr. James H. Goudlock, Mrs. A. W. Simkins and J. R. Walker, South Carolina; F. Woods Beckman, Dr. Howard and Helen Parsons, and O. B. Taylor, M. D., Tennessee.

Black Dispatch P.2

Dr. Paul F. Boller jr., Dr. G. U. Jamison jr., John Jay Jones, Norma McNatt, Dr. Richard H. Powers, Easton C. Skinner, and Jewell Slade, Texas.

Wilma Alexander, Ruth Hawes, and Julia H. H. Hill, Virginia; Dr. C. Herbert Marshall II, Dr. Anna Rand, Washington, D. C.; Mrs. William G. Gehre and Dr. James L. Hupp, West Virginia.

Mrs. Victor P. Noyes, Maryland; Dr. Herman H .Long, Tennessee.

10 1957

Diggs on Civil Rights Measure

Congressman Charles C. Diggs, Jr., (D-Mich.) made the following speech on June 10, 1957 during the Civil Rights' Debates on the Floor of the House of Representatives:

Mr. Chairman, I am gratified because the tenor of the debate up to this moment has not been generally characterized by certain kind of inflammatory statements and expressions with those few exceptions when certain opponents of the bill felt it incumbent upon themselves to reduce the discussion to the usual harangue against the NAACP and other right-thinking supporting organizations. I think the provisions of this bill have been ably discussed and described by Members of both parties representing various parts of the country. May I especially compliment the opponents of this bill because I do not believe anyone could have heard or read their testimony without being impressed with their adroitness and determination in presenting their viewpoints. As a matter of fact, they have been so resourceful that by emphasizing the jury trial issue they have maneuvered this entire debate with little exception into an area which is entirely apart from the main objectives of this bill.

May I just use this one sentence to describe how I, particularly, feel about the principal proposed amendment. Only when a person refuses to obey a court injunction ordering him not to deprive a person of his voting privilege will the contempt procedure become operative. I am not going to endeavor to elaborate on the significance of this legislation as it relates to our kinship with other people in this world, and especially the darker people of this world, but may I remind you of the statement of the Vice President of the United States when he returned from his historical trip to the continent of Africa;; may I remind you of the statements made by our distinguished colleague, the gentlewoman from Ohio (Mrs. Bolton), and may I remind you of the statements that are being made by our emissaries and our statesmen and certain Members of Congress week after week and year after year about the relationship between the treatment of our so-called minority peoples in this country and the prestige of the United Sates in the Free World. I can certainly attest to the fact that as a privileged member of the delegation selected from this House to go to Africa, we were constantly questioned about the treatment of minority groups here in the United States.

I saw stories concerning racial incidents relating to the matter on this floor not only in Africa but also on the European Continent. If anyone thinks their provincialism and hatesmanship are going to keep these stories from being circulated in these particular areas and affecting the broad concept of our democracy they are mistaken.

I would like to take just a few moments, because of the trend of the discussion up to this time, to give you a little of the background which gave rise to this legislation and bring back into focus the question of whether or not any eligible person anywhere in the United States is permitted to exercise his most important privilege of voting.

On this floor during this debate, we have been challenged to bring forth some evidence of people who have been deprived of their voting privilege here in the United States. Let me say that I am prepared to name you entire counties in these United States where the Negro people are not permitted to vote. I can tell you about counties, for instance, in the State of Florida where Negroes are not registered to vote.

I can carry you over into the State of Alabama and refer you to counties where Negroes are not registered to vote.

I can tell you, for instance, in the State of Alabama about certain additional burdens which are required of Negroes. For instance, there must be present in some of these areas, when a Negro is registering,,an elector to sign the application of the Negro, but this is not required of the other people. The Negro, consequently, must have a white person sign his application in certain areas of this State. A Negro cannot do this in many counties in Alabama, as many whites will not sign the application of Negroes.

We have a situation in Alabama where in a couple of counties the members of the board of registrars have resigned rather than register Negroes. This has been the case in Bullock and Macon Counties in Alabama.

With relation to the processing of applications, many who fail to receive their certificates have been told that the applications have not been processed; but the white applcants in most instances receive their certificates immedately upon registering.

Many boards discourage Negroes from voting in Alabama by pretending to be busy when they come in to register or simply failing to recognize their presence. In some instances when they finally recognize him he is told that there is not a quorum of the registrars present and the Negro's application cannot be registered.

In some instances the place used for Negroes will accomodate only one person and, therefore, there is a long line where only one person can fill out the questionnaire required at a time, and the long wait discourages some; others must go back to work.

We have a situation where some boards make no pretense whatsoever but tell Negroes they are not registering Negroes while others may be considerate and pretend that there are just no blanks available. Still others are told to come back at some future date and are continually told to come back at some future date. Many times boards will show by their obvious resentment that they do not want to be bothered.

I could go on and cite further subterfuges which are being used in Alabama.

I could swing over the State of Mississippi and point out to you 13 counties in the State of Mississippi that do not have one Negro registered voter. I am talking about counties whose Negro population ranges from 12 percent all the way up to 74 percent and there are no Negroes registered to vote. I invite at this point Representatives from that State to explain why there are no Negroes registered to vote in those particular counties.

Mr. Chairman, in addition, on the basis of the testimony that was given in the hearing from the people living in these various sections, who have pointed out that through intimidation, coercion, and subterfuge, they are kept from the polls, there is ample testimony why this legislation is so sorely needed. I have not heard on this floor during the entire debate anyone come up with a solution to this particular problem, other than the solution which is incorporated in this legislation.

The reason that we are here today seeking relief on the Federal level is because the offending States are not protecting the right to vote of its Negro citizens. They do not want to exercise that kind of "States' rights" because they know that once full participation of the ballot is in the hands of all the people they will have to, of course, answer to needs of all of the people.

Finally, when you also consider the fact that you have to be registered to vote in Mississippi as a condition precedent to serving on Juries, you can see how the deprivation of all the Negro's rights can become compounded.

Maybe Southerners Are Americans, After All

The Supreme Court's recent civil rights rulings may have prompted some second looks at the "civil rights" bill which gives federal judges vast authority to enjoin any and all from things that might happen.

We wondered how such papers as *The Washington Post*, for instance, could dance for joy over the Supreme Court's recent rulings as a slap at authoritarian government control over the individual and, on the same page, display no doubts at all about a bill which would empower federal judges to rule as judicial monarchs in the Southern provinces.

One day last week, the *Post* was saying:

The civil rights measure passed by the House . . . is a moderate, reasonable measure giving the Department of Justice opportunity to intervene when any citizen's right to vote is threatened by intimidation or coercion through the issuance of an injunction; and if the injunction is violated, the court may exercise its time-honored right to punish the violator. This

is a method of law enforcement wholly consistent with the constitution and with established judicial procedures. The House did well to pass the bill without the needless and obfuscating jury trial amendment which opponents had tried to tack on as a method of wrecking it.

This is the simplistic, black & white view of the issue. It has been stated by many newspapers in much the same way. Contempt is contempt and a judge has the authority to enforce it. But the argument ignores the fact that in this second Reconstruction the federal judge serves as a kind of occupation commander to enforce sweeping orders changing the whole fabric of Southern society. In such a situation, unparalleled in this country if you exclude the first Reconstruction, he is police chief, state superintendent of education, prosecutor, judge, jury. This is a lot of power.

And in a 48-hour period following the editorial from which the above is quoted, even *The Washington Post* had a change of heart, perhaps reflecting on the abuses of governmental power in other directions.

Instead of the no-question-about-it attitude above, the *Post's* editorial two days later saw that "the vital aim . . . is not to pass the bill in the precise form recommended by the administration but to bring about fair and impartial enforcement of civil rights in the South as well as in the North." Incredibly, the jury trial issue, which two days before had been "needless and obfuscating," was now troubling the *Post:*

We have previously noted that decisions of this sort are traditionally left to judges because the issue is primarily one of enforcing the courts' orders. Many students of our judicial system have pointed out however that there are some exceptions to this rule in cases where the nature of the charges or other factors seem to call for an assessment of the facts by a jury . . .

Some cases . . . might well produce rather sweeping injunctions affecting persons not directly parties to the suit, and in these instances questions of fact as to whether accused individuals committed the acts charged against them would invite use of the jury system.

Whereas 48 hours before it was in no mood to give an inch on the jury trial issue, the *Post* was now not so sure:

A concession along these lines should also have notable psychological advantages. It would indicate to the people of the South that Congress is willing to provide jury trials wherever they are appropriate, thus blunting the argument that the measure would encroach upon the sacred right of trial by peers of the accused . . . The bill must remain strong in principle and must be readily enforceable. But it should have the appearance as well as the substance of fairness . . . It should be entirely free from vindictiveness, rancor and any semblance of oppression.

We do not know what happened to the *Post* in that two-day period. But the change, though it can't be called a flip-flop, is remarkable. That the conquered provinces of the South should be treated fairly, if only for "psychological advantages," is something, anyway.

Could it be that the *Post* has been reading some of its own editorials on the dangers of too much power in the hands of the central government?

And, a Big One, Too!

Courier P.4

Filibuster Looms!

Sat. 6-29-57
Pittsburgh Pa.

WASHINGTON—A filibuster to end all filibusters looms on the horizon as the South's last-ditch weapon against the civil rights bill which has yet to be torpedoed in its path towards the White House and signing by the President.

• To defeat a filibuster, supporters of the civil rights bill, which was skillfully slipped past the Judiciary Committee, headed up by Jim Eastland of Mississippi, must get at least 64 votes if the issue is brought up.

The road toward filibuster was set up last week by the Senate's 45-39 vote to place the House bill on the Senate's calendar. This vote was taken in wake of the fact that the Eastland Committee has been palavering over some Senatorial-sponsored civil rights legislation since early last spring.

Dick Russell of Georgia had raised a point of order against the unusual parliamentary procedure of by-passing committee. Other Dixie Congressmen cried that the action was similar to "a legislative lynching bee."

• The vote to by-pass the judiciary committee was accomplished with the aid of 34 Republicans and 11 Democrats. Voting in favor of sending the bill to the Eastland group were 34 Democrats and 5 Republicans. However, it must be pointed out that had the vote been made along strict party lines, the Eastland forces would have prevailed by the same margin that they were defeated.

The real test for the bill will come on July 8 when it may be called on the floor for debate.

Senator Knowland pointed out that if the bill does not make it to the floor for a vote, the bill would still be on the Senate's calendar when the next session gets underway in January.

of action.

General belief on Capitol Hill is that the House would accept the civil rights bill as amended when the measure returns to that body.

Civil Rights And The Vote

News 8-1-57
Birmingham Ala.

Do we know what our civil rights are? Not so many people really know—so many do not read our Constitution to find out about the Bill of Rights.

We are free to vote as we please and to have a trial by jury—these are two great rights that we have that are the very foundation of American democracy and to abolish our jury system would be the greatest setback we have had since the Civil War. What are the politicians thinking about—destroy our right to trial by jury just to feather their nest with a political scheme? The people are satisfied and happy. If the rabble rousers would just lay off.

Everyone who is qualified should vote. There are many white and colored who are not qualified. We, the people, are reasonably happy and doing well, so why can't we let doing well alone, and just keep going on as we are now?

Mr. Eisenhower wants to do right if the Republicans will let him and also some Northern Democrats have let the wool be pulled over their eyes. Civil rights is a big question for Congress and the politicians to settle. Let's have a vote by the people and let the people know the issue and what civil rights are and everything will be OK. The cause of the civil rights disturbance is the recent decision of the Supreme Court.

Let all vote who can qualify—white and colored—but don't try to vote till you do qualify. That's all there is to say. America needs your vote.

Integration is not going well in New York. I see by the papers where an apartment owner has challenged a colored applicant with court order not to mix white and colored. What is good for the North is also good for the South.

FORNEY B. RAY,
Lloyd George Drive.

The South is beaten

Afro-American P.12
Sat. 6-29-57
Baltimore

An Editorial

By a lopsided vote of 286 to 126 the House of Representatives Tuesday passed the Eisenhower-Brownell civil rights bill.

The House beat down the last of four attempts to attach a crippling jury amendment proviso by a vote of 251 to 153.

Happily, all seven of Maryland's representatives cast their votes with the progressive majority.

Two of the three colored members of the House—William L. Dawson and Adam Clayton Powell—were really too ill to be on the floor, but they were there just the same.

Powell violated doctor's orders to make an impassioned speech opposing the jury amendment.

Dawson, walking with a cane, hobbled the 200 painful yards back and forth to the House well ten times for teller votes, although he had been warned to abandon all official business.

* * *

THE BILL now goes to the Senate where a group of Republican and Democratic Senators hopes to keep it out of Senator Eastland's pocket and get it immediately before the Senate by invoking a seldom-used rule.

That's the struggle we'll be watching with considerable interest this week.

If the leadership in the upper chamber is equal to that in the House we'll have a vote before the Senate adjourns in August.

Segregation Foe Admits Russell, Eastland Victors

Daily News
Jackson Miss.
8-2-57

WASHINGTON (Special) — Sen. Paul Douglas of Illinois, one of the leader's in the fight for the civil rights bill this morning issued the following statement:

"Adoption of the jury trial clause of the civil rights bill was a personal victory for Dick Russell of Georgia and Jim Eastland of Mississippi. They are the boys who turned the tricks." P.1

Announcement was made this morning that the 18 Southern senators who are fighting the bill will hold a conference Saturday morning to decide on the future course

10 1957

FOREIGN AID:

Victory—And a Shift

For once, Lyndon B. Johnson, the Senate Majority Leader, and Minority Leader William F. Knowland fought side by side. Together they beat back crippling amendments, bucking up waverers. And, in one continuous thirteen-hour session, they won a notable victory, pushing through President Eisenhower's $3.6 billion foreign-aid bill intact. The vote was overwhelming: 57-25.

Though the bill merely authorizes spending ceilings, with actual funds still to be fought over and appropriated, last week's was a crucial test of Mr. Eisenhower's new plan for foreign aid. Most notably, the Senate endorsed the President's long-range loan fund to handle most economic assistance abroad. In effect, this commits the U.S. to continue foreign aid indefinitely.

To old Washington hands, one highly significant aspect of the foreign-aid battle was the role of Southern senators. Even though one Southerner, Johnson of Texas, applied heavy pressure, even though the South is traditionally internationalist—the majority of the South's senators actually opposed the foreign-aid bill.

The opposition, in fact, was led by a Southerner, Russell B. Long of Louisiana. And in the final tally, eleven of the seventeen Democratic votes against the bill came from the South. Only eight of the Southern senators voted in favor.

What is behind this shift? Is the South, which once could be counted on automatically to deliver a solid bloc of votes for internationalist measures, slowly but surely going isolationist?

To answer these questions, Samuel Shaffer of NEWSWEEK'S *Washington bureau, William A. Emerson Jr., chief of* NEWSWEEK'S *Atlanta bureau, and* NEWSWEEK *correspondents throughout the entire South talked last week to dozens of political and industrial leaders. Here are their findings:*

In the short span of six years, the South has overturned its treasured tradition of internationalism. It has moved to a modified form of isolationism.

The shift in sentiment marks a turning point in Southern history, but the signs are unmistakable:

- Southern congressmen, under pressure from local industry, have been in the vanguard of a quiet revolt against reciprocal trade.
- Reflecting grass-roots sentiment, Southern congressmen are also more and more turning against economic aid for underdeveloped nations.
- The South, though militant as ever about national defense, is even beginning to doubt the value of military aid for U.S. allies.

Southerners—with justice—resent the label "isolationist." And there can be little doubt but that the South's pro-internationalist attitude will die hard, for it reaches back to Colonial days. It was rooted in necessity as well as sentiment. The South was dependent on cotton. And to live, it had to sell much of its cotton abroad.

In the prewar years, the South offered massive—almost total—support to preparedness. Sixty-nine per cent of the South's representatives in Congress voted for every internationalist measure proposed, and another 29 per cent voted for at least three-fourths of them. In New England, by comparison, only 14 per cent of the representatives favored all these bills.

In the early postwar period, Southern support of Soviet containment and the reconstruction of the free world was almost unanimous. On the Greek-Turkish aid bill of 1947, and on the Marshall-plan bills of 1948 and 1949, 97 per cent of all Southern representatives voted Yes.

Then, in 1951, there appeared the first hint of change. That year Southern opposition to the Marshall plan jumped (from 3 per cent in 1949) to 21 per cent. This opposition has continued and increased (see chart), while it has been declining in the rest of the U.S.

Revolt on Trade: In 1955 came the Southern revolt against reciprocal trade, when sixteen congressmen voted against it. In the two years before that, only one Southern representative cast his vote against the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act. This act expires next year, and now there is growing doubt in Congress that it can ever be extended again—partly because its advocates can no longer count on a hard core of votes from the South.

What caused these major shifts?

In the first place, the South has changed. It has become industrialized—with the most marked expansion coming in textiles, chemicals, and glass. As these industries grew in the postwar South, they were confronted by competitive imports. When these imports hurt business, Southern industrialists began to call for tariff protection.

This growing protectionism has affected Southern attitudes on foreign aid. Some manufacturers of plywood in Virginia and the Carolinas have criticized foreign aid because they suffer from Japanese competition. Cotton-growing regions of Texas and Mississippi and Alabama opposed U.S. aid to the Aswan Dam in Egypt, to prevent

of whether U.S. relations with Japan would be impaired if Girard is taken away from them. In an affidavit filed with the court, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles said it was of the "greatest importance" that the U.S. not renege on its commitment.

The Sticking Point on Civil Rights

The President's proposed legislation on civil rights has been restricted to the single question of the right to vote. This was done on the assumption that it would be better to have this basic right of the citizen made effective by law than to have another generalized bill founder in a Senate filibuster. But to justify such an attitude, the measure must mark definite progress in the area to which it is confined, and there must be no sacrifices of other rights, no weakening of the national judiciary.

Merely confining the bill to voting rights does not affect the existing remedies which individuals and groups may seek from the courts if other rights are infringed. The "injunctive relief" which has been granted to persons and communities when school desegregation, for example, is unlawfully obstructed, can still be obtained. What has been blocked is the effort to give the Federal government more specific powers to assist the process of safeguarding civil rights in such fields. But the amendments now proposed for the final section of the bill, giving the Justice Department the authority to intervene, on its own motion, to protect voting rights, would actually add a confusing element to the whole judicial process.

* * *

The question is that of jury trial in contempt cases. Such trials are provided by law for criminal contempt except when arising from disobedience to lawful writs in any action prosecuted in the name of the United States. This is an old feature of law, recognized and constitutional. To object to it is not to defend the right of trial by jury—which remains on the same basis that it always did. It is to place a new limit on the power of the Federal judiciary and the Federal government. That is too high a price to pay for easier passage of the voting rights bill.

Three Democratic Senators have proposed that there should be jury trials for all criminal contempt cases in every area of Federal judicial action, affecting some thirty-four statutes. Thus there would be a major change in the whole administration of Federal legislation, as it is enforced by Federal agencies.

There is also a real possibility of confusion in making the distinction between civil and criminal contempt contemplated in this amendment. Until now, the distinction between the two has not always been clear; one leading decision, in fact, states: "Contempts are neither wholly civil nor altogether criminal. And it may not always be easy to classify a particular act as belonging to either one of these two classes. It may partake of the characteristics of both."

* * *

Generally, civil contempt applies to questions where remedial action is sought by a private person or group; criminal contempt actions are "punitive, to vindicate the authority of the court"—and the public is directly concerned. Under the amendment it is believed courts could, if an order were violated, cite the offender for civil contempt without a jury, in order to enforce compliance. Penalties would be cut short (in case of jail sentences) or remitted if the order were duly carried out. Criminal contempt would apply, after the fact, when punishment was deemed necessary.

Given the rather vague distinction in practice between civil and criminal contempt, the amount of friction that could be generated, the number of appeals that could be taken, from a judge's decision in almost every case can be easily understood. The confusion would probably be greatest in respect to Southern voting cases, because of the heated atmosphere. But it could spread across the whole judicial horizon, since every major alteration of this kind in the law requires a substantial period for interpretation and understanding.

* * *

The President and the Republican leadership in the Senate are standing firm for the existing pattern of law enforcement. So are a number of liberal Democrats, despite the appeal of the authors of the amendment for labor support. Senator Russell, for his part, has implicitly threatened a filibuster unless the jury trial amendment succeeds. Senator Russell has won much in this debate. But the argument has now come to the sticking point. It must be fought out.

The Fight's By No Means Over

Afro-American Sat. 8-10-57

We share with President Eisenhower "bitter disappointment" over the Senate's midnight action in attaching a crippling jury trial amendment to the civil rights bill. Baltimore Md.

It was not only shocking that the world's greatest deliberative body would sink to such depths, it was a shameful mockery of the oaths these men had taken to defend and uphold the Constitution. P.4

Any fair analysis of the voting clearly shows that the blame for this latest in a series of Senate fiascos rests squarely on the shoulders of the Democratic party.

* * *

ALTHOUGH the Democratic platform pledged a "continuation of efforts to eliminate illegal discrimination in exercising full rights to vote," the party was only able to muster a bedraggled corporal's guard of nine Senators in support of an admittedly moderate measure.

An overwhelming total of Democrats, 40, including many Senators who in the past have proclaimed themselves ardent supporters of civil rights, locked arms with the Dixiecrats in an ugly alliance against democracy and decency.

The majority of Republicans, on the other hand, stood firm and unwavering in their support of the President. A total of 33 voted against the South's devious and conniving scheme to cripple Federal efforts to protect the Constitutional right to vote.

Only 12 Republicans, most of them members of the embittered Old Guard, cast their votes with the Southern bitter-enders.

Unbelievable was the fact that such Democratic liberals as Kennedy of Massachusetts, Murray and Mansfield of Montana, Jackson and Magnuson of Washington and Green and Pastore of Rhode Island, turned their backs on the cause of civil liberties.

That, we believe, was the cruelest blow of all.

* * *

BUT THE BATTLE IS no means over. The hope now is that even this badly crippled bill will be able to pass the Senate without further mutilation.

We think it should be passed.

A half a loaf is better than no bread.

Moreover, the bill as amended still allows the attorney general to act with some authority in protecting voting rights, even in Mississippi.

He can ask Federal district judges to enjoin registrars against refusing to qualify colored voters, and if such registrars persist in their refusal, a judge can sentence them to jail without a trial by jury in a civil contempt case.

Further, where criminal contempt charges require a jury trial, under the adopted amendment a fair proportion of all jury panels summoned now must be colored citizens.

* * *

IF THE SOUTHERN filibusterers now permit the measure to pass the Senate, it still faces an uncertain future in the Senate-House conference committee.

It may reach a stalemate in this committee, or it is possible some compromise may be worked out that would tend to restore some of its initial strength.

In the meantime, the voters will be given an opportunity to do two things:

They should be able to bring to the surface the under-the-table deal liberal Democrats obviously made with the Dixiecrats which caused them to betray their party pledges;

And they should have a calmer period in which to determine what must be done in next year's election.

Demos Setting Trap For Ike On C-R Bill

Daily News Mon. 8-5-57
Jackson Miss. P.1

WASHINGTON (AP) — Democrats in Congress put on pressure today to deliver to President Eisenhower for his acceptance or rejection a civil rights bill he has criticized severely.

A high administration official said Eisenhower will veto the bill if it reaches him in the form in which the Senate is expected to pass it in the next day or two.

Democrats were publicly silent about this threat. But some of their leaders made it clear privately they are in the mood to give Eisenhower the opportunity to veto the first civil rights bill Congress thus would have passed in 80 years.

To do this, they would have to have help from Southern Democrats, who publicly are opposed to enactment of any civil rights bill. They might also need some Republican votes to get the House to accept the Senate's version.

NO OPEIN TALK

No Southern Democrat would talk about it opnly but several of them indicated they might go along on the double theory that they could get the bill killed by veto or — failing in that — they would be better off with the mild Senate version that some much stronger measure they might get in the next session of Congress.

Tn the other hand, House Republican Leader Martin of Massachusetts said during the weekend he expects the measure to go to a conference committee where he said it will be "dead for this session."

"That will put the whole civil rights fight over until next January when Congress reconvenes," he added.

Sen. Humphrey (D-Minn) protested in a statement what he called the "premature burial" of the civil rights bill by some Republican leaders.

Both he and Sen. O'Mahoney said that with sincere efforts on the part of those administering it, the bill in its present form would represent an important advance in civil rights.

And Sen. H. Alexander Smith (R-NJ) told a television audience he doubts Eisenhower would veto the Senate version if the House accepts it.

"I think the President will see the value in . . . the first civil rights legislation passed since the Civil War," he commented.

While Eisenhower has protested that the measure is "largely ineffective" in its objective of protecting minority voting rights, it nevertheless represents in the public mind something of a step forward in the controversial civil rights field.

Democrats think an Eisenhower veto would wipe out all of the political credit Republicans otherwise might claim for pushing the bill through Congress.

10 1957

Move To Soften Civil-Rights Bill Being Fought

Courier-Journal
Louisville Ky.
~~Fri 7-19-57~~
Fri 7-19-57
P.1

Senators Prod Eisenhower To Back Measure 'as Is'

© New York Times News Service

Washington, July 18.—The all-out civil-rights forces in the Senate fought urgently today to stem a movement toward softening the text of the Administration's bill.

They were not attempting to appeal to the Southern opposition, but rather to persuade the majority of the civil-rights coalition itself not to make further concessions to that opposition.

Even as they attempted to seize and turn the initiative, however, the top man of the coalition, Republican Leader Knowland of California made it plain that further changes in the most sensitive section of the measure would be conceded.

Openings Are Appearing

Some of the advanced civil-rights group — notably Senator Neuberger (D., Ore.)—were attempting to prod the President to make a harder line in support of the Administration's bill "as is."

Clear though not necessarily enduring, openings thus began to appear within the civil-rights phalanx itself.

Neuberger, incensed at what was widely interpreted as a retreat by President Eisenhower from the most controversial aspect of the bill, sharply attacked the President from the Senate floor.

Responsibility Held Eke's

"If the present extremely modest civil-rights bill is fritted away in compromises and weakening amendments, one person above all must accept major responsibility," Neuberger told the Senate. That person, he said, is Eisenhower.

"At two successive press conferences the President revealed first, that he is not thoroughly familiar with the contents of his Administration's bill and, second, that he is not enthusiastically in favor of what he does believe the bill to contain.

"Mimeographed press releases from the White House may speak approvingly of the bill in its present form. But even these are issued while the President is at the golf course.

'Task More Difficult'

"At his press conferences, the President has demonstrated both a lack of knowledge and a lack of enthusiasm for the civil-rights bill in the form that it passed the House of Representatives.

"This has made infinitely more difficult the task of those of who had hoped that at last we were to see meaningful and effective civil-rights legislation in the Senate."

Knowland, speaking both as the Republican leader and as the untitled leader for the civil-rights forces in general, mildly chided Neuberger.

Knowland asserted that the kind of civil-rights bill ultimately to be enacted was not the President's "responsibility," but exclusively that of the Senate itself.

Moreover, he went on, the civil-rights coalition already had "a difficult problem" that would not be eased by "thinly veiled partisan attacks" on the President.

May Provide Limitation

Knowland did not disclose the nature of further amendments that will be offered by him or by his authority to the most controversial part of the bill, Section 3.

It has been indicated, however, that one of these amendments may limit the Government's intervention in school integration to instances where federal intervention is requested by the local authorities.

Section 3, as it stands, would allow the Justice Department to obtain Federal Court injunctions to force integration with or without the consent of those denied the right to attend a nonsegregated school. Those violating such injunctions could be fined or imprisoned by a federal judge without a jury trial.

Proviso Likely To Prevail

The Justice Department could move in its own discreption.

Another major aspect of the bill would set up this same injunctive power against persons depriving others of the right to vote.

This latter proviso almost certainly will prevail.

The Southerners are demanding the right of pury trial. A considerable — and possibly a majority—body of Senate opinion is moving, however, toward granting jury trials in voting cases only where the facts were in dispute.

'FEDERAL GESTAPO' ENVISIONED

Advertiser Fri. 7-19-57
Atlanta Ga.
P.1

Push For Civil Rights Bill Laid To Northern Mistrust

One of the reasons behind the civil rights measures now pending in Congress is that Northerners "don't trust Southerners as jurors in civil rights issues," Circuit Judge George C. Wallace told members of the Alabama Farm Equipment Dealers Assn. here yesterday.

Judge Wallace, who is slated to appear before a U.S. Senate committee for a hearing on a rule change aimed at killing filibusters, said one of the primary objects of the civil rights bills was to abolish trial by jury.

Proponents of the bills hope to do this, he explained, by trying to move from the criminal to the civil side of law and using injunctions issued at the discretion of judges instead of jury trials.

He accused civil rights advocates of "having no consiitutional arguments for these bills," but added, "the black and red Supreme Court will no doubt ~~hold it~~ constitutional."

The civil rights bills would increase the power of federal judges, relegate states to "mere administrative agencies" of the national government, and make the Federal Bureau of Investigation a "federal gestapo."

He said a rule change allowing a simple majority instead of the two-thirds vote now required to stop Senate debate would be a blow against "minority groups." He called the filibuster the strongest weapon and the only means available to minorities in Congress.

He urged Southerners to continue to fashion "legal remedies."

"We must win within the law," he said.

Earlier in the one-day meeting at the Whitley Hotel, equipment dealers heard Montgomery State Sen. Vaughn Hill Robison outline the present status of the Legislature, which he said was deadlocked.

Sen. Robison said several bills affecting the equipment dealers, including one measure which would repeal the sales tax on farm equipment, were caught in log jams. He said the repeal measure was still in committee.

Also speaking to the group was R. C. Bamberg, Uniontown planter and one-time candidate for the post of state commissioner of agriculture.

Southerners Seek Pact To Modify 'Rights' Bill

Star Thurs 7-?-57
Washington D.C.

By the Associated Press

P.1-A

Southern foes indicated today they might pass up one opportunity to filibuster against the civil rights bill if agreement can be reached to modify what they regard as its most objectionable features.

The battle over the legislation, already passed by the House and placed on the Senate calendar by an unusual parliamentary maneuver, will be joined Monday after the holiday week end.

Senate Republican Leader Knowland of California served notice of this late yesterday after President Eisenhower reiterated that he regards the measure as moderate, but that "there were certain phrases I didn't completely understand" and that he would ask Attorney General Brownell for clarification.

Mr. Eisenhower said his objective in urging enactment of the legislation is to prevent anyone from "illegally interfering" with a citizen's right to vote.

South Sees Bayonet Rule

But Southern opponents, led by Senator Russell, Democrat of Georgia, contend the measure goes far beyond this. They say it would enable the Federal Government to force integration in Southern schools and racial mixing in other public places.

Senator Knowland said that at Monday's Senate session he will move that the Senate proceed to consideration of the civil rights bill—a motion that is subject to being filibustered.

However, Senator Russell told him that in the early stages of the discussion of this motion "the speeches will be of no greater length than those ordinarily made" by Senators to make their position clear.

Senator Ervin, Democrat of North Carolina, is expected to lead off for the Southerners with a speech opposing the new authority the bill would give the Attorney General to seek Federal court injunctions against violations of voting rights or other civil rights.

Trial by Jury Forbidden

Under this enforcement procedure persons accused of violating such injunctions could be jailed for contempt of court without a jury trial.

Senator Russell said different Senators would speak on different aspects of the measure "in order that it may be clearly understood." But he said their speeches would not be of "unusual length."

He added:

"I hope that as the debate progresses in the Senate chamber, we may arrive at some meeting of the minds, at least as to the portions of the bill which I regard as being most objectionable and most vicious, and that the time may come when, after full and fair debate, the Senate may proceed to vote on amendments to the bill."

Senator Russell told Senator Knowland, however, that "at this time I am not prepared to fix any specific time when any specific action will be taken on the bill."

Seeks Path of Agreement

Asked by newsmen if Southerners might decide not to filibuster against the motion to take up the bill for debate, Senator Russell said he wanted to find out what, if any, agreement might be worked out before making any commitment.

He emphasized that his goal is to defeat the bill, but he said he also wanted to modify what he regards as its "vicious" provisions if possible.

Senator Robertson, Democrat of Virginia, said that if the Republicans insist on a showdown on civil rights, they must bear the responsibility for possible inaction on other parts of the Eisenhower legislative program during this waning session of Congress.

Mr. Eisenhower said at his news conference yesterday he was unable to understand why some opponents of the bill regard it as extreme. But he said he was willing to "listen to anyone's presentation to me of his views on such a thing."

Thomas L. Stokes

Constitution P.D.

Peculiar Coalition Pushes Civil Rights

Fri. 7-19-57

Atlanta Ga.

WASHINGTON—Uneasy is the new coalition of Republicans and Northern Democrats in the Senate that is seeking to put over the civil rights bill. United only by their common support for that measure, the two groups otherwise are uncomfortable. They are incompatible on most other issues, with the exception of a few Republicans of the "modern Republican" persuasion who join with Northern Democrats on economic and social welfare measures.

This incompatibility is most marked in the leaders of the two groups. On hardly any other issue, for instance, do Sens. William F. Knowland of California, Republican Senate leader and a stanch conservative, and Paul H. Douglas of Illinois, leader of the liberal Democratic group, see eye to eye.

Of the two factions in this new alliance, the Douglas contingent is the more unhappy. Republicans generally are more practical political operators, more hard-boiled and accustomed to adjust to circumstances. So they are making the most of their strange bedfellows.

It was much easier for them, however, in their coalition with conservative Southern Democrats, dating in its modern phase back to 1938, in which Southerners joined Republicans to help defeat New Deal - Fair Deal social and economic measures and Republicans helped, when needed, to bury civil rights bills. That coalition is not dead and may reappear after civil rights legislation is out of the way.

Northern Democrats, particularly of the New Deal-Fair Deal sort, suffer from frustrations that are intensified as they are dramatized in the civil rights issue and their temporary union of convenience with Republicans.

Once again they are reminded that, though they represent the larger part of the country, geographically as well as in population, they play second fiddle in the Senate — and in the House, too—to the Southern Democrats. They also represent the part of the country where elections must be won. Yet they are impeded by the Southern wing of the party in getting legislation that is essential if the party is to regain its previous standing, especially in the East.

Northern Democrats, in truth, look upon themselves as the real Democratic Party and point to election statistics to show how little the South actually contributes in national elections.

For instance, Franklin D. Roosevelt did not need the South in any of his four election victories. He still would have won if he had not carried a single Southern state. Harry Truman, they also point out, was elected in 1948 despite the loss of four Southern states.

Yet Southerners hold the majority of key positions in Congress and dominate legislation through their control of the machinery. Now Northern Democrats, in their effort to give their party an even break with Republicans on civil rights and, of course, to protect themselves, have had to make the strange alliance with Republicans. They are more sensitive in such an alliance than are Southern Democrats, who came to enjoy their coalition with Republicans.

It might be noted that Southerners are having much enjoyment privately over the way their leader, Sen. Richard B. Russell of Georgia, scared President Eisenhower by the bayonets-and-bloodshed melodrama he staged in the Senate a few days ago. That shifted the balance again toward the South to indicate that a weak bill may be the outcome.

RALPH McGILL

Constitution

Knowland Vs. Nixon

Fri. 7-19-57

Atlanta Ga.

It would be a gross oversimplification, but the political slugging bouts in the Senate where the semi-finals of the civil rights main event are being fought could be listed like this:

Knowland Vs. Nixon.

Russell Vs. Knowland, Nixon, Douglas, et al.

P. 1

Both the Californians, with the ambitions for the Republican presidential nomination in 1960, have been active in behalf of the bill. By the very nature of their positions, Mr. Nixon being the presiding officer of the Senate and Sen. Knowland the minority leader, each has had to employ a different technique. Mr. Nixon has had to do most of his work off the floor. Sen. Knowland has worked within the framework of his leadership position.

Before the vote to take up the civil rights bill as the first matter of Senate business, Sen. Knowland was asked if he believed the White House would work out some acceptable compromise.

"That will be done on the floor of the Senate," he snapped.

The Californian is a stickler for the Senate holding all its powers designated by the Constitution. And, technically, amendments are to be made on the floor, not by the White House. But the White House, meaning the President, finally has learned that the Founding Fathers really meant it when they set up a system of checks and balances.

The White House

And so, in the press conference which followed hard on the heels of the tremendous vote to bring the civil rights case up for debate and vote, the President gently took over the spotlight. He proclaimed a compromise could, and would, be worked out. He thus effectively placed the Eisenhower and Nixon stamp on whatever happens in so far as the public mind is concerned. And this was the intent. Certain political gains will go to the Republican party for whatever civil rights legislation results. The White House took care to make sure the President, not the Senate, had its brand on the compromise bill which will emerge out of the next few days of debate.

This was necessary to protect the prestige of the office and to give status to the vice president. If the White House had indeed been silent all attention would have been focused on Sen. Knowland and his leadership in behalf of the legislation. Vice President Nixon, as the presiding officer, would have been mute. Now, the rights bill is once again stamped "made in the White House."

That there will be some sort of rights bill seems to be as certain as anything political can be. That this will further enhance the Republican gains among Negro city voters, once an effective part of the Democratic Party in national elections, goes without saying.

Present Outlook

The outlook for the Democratic Party presently is not good. It is more badly divided than before. The Southern wing has lost, in this controversy, its old alliance with the conservative Republicans. The latter are uneasy and not too happy to be working and voting with the northern wing of the Democratic Party, instead of their old friends, Senators Byrd, Russell, Johnson, et al. But they will stick with Senators Neuberger, Douglas, and their associated liberals of the eastern industrial states because 1958 is a congressional-election year. But just the same, they are uneasy and not too happy.

The Northern Democrats are in an even more wretched state of mind. They feel that the Southern filibuster and the refusal even to go along with protection of the right to vote, have done the party incalculable harm on a national basis. As, without question, it has.

As it works out, the Southern Democrats are really the only ones near contentment. They believe they successfully have defeated section three of the bill, which would have given the Department of Justice enormous injunctive power. And they are from one-party states, and while their fight has hurt the party nationally, it has practically assured them all of reelection.

The net gain as of today is for the GOP in 1960 and for Vice President Nixon as its most likely candidate.

The Main Provisions Of the Civil Rights Bill

Wed. 7-17-57

Special to The New York Times.

New York

WASHINGTON, July 16—The Administration's civil rights bill would provide in substance for the following:

¶Establishment of a special Civil Rights Division within the Department of Justice.

¶Creation of a Federal Civil Rights Commission armed with subpoena powers to compel witnesses to testify and to produce records. It would attempt to rectify instances of illegal racial discrimination.

¶Authority for the Department of Justice to intervene, in the name of the United States, in behalf of individuals in instances of actual or threatened violations of civil rights—such as the right to vote or to attend an integrated school.

Federal prosecutors could obtain injunctions from Federal district judges against such real or threatened violations. Persons disobeying these injunctions could be fined or imprisoned for contempt by Federal judges, without jury trial.

RIGHTS BILL HIT BY M'CLELLAN

New Orleans La.

Arkansan May Seek to Extend Provision

Sun. 7-28-57

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., July 27 (UP)—Sen. McClellan (D - Ark) revealed here that if the civil rights bill is approved with the provision which would bar jury trials in certain civil rights cases, he will offer an amendment designed to extend to provision to the Smith Antisubversive Act.

P. 21

The Senate now is debating whether to guarantee trial by jury in some cases involving alleged violations of civil rights.

McClellan, in an address to a state convention of the American Legion, denounced the civil rights bill as "the most vicious piece of legislation that I have ever seen presented to the Congress."

'Cunningly Contrived'

The Arkansas senator said the language of the "abominable" bill was so "cunningly contrived and arranged as to reflect that the intention of the author of it was to conceal, rather than reveal its true objectives. . ."

McClellan told the legionnaires that the measure first was presented by the administration as a "right-to-vote" bill, but has been exposed in Senate debate as having the primary purpose "to implement the Supreme Court's decision on segregation and thus force integration" of Southern public schools.

Sees 'Infamous Device'

He said the Senate debate further disclosed that the bill:

1. Authorized the use of the armed forces to impose school integration.

2. Contained an "infamous device" that would destroy the right to trial by jury as guaranteed by the Constitution to everyone accused of a crime.

3. Would substitute injunctive processes in a court of equity and contempt proceedings therein for the traditional system of indictment by a grand jjury and trial of an accused person by a jury of his peers.

4. Gave the attorney general the power and made it his duty to file suits against any citizen "who someone may charge has deprived him of, or hindered him in securing, any of his so-called civil rights."

Intimidation Seen

McClellan said the bill would "virtually set up a Gestapo department in the Department of Justice" with authority to "hound, harass and intimidate good law-abiding citizens of this country."

He declared that some of the bill's foremost proponents in the House are believed dedicated to accepting no amendments when the bill goes to the House-Senate conference committee.

McClellan held that if abolition of the jury trial is a necessary procedure to apply against a Southerner for alleged violation of someone's civil rights, "then the same law should be made to apply to the Communist conspiracy . . . that would destroy the liberty and civil rights of us all."

10 1957

SENATE LIMITS RIGHTS ENFORCEMENT

South Wins Solid Victory On Section 3

Post-Herald P.1
Thurs. 7-25-57
B'ham, Ala.

WASHINGTON, July 24 (AP) — President Eisenhower's civil rights bill was stripped in the Senate today of all its enforcement powers except those covering voting rights.

The vote on the crucial issue, coming after five hours of debate, was 52-38.

It was a solid victory for Southern Senators, who have argued for weeks that the bill as it came from the House would permit the federal government to force racial integration of the schools in their states and impose other social changes.

Thirty-four Democrats and 18 Republicans joined to adopt an amendment by Sens. Anderson (D., N. M.) and Aiken (R., Vt.) to eliminate almost all of Section 3 from the measure. Thirteen Northern Democrats and 25 Republicans voted against the amendment.

Section 3 would have empowered the attorney general, on his own initiative, to seek federal court injunctions against all kinds of civil rights violations or threats of violations. Persons flouting the injunctions could be charged with contempt of court and tried by federal judges without a jury.

Northern supporters of the amendment hailed the vote as diminishing the chances of a Southern filibuster against what's left of the bill and increasing the chances of passage.

"I think this vote makes the enactment of a workable civil rights bill very likely," Aiken said.

Some of those on the other side declared knocking out Section 3 would be followed by Southern assaults on other sections of the measure. Sen. Javits (R., N. Y.) said today's action "leaves the bill in great jeopardy."

"I hope those who are really for civil rights will see the jeopardy of losing one position after another and rally to support the other provisions of the House bill," the New Yorker told the Senate.

Still in the bill is authority for the attorney general to seek injunctions in voting rights cases. In addition, persons who felt their right to vote was being denied illegally could bypass state courts and go directly into federal courts with petitions for restraining orders or demands for damages.

Also in the bill are provisions to set up a bipartisan commission with broad subpena powers to investigate the civil rights problem, and to create a civil rights division in the Justice Department.

But all the remaining provisions are under attack in varying degrees, and further efforts probably will be made to soften the legislation.

Immediately after adoption of the Anderson-Aiken amendment, Majority Leader Johnson (D., Tex.) called up a jury trial amendment proposed by Sen. O'Mahoney (D., Wyo.). This was a surprise, since supporters of the bill had expected to go to work next on amendments to the commission part of the bill.

Vice President Nixon, who was presiding, followed Senate custom and recognized the majority leader first, although Minority Leader Knowland (R., Cal.) was seeking recognition at the same time. Knowland heads the bipartisan coalition backing the bill.

The O'Mahoney amendment would provide for jury trials in injunction proceedings where persons were charged with contempt and threatened with criminal penalties. It is one of several pending proposals for jury trials under the bill.

Knowland's coalition opposes a jury trial amendment as weakening the legislation, some members of the group contending that juries in the South would not convict in cases involving the voting rights of Negroes.

As the Senate prepared to vote on the Anderson-Aiken change, Johnson said it woul be a crucial test that "well ma be the deciding factor as t whether we have a bill or n bill."

Post-Herald P.2

"The issue is simple," th Democratic leader told the Sen ate. "We can write an adequat bill to safeguard the right t vote. We can create a commis sion which can study the prob lems and return to us with rec ommendations.

"Or we can attempt to writ into law new and drastic en forcement procedures that cove a wide variety of vaguely de fined, so-called 'civil rights.'"

Sen. Bricker (R., Ohio) agreed with Johnson regarding the chances of passing the bill as it came from the House last month. "We can have legislation more adequately protecting the right to vote or we can have no legislation at all," he said.

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, commented glumly that the vote "calls for the whistling of 'Dixie' but hardly for 'My Country 'Tis of Thee.'"

"The adoption of this motion," he added in a statement, "says plainly to American Negroes that, as far as the Senate is concerned, they can expect little, if any, assistance from the federal government in attempts to win enjoyment of their constitutional rights."

Sen. Potter (R., Mich.) said the amendment would "sweep under the rug an entire category of individual rights guaranteed by the constitution."

Aiken and Anderson both voiced final pleas that Section 3 as drafted would have injected the federal government too deeply into state and local affairs.

"It would inject federal controls into all phases of life," said Aiken.

"I don't desire a government by injunction," said Anderson.

BALLOTING IS 52-38

Senate's Liberals Split —Debate Shifting to Jury Trial Issue

Times P.1

By WILLIAM S. WHITE
Special to The New York Times.

New York, N.Y.
Times 7-25-57

WASHINGTON, July 24—The Senate struck from the Administration's civil rights bill today all Federal enforcement powers except those to protect the right to vote.

It knocked out broad sanctions that could have been used to force school integration in the South.

This was done in the adoption, 52 to 38, of a bipartisan amendment taking the heart of Part III out of the bill. Thirty-four Democrats and 18 Republicans backed this amendment.

It was offered by two old-line liberals, Senators Clinton P. Anderson, Democrat of New Mexico, and George D. Aiken, Republican of Vermont.

They had the active support of the Democratic leader, Senator Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, and the assistant Democratic leader, Senator Mike Mansfield of Montana.

Knowland Bloc Loses

The Republican Senate leader, William F. Knowland of California, went down to defeat at the head of a bipartisan minority of 25 Republicans and 13 Democrats that sought to maintain the bill intact.

The result was a heavy defeat for the Administration's text as prepared by the Department of Justice, though not conclusively a defeat for President Eisenhower himself.

The President had never made any public demand for the preservation intact of Part III. He had, in fact, indicated that he had reservations about its scope.

The Senate's action made it all but certain that the civil rights measure ultimately adopted would be confined to protection of the voting right.

The result found a narrow majority of Republicans standing with the Administration and a heavy majority of the Democrats in opposition. The Democrats as a party thus assumed the responsibility for rejecting Part III.

A Mixed Majority

There was no neat ideological division, however. Voting to eliminate all of Part III, except for a largely technical aspect of it referring to vote protection, were 11 of the non-Southern Democrats usually classified as liberals as against 12 others in that category.

Ten Southerners with consistently liberal records on all matters except civil rights also voted with the majority.

Among those usually counted as faithful Eisenhower Republicans, 12 stood against Part III and 20 for it.

The focus of the Senate's debate turned at once to the greatest surviving issue—whether jury trials should be granted in Federal contempt actions to protect the right to vote.

Senator Johnson, who controls the order of Senate business as the majority leader, arranged to have put next in line for decision a compromise proposed by Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney, a veteran liberal Democrat from Wyoming.

This would grant the right of jury trial in criminal contempt cases but would permit Federal judges sitting without a jury to assess sentences in civil contempt cases.

The O'Mahoney amendment incorporates essentially the approach also proposed by Senator Estes Kefauver, Democrat of Tennessee, and already has attracted important support in the Senate.

Part IV of the Administration text would establish this procedure:

The Justice Department could go into Federal Court, with or without the consent of the injured person, for injunctions against deprivation of the right to vote.

Registration or election officials refusing to obey these writs could be tried by the judge, without a jury, and fined or imprisoned for contempt.

The substitute O'Mahoney version would permit this same sequence of events, with the important exception that court proceedings intended to "impose criminal penalties" would be before juries.

Proceedings applying only to civil contempt—directed, that is, simply to require a man to carry out a court decree, would be before the judge alone.

Any person held in civil contempt would be "entitled to be freed from detention upon giving an appropriate undertaking that he will in good faith comply with and not obstruct the carrying out of such injunction, restraining, or other order."

Proponents of this approach explain the distinction in this way:

A man refusing to obey an injunction in a vote case, and consequently put into jail by a judge, could free himself simply by doing what he had been ord-

ered to do.

If, however, he persisted in his refusal, the judge could bring him to book for criminal contempt. At this point, facing now a prison sentence which no change in his own attitude could in itself avoid, he could demand a jury trial.

Proponents To Fight Move

The all-out civil rights forces are marshalling to resist this compromise to the end.

Spokesmen for these forces struggled vainly in some five hours of final debate today to maintain Part III.

They contended that the Senate was neglecting basic constitutional rights—such as those of attending an integrated school or serving on a jury—to give guarantees only to one civil right, that of voting.

The proponents of the Anderson-Aiken motion retorted that Part III would give to Herbert Brownell Jr., the Attorney General, and his successor vast and largely undefined powers; would create such Southern animosity as to threaten any effective enforcement, and might so arm the opposition in the Senate as to cause the defeat of any kind of legislation on civil rights.

The debate before the roll call illustrated the division of opinion.

Senator Paul H. Douglas, Democrat of Illinois, said in defending an unaltered Part III:

"If a Senator believes that Negroes should be denied equal access to public parks, paid for in part by them, let him vote to strike [eliminate the provision].

Cites South Africa Plan

"If the Anderson-Aiken amendment carries, there will be gleeful pleasure among the advocates of Apartheid [racial segregation in the Union of South Africa] and white supremacy, but deep sadness among those who are struggling for a better way for men to live together."

Senator Jacob K. Javits, Republican of New York, said, "Today's vote is supremely important. It starts the process by which the whole ball game can be lost."

Senator Clifford P. Case, Republican of New Jersey, declared: "All of the rights guaranteed by the Constitution are of equal standing—the right to equal protection of the laws in the Fourteenth Amendment no less than the voting rights of the Fifteenth Amendment."

Defending the excision of Part III, Senator Ralph E. Flanders, Republican of Vermont, declared that adoption of the broad powers in Part III would "be a staggering blow to progress being made toward the moderate and school acceptance of the Supreme Court's decision on school segregation."

Would Cut Dixie's Power In Congress

Afro-American Sat. 8-3-57 P. 13
Baltimore, Md.

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON (NNPA) — Immediately after the Senate voted 52 to 38 to strike out Part 3 of the Eisenhower administration's civil rights bill Wednesday, an amendment was offered to cut congressional representation of states which deny colored people the right to vote.

* * *

The amendment was offered by Sen. Pat McNamara (Dem., Mich.) Its purpose, he said, was to implement Section 2 of the 14th Amendment.

Section 2 of the 14th Amendment provides that any state which denies or abridges the right to vote of any of its citizens shall have its membership in the House of Representatives reduced proportionately.

* * *

A PROVISION to reduce representation in accordance with the 14th Amendment, Senator McNamara said, "should be an integral part of any bill designed to protect the right to vote."

The McNamara amendment would:

1. Establish a Joint Committee on Congressional Representation consisting of nine senators and nine representatives.

2. After each biennial House election, the committee would meet to determine whether any state had violated Section 2 of the 14th Amendment. It would calculate the proportion by which the state's representation should be reduced.

* * *

3. THE COMMITTEE would report its findings to Congress by May 1 of the year following the election.

4. Congress would then, by resolution, have an opportunity to disapprove the committee's findings.

If Congress failed to disapprove the finds within 30 calendar days of continous session, the reduction would become effective at the beginning of the next session of Congress and only for that Congress.

Mr. McNamara said his amendment was "clearly designed to punish states which deny their citizens the right to vote."

After the vote to delete Section 121 from Part 3 of the bill, Senator Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, Senate Democratic leader, called up the jury trial amendment of Sen. Joseph C. O'Mahoney, (Dem. Wyo.)

* * *

THE O'MAHONEY amendment would add Part 5 to the bill, providing for jury trials in criminal contempt cases, upon demand of the accused.

The jury trial issue is the next big controversy involved in civil rights legislation.

Sen. William F. Knowland of California, Senate GOP leader, has indicated that he will make a determined fight to keep a jury trial amendment out of the bill.

By voting to strike out section 121 of Part 3 from the bill, the Senate indicated that it is unwilling to give the attorney general authority to bring injunction suits to enforce the Supreme Court decision against segregated schools.

* * *

IT ALSO WITHHELD from him the power to bring civil suits for injunctions to prevent threatened violations of other rights guaranteed by the 14th Amendment.

The big issue now is whether it will grant the attorney general authority to bring suits for injunction to prevent denial of the right to vote, without interposing jury trials between Federal judges, whose orders are disobeyed, and persons charged with contempt of court.

The vote was a major defeat for the coalition of Republicans and northern liberal Democrats.

* * *

THEY FOUGHT successfully, first, to bypass the Senate Judiciary Committee, headed by Sen. James O. Eastland (Dix., Miss.), and place the House-approved civil rights bill on the Senate calendar, then to get the Senate to consider the measure.

There were desertions in the civil rights ranks on both the Republican and Democratic sides.

The amendment to strike section 121 of Part 3 from the bill was sponsored by two liberals — Sens. Clinton P. Anderson (Dem. N.M.) and George D. Aiken (Rep., Verm.).

* * *

SEN. FRANCIS CASE (Rep., S.D.) joined with Anderson and Aiken in the sponsorship of their amendment after they accepted his proposal not to strike all of Part 3 from the bill but to leave in it Section 122.

Section 122 apparently gives the bill a title and reenacts, by reference, existing Federal civil rights statutes which give individuals the right to sue for damages for violations of their civil rights.

Of the 52 senators who voted for the AndersonAiken--Case amendment, 34 were Democrats and 18 Republicans.

Voting against the amendment were 13 Democrats and 25 Republicans.

* * *

IN CLOSING the debate on the Anderson - Aiken - Case amendment, Knowland said he regretted that opponents of civil rights had not used their talents to find an acceptable alternative to Part 3 of the bill that "might have produced constructive results."

Referring to the bitter speech of Sen. Harry F. Byrd (Dem., Va.), Mr. Knowland said it was not necessary to charge that Attorney General Herbert Brownell seeks to become a "20th century Ceasar when he merely seeks to implement the 14th and 15th Amendments."

Or that the President would be guided by political motivation because he seeks to provide a reasonable program of assistance to protect the civil rights of citizens.

* * *

"CERTAINLY IT is not essential to undermine confidence in the Supreme Court in order to build up confidence in the Congress," Mr. Knowland said.

"If the Supreme Court is not to interpret the Constitution an the effect of statutes upon fundamental constitutional right what agency is to do it?" Knowland asked.

The Californian said he was deeply troubled by a decision that subordinates the 14th Amendment or lessens its effectiveness.

Majority Leader Johnson closed the debate for supporters of the Anderson - Aiken-Case amendment.

The vote on that amendment, he told the Senate, "may well be the deciding factor as to whether we have a bill or no bill."

* * *

SEN. FRANK J. LAUSCHE (Dem., Ohio) voted against the Anderson - Aiken - Case amendment, but in a speech before the vote he continued to indicate that he will probably vote for a jury trial amendment.

Sen. John A. Carroll (Dem., Col.), who also voted for the Anderson-Aiken - Case amendment, defended the Supreme Court decision against segregated schools.

To strike Part 3 from the bill, he said, "places the stamp of disapproval on Supreme Court decisions against racial segregation."

Sen. Hubert Humphrey (Dem-Minn.), told the Senate that Part 3 of the bill was "indispensable if we are to protect important constitutional rights now denied to some of our fellow citizens.

"These denials go far beyond the denial of the right to vote, as important as that is. They involve the discrimination in public transportation, recreation facilities and schools."

* * *

SENATOR HUMPHREY added that the courts have declared "segregation unlawful and as legislators, we will be negligent in our constitutional obligation if we fail to implement these decisions in practice."

Senator Paul A. Douglas (Dem., Ill.) in opposing the amendment, told Senators that:

If they believed colored people should be "shoved to the back of public buses," "herded into separate and most often unequal" railroad coaches, and "denied equal access to public parks, paid for in part by them," they should vote for the amendment.

If they believed that colored people should be segregated in theaters and movie houses and other public places, that colored children should be segregated forever in schools, and that "a state has no duty to ever begin compliance with the law of the land," they should vote for the amendment because that was the effect of their votes.

* * *

IF SENATORS believed that "states should, with impunity, create and sustain a claim of 'massive resistance' to the laws of the land, that colored people have no right to serve on jurries in certain areas;

And that colored people should be denied resource to financial or other aid when economic pressure, intimidation and even physical coercion, they should vote for the amendment, for that was the effect of their votes."

Wallace Says Softening Tried On Rights Bill

Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. Wed. 7-31-57 P. 3-A

TALLASSEE, Ala., July 30 (AP)— A controversial section was written into the Civil Rights bill for expediency purposes to soften opposition to the rest of the bill, Circuit Judge George Wallace suggested today.

In an address to a Tallassee civic club, the jurist who once threatened to jail federal law enforcement officers who might attempt to investigate courts in his jurisdiction added

"Even in its present form the bill would give the federal government power to take over election machinery and electoral processes in the states.

"Under the guise of protecting voting rights, the federal government will say who can vote and who cannot vote and how and when elections in this state shall be held."

The Clayton, Ala., judge said in his opinion backers of the civil rights bill now pending in the Senate deliberately added the controversial section 3 of the bill "knowing that they would eventually strike these provisions."

10 1957

Republicans, Northern Demobrats Prepare For Segregationists' Last Ditch Stand

Informer Sat. 7-6-57 Houston Texas P.1

BY LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON, D C — Senator William F Knowland of California, the Republican Senate leader, indicated Tuesday that he plans a physical endurance contest between Dixiecrats and a coalition of Republicans and northern Democrats over the Eisenhower Administration's civil rights bill.

After Republican Congressional leaders had conferred with President Eisenhower at the White House, he said that he would move within a day or two after July 8 to bring the civil rights issue before the Senate.

HIS MOTION TO take up the bill, he said, will result in several weeks or months of discussion.

The filibuster by the Dixiecrats will be designed to prevent a vote on the motion to consider the bill.

"What effect will civil rights hav on adjournment?" a reporter asked.

"IT WILL PROLONG adjournment," Knowland replied. "We're not setting any adjournment date because, if you do, you make an ideal spot to filibuster against."

Knowland added that the House may want to recess so its members can go home for a time after the Senate gets into a filibuster.

Once the Senate gets into a filibuster, he said, he imagined the session would continue for several weeks or months.

"IS IT TRUE that some sort of compromise deal is being worked out by leaders on both sides?" a reporter asked.

"I know of no proposal that has been presented by anybody that would be the subject of an agreement," Knowland replied.

The debate, he said, could develop some formula that would be acceptable.

"GENERALLY SPEAKING," he added, "I have been in support of the egislation that has been offered."

Knowland mentioned the amendment that Senator Thomas C Hennings of Missouri, chairman of the Constitutional Rights subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, had sought recognition to offer in the Judiciary Committee.

The Hennings aendment would require jury trials in contempt of court cases arising under the provisions of the civil rights bill, but not in cases where the contempt occurred in the presence of the judge or so near to the court as to interfere directly with the administration of justice.

THE BILL ITSELF would authorize the Attorney General to bring suits for injunctions to prevent the denial of the right to vote to any person or the violation of any civil right that is protected by the Federal Constiitution or civil rights statutes.

Informer P.10

If an injunction were violated, the person violating it could be cited for contempt of court, given a hearing by a Federal Judge, and, if found guilty, be sent to jail.

The Dixiecrats contend that this procedure, which is the general practice in both Federal and state courts, would deprive persons of their right to jury trials.

SENATOR KNOWLAND said the Hennings amendment has not been finally worked out. All that Senator Hennings did was to ask Senator James O Eastland, of Mississippi, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, when could he get recognition to offer the amendment providing for jury trial in criminal contempt cases arising under the civil rights bill.

Eastland promised to recognize him whenever he was the first member of the committee to request recognition, but Hennings was never recognized in the committee for any purpose, and the Hennings-Dirksen bill apparently was laid aside after the Senate voted to bypass the Judiciary Committee and put the House-approved bill on the Senate calendar.

"THE SENATE BILL contains a jury-trial amendment offered by Senator Sam J Ervin, Democrat, of North Carolina. It would apply to both civil and criminal contempt cases arising under the civil rights bill, although, in the opinion of Senator Eastland, all contempt cases that would arising under the bill would be criminal.

The House-approved bill contains no jury-trial provision. Knowland will move to take it up since the Senate bill is still bottled up in Eastland's committee.

Knowland said he does not think any Senator "would want to foreclose himself to consideration of any satisfactory amendment that might be presented, but I have not yet seen one."

ATTORNEY GENERAL Herbert Brownell, who is credited with drafting the bill which has aroused the Dixiecrats to a high pitch, says a jury-trial amendment would wreck the legislation.

Asked how much "must" legislation would a filibuster block, Knowland replied that "there is no 'must' legislation in the sense that the Executive branch has any such list.

"Before either House can go home sine die it will be necessary to pass all appropriation bills."

Civil Rights Amendment Is Scheduled

News & Observer Mon. 7-8-57 Raleigh N.C.

WASHINGTON, July 7 (AP)—Sen. O'Mahoney (D-Wyo) announced today he is drafting a jury-trial amendment he said he hopes the Senate will attach to the civil rights bill passed by the House.

Sen. Knowland of California, the Republican floor leader, has said he will move tomorrow to bring the House bill before the Senate.

Knowland's motion is subject to unlimited debate and he has indicated he will try to hold the Senate in lengthy sessions to wear out Southern speakers before attempting to force a vote on a debate-limitation motion.

Terms Withheld.

Pending action by the Senate to bring the bill actually before it, O'Mahoney withheld the terms of his proposed amendment. In general, it was expected to make provision for jury trials in some contempt cases in federal court actions brought by the government to enforce voting and other civil rights.

Sen. Russell (D-Ga) said Southern opponents of the bill will back the O'Mahoney amendment. He made it clear that even if it were adopted, the Southerners will continue to oppose the bill by every means, including a filibuster.

In an interview, O'Mahoney left open the question of whether he would vote for a debate limitation, which can be applied only if 64 senators vote "yes."

"I'll decide on that later," he said. Southerners have been hoping that O'Mahoney would support them in their resistance to a debate limitation. They have about 20 votes from the South. They hope Sens. Hayden (D-Ariz) and Frear (D-Del) will join them in opposing a debate cut-off. They believe they have a chance to get as many as eight Republican votes.

That would put them on the borderline of the 32 votes necessary to defeat a filibuster-ending motion, if all of the present 95 members of the Senate were on hand for the test.

Southerners.

The Southerners delivered surprise support recently for Senate passage of the bill to authorize a high federal dam at Hells Canyon. Subsequently several Northern and Western Democrats voted with the Southerns against placing the House civil rights bill directly on the Senate's calendar.

One of these, Sen. Mansfield (D-Mont) denied this involved any "deal." Mansfield, a supporter of the Hells Canyon bill afterwards shelved by a House committee, said he will vote to end an expected filibuster against the civil rights measure.

News & Observer P.2

O'Mahoney's jury trial amendment is certain to be fought vigorously by Republican and Democratic supporters of the civil rights bill. They claim it would "emasculate" the measure because, they contend, Southern juries won't convict violators of court orders in civil rights cases.

Sen. Douglas (D-Ill), a supporter of the bill, said he thinks Southern judges can be expected upon to do what is right in civil rights cases.

"They are not prejudiced men," he said. "They live in the South. These federal judges were in most cases appointed by Southern senators, and were approved certainly by them. And they have life tenure, so that they are in a sense insulated against the passions and prejudices of the community.

"White jurors, on the other hand, who might wish to see justice, have to go back into and be subject to the pressures of their communities."

Douglas appeared with Sen. Javits (R-NY) on an AFL-CIO radio program in support of the civil rights measure.

The two agreed Southern opponents ought to have the opportunity to debate the bill for two weeks before action is taken to end the talk.

Douglas said a filibuster will be difficult to break.

Javits said Sen. Russell (D-Ga) was correct in telling the Senate last week that the terms of the proposed new law could be applied to school integration cases. But he denied there was involved any "threat of force" or "bayonet rule" such as Russell suggested.

Filibuster Perils D. C. Legislation

Post & Times Herald P.1 Mon. 7-8-57 Washington D.C.

Debate Will Delay Important Bills, May Even Prevent Senate Passage

By Jack Eisen
Staff Reporter

A prolonged filibuster on civil rights will delay, and perhaps prevent, Senate action this year on several important District measures, Capitol sources predicted yesterday.

Among measures which would be held up are those to liberalize the police and firemen's retirement program, authorize a second juvenile court judge, permit school borrowing and set up a Senate-House committee to investigate the problems of Metropolitan Washington.

Protracted debate or delaying maneuvers over civil rights could begin today. Senate Republican Leader William F. Knowland (Calif.) has served notice he will seek to call up the Administration's rights measure this afternoon.

Knowland has declared the ensuing battle could delay action on other measures until September.

Everything to Wait

"My guess is that there would not be anything done until this (civil rights issue) is disposed of," one key Senator reported. He expressed doubt that the Southern bloc led by Sen. Richard B. Russell (D-Ga.) would permit committees to sit while an around-the-clock filibuster is under way. Russell could not be reached for comment.

Another Capital source said the civil rights debate could result in a logjam which might prevent action on at least some of the measures. "That's just a guess," he cautioned.

To convene while the Senate is meeting, a committee or subcommittee must receive the chamber's unanimous consent. If this is refused, the Senate District Committee or its subcommittee could not meet.

Meeting Set Thursday

The full Committee has scheduled a meeting for 2 p. m. Thursday—a time when the Senate usually is in session—to consider the police and firemen's retirement bill, the Juvenile Court measure, a bill authorizing a new athletic stadium near the National Guard Armory, and three lesser measures.

The Fiscal Affairs Subcommittee headed by Sen. Alan Bible (D-Nev.), which approved all these pending measures,

still has under consideration a resolution by Rep. DeWitt S. Hyde (R-Md.) to carry on the study of problems in and around the Nation's Capital.

Home Rule Hearings

Other subcommittees are considering many other bills, including changes in the garnishment laws, the school borrowing measures strongly urged by District school officials and changes in local welfare laws.

In addition, a subcommittee headed by Sen. Joseph S. Clark (D-Pa.) has scheduled hearings for 10 a. m. today, Tuesday and Wednesday on home rule measures.

Senate Gets Rights Bill Today; Weeks-Long Battle Is Foreseen

Post + Times Herald Mon. 7-8-57
Washington D.C.

By James F. Donovan
United Press

P. 1

Friends and foes of President Eisenhower's Civil Rights Bill clashed in preliminary skirmishes yesterday as they maneuvered their forces for the all-out North-South fight due to explode in the Senate today.

Both sides were cautious about victory claims. Both publicly ruled out any hope of a compromise, at least for the time being. Privately, some leaders hinted a compromise might be the final solution.

All foresaw a determined Southern filibuster that Senate Republican leader William F. Knowland (Calif.) predicted will tie up the Senate for up to eight weeks. It was expected to be the longest talkathon since the two-month silver bill debate 64 years ago.

Starts 2 p. m. Today

Knowland will touch off the battle about 2 p. m. today when he moves that the Senate take up the Civil Rights Bill passed by the House last month.

That will spark the Southern filibuster, although the Dixie Senators may save their big ammunition for later.

Sen. Sam J. Ervin Jr. (D-N.C.), a foe of the legislation, said there was no possibility of a compromise. But he conceded the Senate may change the House-approved bill in such a way as to make it difficult for the Southerners to defeat any "gag" attempt.

Among concessions to the South, he said, would be amendments providing for jury trials in civil rights cases, restricting the authority of the Attorney General, and what he called "administrative remedies." But he said he would still oppose the bill.

"They can't patch up the bill enough to get my vote," he said.

Outlook Seen Brighter

In past years, Southerners have managed to filibuster to death all civil rights legislation. But the outlook for congressional approval of a bill this year is brighter than at any time since the reconstruction days immediately following the Civil War.

In the impending struggle, the Southerners will be opposed by an almost solid phalanx of Republicans, led by the President, and Northern and Western Democrats.

The President's four-point bill would establish a Presidential Commission on Civil Rights; set up a Civil Rights Division in the Justice Department; authorize Government suits to protect civil rights, and protect Negro voting rights.

Sen. Richard B. Russell (D-Ga.), leader of the Southern forces, has demanded a national referendum on the issue. But President Eisenhower rejected the idea as unconstitutional.

Sen. John C. Stennis (D-Miss.), charged yesterday that the bill was designed primarily "to put bayonets in the backs" of Southerners if necessary to force them to accept the Supreme Court's decision against school segregation.

Sen. Arthur V. Watkins (R-Utah), a co-sponsor of the bill who debated with Stennis on the NBC-WRC television show, "American Forum," replied that the legislation was aimed primarily at protecting Negro voting rights. He called it a "very moderate bill."

Subterfuge on Civil Rights

Herald Tribune
New York

The Constitution guarantees the right of every qualified citizen to vote in national elections. But it is a pretty generally accepted fact that a lot of Negroes in the South are by one discriminatory device or another deprived of that privilege. And since the right to vote is the most basic of all civil rights, it follows that the fundamental problem in this area is the enforcement of the Constitution.

Why, then, is there no effective substantiation of what the Constitution provides? The rub, of course, is that the Federal government has no present course but to undertake criminal prosecution after the accusation, prove the substance, and all the while know that the procedure is utterly futile. By this time the discrimination has already taken place, the election has come and gone, and the supplicant—even if one could be found—still has no vote.

Obviously there has to be a strengthened procedure. Here the Eisenhower administration's legislative program proposes more direct action. The Attorney General would be empowered to institute a civil suit wherever good ground exists for believing that prospective voters are being discriminated against. Upon getting injunctive relief, any violation of the Federal court would be punishable by the judge's citation for contempt.

But the foes of civil rights interpose a tricky and emotional roadblock at this point. Instead of the court enforcing its order directly, as is long-established practice, the opponents want a guaranty that any person held in contempt for violating civil rights laws shall have a trial by jury. The private reasoning, of course, is that Southern juries would be loath to convict. Yet a great clamor is being raised about the Magna Carta and so on.

If there has to be a trial-by-jury safeguard against a court's enforcement powers, what is to be said about preventive relief in anti-trust cases and similar civil remedies in everything from the Atomic Energy Act to the Securities and Exchange Commission? Nowhere is jury trial required to validate the authority of the courts.

This is a diversion, less direct than prolonged stalling and filibuster. But the objective is the same—to keep on depriving a minority of the right to vote. What is guaranteed by the Constitution ought to be enforced. The Eisenhower program is a modest beginning on civil rights. It must not be sidetracked by subterfuge.

Six Senators Hold Fate Of Rights Bill

Daily News P. 1
Tues. 7-30-57
Jackson Miss.

Undecided Lawmakers Could Pass, Kill Jury Amendment

By JACK BELL

WASHINGTON (AP)—A half dozen undecided senators were reported today to hold the fate of the proposed jury trial amendment to the administration's civil rights bill.

An intense struggle behind the scenes to enlist this small, undecided bloc was paralleled by efforts of the amendment's opponents and its supporters to marshal their full strength when a showdown vote comes — possibly not for several days

As an indication of the uncertainty about the outcome, a coalition of the civil rights bill's backers won a promise from Sen. Payne (R-Maine), who has been ill in Maine, to fly to Washington to cast his vote against the jury trial proposal.

On the other hand, supporters of the amendment hoped that Sen. Bridges (R-NH), who has been recuperating in New Hampshire from an illness, might be well enough to be on hand and might cast his vote with them. Bridges, chairman of the Senate Republican Policy Committee, has made no public commitment on the jury trial proposal.

Sen. Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, the Democratic leader, said he hopes to get the Senate to lay aside the civil rights bill temporarily to work on other unfinished business.

Senators O'Mahoney (D-Wyo), Kefauver (D-Tenn) and Church D-Idaho) have proposed a civil rights bill amendment which would provide for jury trials in criminal contempt cases growing out of alleged interference with voting rights.

It is broad enough to guarantee such trials for defendants in any type of case in which a court intends to punish a defendant who originally violated its order even if he later signified he would comply with the decision.

Sen. Knowland (R-Calif) listed President Eisenhower as opposed to insertion of this clause in the bill.

Sen. Eastland (D-Miss), supporting the amendment as a means of diluting the over-all authority of the civil rights bill, predicted "an extremely close vote" on the issue.

Because the situation was so uncertain, neither side was willing to name publicly members they regard as undecided.

Sen. Javits (R-NY) called or supporters of the bill to "stanc fast and tell our opponents we wil retreat no more — that we wil stand united against further par liamentary gimmicks to split u: up."

10 1957

South starts slowly, finishes fast—

Civil rights battle has been sort of switch on Civil War

BY J. W. DAVIS

WASHINGTON. Aug. 3—(AP)—The 1957 civil rights battle has been a sort of switch on the way things went in the 1861-65 Civil War.

The South won the early battles in that long-ago war, but was overwhelmed and crushed in the end.

This time, the Southern senators and representatives fighting against federal civil rights legislation lost major engagements early, particularly in the House part of the Congressional battlefield.

But toward the end, they had picked up reinforcements and were riding fairly high.

Bill stripped down

WITH INVALUABLE help from outside the bounds of the Confederacy—some of the help perhaps not intended—they had stripped the bill down to a fraction of what it once was. There was strong doubt there would be any civil rights bill enacted at all.

Moreover, the Southerners led by Sen Russell (D., Ga.), among others, gained important victories in the Senate without once using the filibuster.

The Eisenhower administration showed more push this year—certainly it got started much earlier than usual—behind demands for new federal laws on civil rights. The primary announced aim was to protect Negro voting rights in the South.

In his Jan. 20 State of the Union message, President Eisenhower declared for "fair and equal treatment of citizens without regard to race or color." He repeated his call of a year previous for:

Ike repeats demands

"(1) Creation of a bipartisan commission to investigate asserted violations of civil rights and to ma... recommendations.

"(2) Creation of a civil rights division in the Department of Justice in charge of an assistant attorney general.

"(3) Enactment by the Congress of new laws to aid in the enforcement of voting rights: and

"(4) Amendment of the laws so as to permit the federal government to seek from the civil courts preventive relief in civil rights cases."

Opens hearings

Within less than a month, the House judiciary committee opened hearings. Atty. Gen. Brownell submitted proposed legislation, drawn up in the Justice Department, and said this should do what was necessary, without satisfying "extremists on either hand."

Brownell bristled angrily at a suggestion the administration might be contemplating "bayonet rule" to enforce court decrees in the South—a matter that became important as the months wore on.

The House hearings rolled along, with Southerners trying to string them out and Northerners trying to push the legislation to a vote.

In the end, to nobody's surprise, the House adopted legislation much as Eisenhower and Brownell had asked, although it bore the name of Rep. Celler (D.,N.Y.).

That was on June 18. Last year it was July 23 before the House passed its civil rights bill, a bill that died in the adjournment of the Senate.

Knowland waited until after the July 4 recess to actually call up the bill, after the Senate voted 45-39 to put it on its calendar. That was done on July 8.

Amendments not out

The next day, Knowland remarked that Eisenhower had not closed the door to "clarifying amendments." Rep. Celler grumbled: "The president bends with every wind."

They were talking about what some observers believe to be a turning point of the whole campaign—Eisenhower's July 3 news conference admission that he didn't understand parts of the legislation himself.

This fitted in with the Southern line of opposition—that the bill was so cunningly loaded-down with gimmicks that the public couldn't realize its full implications.

Later Eisenhower said he fully supported the bill, apparently after getting an explanation from Brownell.

Wedge driven

But the wedge had been driven, and on July 22 the Senate voted 90-0 to repeal a reconstruction era law which Russell and others had contended could be used, in a link with the proposed new civil rights powers, to employ federal troops in enforcing all sorts of court orders—school integration, use of parks etc., by Negroes, as well as Negro voting rights.

Two days later, the coalition of Republicans and Democrats who had been pressing for the bill cracked up. This came on a 52-38 vote stripping the bill of all enforcement authority except for voting rights.

One battle left

There was left only one big battle: Whether to guarantee jury trials to persons accused of violating court injunctions issued under the voting rights procedure. Or should judges alone enforce their own orders?

But the Southerners—particularly Sen. Ervin (D., N. C.)—never let up on this argument: The right to a jury trial, as contrasted to trial by judge alone, is one of the most precious rights a man can have. It ought not be taken away from him in the name of giving some other man another right.

Last Thursday, Sen. Lyndon (D., Tex.), the Senate majority leader, kept the Senate in session until past midnight, and the big battle was over when the roll was called:

For jury trials 51; against this guarantee 42.

Outcome denounced

President Eisenhower denounced the outcome as a blow to "our whole judicial system."

It remains to be seen whether there will indeed be any civil rights bill at all this year. The House and Senate bills are so different—the House voted down a jury trial amendment—that right now it would appear impossible to work out an acceptable compromise.

But whatever happens, there'll be another fight next year.

Senate Version—

Civil Rights Bill Near Final Vote

WASHINGTON, Aug. 2 (U.P.)—Senate, ignoring implied threats of a presidential veto, rushed its watered-down civil rights bill to the brink of passage today. Final approval next week was considered a mere formality.

The Senate completed work on the measure bare hours after the President described as "bitterly disappointing" the Senate's 51-42 action in adding a jury trial proviso to the bill's voting rights section. He said the provision threatened the entire judicial system.

Despite the rebuke, the Senate quickly acted on a series of minor amendments and then barred any further changes—a prelude to final passage. But it put off the final vote until next week.

The President's statement, one of the sharpest rebukes he has ever issued to Congress, raised the possibility that he would veto any civil rights bill that reached his desk with the jury trial proviso included.

Senate passage next week will send the battered bill back to the House, which in June approved the tough legislation demanded by the administration. The Senate version will receive a cold reception.

House Republican leaders said the jury trial amendment probably killed the bill, at least for this session. They said the House would never accept the amendment and they expressed doubt that Senate-House conferees could agree on a compromise this year.

But Senate Democrat Leader Lyndon B. Johnson (Texas) said the amendment actually strengthened the bill and paved the way for Senate approval. He called for quick action by conferences on a mutually-acceptable compromise.

Johnson said that "I am as proud of this great legislative body as I've ever been." He said the bill "effectively insures all citizens the right to vote" and that it also introduces a "new principle . . . the right to trial by jury in all criminal contempt cases."

In a jibe at GOP Leader William F. Knowland, who led the fight for the original version of the bill, Johnson recalled that there had been "warnings that he would be here all Winter" and that the Senate could not act on civil rights.

"The Senate has effectively answered those statements," Johnson said.

Knowland said in reply that he would support the bill, but "regretfully."

The Southerners won their greatest victory early today when the Senate, over the President's vehement objections, voted to guarantee jury trials for persons accused of criminal contempt for violating court injunctions designed to protect voting rights.

As the Senate bill now stands it would (1) establish a presidential commission on civil rights; (2) create a civil rights division within the Justice Dept.; (3) protect an individual's right to sue to protect his civil rights and (4) authorize the attorney general to seek voting rights injunctions.

City Fails To Fight Racist Plea

By JAMES BUCHANAN
Herald Staff Writer

The City of Miami may have hurt its cross-burning case against professional race agitator Fred B. Hockett because an assistant city attorney refused to fight Hockett's appeal.

The Herald learned Thursday that Asst. City Atty. John Winkle has declined to file a brief and also refused to argue the city's side of the case when it came before Circuit Court Judge J. Fritz Gordon.

Hockett, fined $1,000 and given a 120-day jail sentence March 6 in city court, is appealing the decision which grew out of a cross-burning incident on the lawn of Frank Legree, a Negro, at 1455 NW 55th St.

Judge Gordon has the appeal under advisement. No decision is expected until after the middle of the month.

Hockett was the front-runner in Miami for John Kasper, convicted rabble rouser when the latter made a membership drive for the Seaboard White Citizens Council early this year.

Winkle, criticized recently for prosecuting his own complaint against a Negro yardman, apparently is letting the city's criminal case against Hockett and two co-defendants go by the boards.

The appeal, by Hockett, Frank L. Foster Jr., and James N. McSwiney, was heard July 18 before Judge Gordon. Appearing for the trio was Attorney James T. Gordon, who made a lengthy and impassioned argument and also filed a brief to support his interpretation of the laws involved.

Judge Gordon, no relation to

the defense attorney, then asked Winkle for the city's brief.

"We don't file briefs from our office," Winkle replied, "we're awfully busy over there now."

City Attorney George Okell explained the city files briefs only in those cases where the other party files a brief prior to the oral hearing.

Okell said he was under the impression Winkle had argued the city's case before the judge. Winkle, an employe of the city attorney's office since June of 1956, is on vacation at the present time and ws unavailable for comment.

Judge Gordon told The Herald Thursday that it was no unusual for attorneys to file briefs at the time the case comes up, rather than ahead of time.

Judge Gordon indicated he is carrying the city's burden himself to get a clear picture of the law, and displayed a stack of legal papers on various statutes.

Thomas L. Stokes

Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.
Wed. 8-7-57

Suave Southerners Manipulate Senate

WASHINGTON—There is one possible benefit, not so visible to the naked eye, that could come from the sham perpetrated upon the Senate and the American people by the Southern bloc in gutting the civil rights bill. It exposed more dramatically than anything ever has before how a minority of one of our two major parties, representing not only a minority of the Democratic Party but of the country as a whole, can work its will on Congress in a manner affecting the whole nation.

This display of power is likely to be more keenly felt and recognized because it intrudes upon the human dignity of millions of persons who for a long time have suffered d e n i a l of guaranteed rights which the rest of us take for granted.

It is true Southerners in the past have stopped civil rights bills by actual filibuster or by threat of filibuster and that enough Republicans have joined them in committee to keep civil rights bills off the floor. But now not only have civil rights been thrust forward by recent Supreme Court decisions, but a bill actually got to the Senate floor for the first time in over three-quarters of a century. It looked finally as if victory was in sight. Anticipation and hopes were high. Now these have been dimmed if not doused once again.

As much as the civil rights fiasco in the Senate will hurt the Democratic Party in its national aspect, it was admittedly a triumph for the Southern wing. It was, too, a compliment, if of dubious character, for the ingenious and slick leadership of Sen. Lyndon Johnson of Texas who in this case virtually compromised the civil rights bill out of existence in the zeal of exercising his talents of maneuver and behind-the-scenes negotiations of which he is so proud.

In this situation he was the errand boy for Sen. Richard B. Russell, who put Lyndon Johnson in the post of leadership. For the direction of strategy the two share credit, but with most going to Dick Russell, if you know the full story of how it all happened.

In addition to the gift of maneuver, which the Southern bloc demonstrated again in this back-to-the-wall operation as they have so cleverly before in other less explosive issues, its leaders have reservoirs of power in their occupancy of most of the key positions in the Senate. In short, they have favors of all sorts to bestow. In this crisis they called mortgages they hold for this or that past favor. Among the most potent were the votes they got from Pacific Northwest senators in exchange for Southern votes that helped try a few weeks ago to put over the Hell's Canyon high dam so dear to the Northwestern Democrats. With the Northwestern votes they were able to put over the jury trial amendment which, if knowledge of the South and Southern traits is accurate, will render protection of the right to vote of little effect—and that, of course, was the real object of the bill.

In fact, it was the wholesale and rapid extension of the vote among Negroes, of which only about a fourth now eligible vote in the South, which Southerners really feared if the original injunctive provisions were retained. From the start their aim was to nullify this section so far as they could, and so they exploited the "trial by jury" issue.

IT FAILED TO PASS

Black Dispatch P. 6
Fri. 8-2-57
Oklahoma City, Okla.

News commentators all around the nation are giving out reasons why the public school construction bill failed to pass in Congress this week. Some blame the President for not speaking out on the proposed legislation while others blame the Powell amendment and various other things.

It is not hard under our system of government to find some scapegoat to blame what whatever happens.

We take the position that the Congress acted in good faith when they refused to spen dtwo billion two hundred million dollars without some assurance that the Constitution of the United States as well as the ruling of the United States Supreme Court be upheld.

We base our position on these facts:

It is MORALLY wrong to reward injustice and disobedience of the law.

It is POLITICALLY wrong for Congress, which is one arm of the Federal Government, to sabotage the Supreme Court, another arm of the Federal Government, by aiding states which are defying the Supreme Court.

It is LEGALLY wrong to use Federal funds to promote unlawful activities such as the maintenance of segregation schools.

From the PRACTICAL standpoint. every school building put up in the defiant states would be so designed and so situated as to make ia more difficult to desegregate it at some future time. But if a state were committed to desegregation ,as the Supreme Court ruled and the Powell Amendment makes clear, it would be to its best interest to build new schools in such a way as to PROMOTE desegregation.

In all the defiant states there are people who want to see law and order prevail and who want to preserve their public schools against the irresponsible proposals of the segregationists. The safeguards which the South and some of their fellow-travelers refused to accept this week, thus defeating the school construction bill, would have strengthened the position of such people. If Federal aid had been given without safeguards, they would have had no answer to make to their opponents who would have said, "See ,we got Federal money and kept our schools segregated, too."

Let's call a spade a spade. The President, Rep. Powell, nor anyone else except the eight states who have refused to desegregate their public schools caused the defeat of the public school construction bill. Congress by its firm vote of this week said that states which refuse to obey the Supreme Court should not receive the same multi-million dollar assistance as the states which obey the Supreme Court. 'Tis as simple as that.

10 1957

Hays Attacks Powell for Circulating 'Scurrilous' Letter on Civil Rights

Post + Times Herald Sat. 6-8-57

Washington D.C.

By Richard L. Lyons
Staff Reporter *P. 7-A*

The House civil rights debate meandered through a second day yesterday amid quorum calls, a fuss among Northern Democrats, and more talk by Southern Democrats about the right to trial by jury.

The one sharp note of the day was struck by Rep. Wayne L. Hays (D-Ohio) in denouncing another Northern Democrat, Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D-N. Y.).

Hays accused Powell of sending a "scurrilous" letter to House members, intended to "persuade or threaten" them to vote against a Southern-sponsored jury-trial amendment which sponsors say would cripple the bill.

'Voters Fed Up'

Powell had said in his letter: "As a final word to Democrats, let me say that the colored votes of the North are fed up with weak platforms and watered-down legislation. They are increasingly asking the question, why send Pennsylvania and Ohio Democrats to Congress if they must take their orders from middle men who serve the white citizens councils in Mississippi and Alabama?"

Hays said he voted for the civil rights bill last year when Powell was off on a trip, and plans to vote for it this year. But he said Powell's letter had "almost persuaded" him to vote for jury trials in right-to-vote contempt cases. Powell has missed the civil rights debate this year because of illness.

Hays said "no man in the United States is doing more to divide the Negro citizen from the rest of us" than Powell.

Asked by Rep. Francis E. Walter (D-Pa.) if Powell wouldn't be "the most disappointed man in America" if the civil rights bill is enacted, Hays answered: "Yes, because he would have nothing left to talk about."

Jury-Trial Issue

Yesterday's debate, like Thursday's, dealt almost exclusively with the jury-trial issue. The key provision in the bill would let the Attorney General seek injunctions to prevent or stop interference with voting and other civil rights. With the Government a party,, contempt hearings for persons ignoring the court order would be heard by a judge, not a jury. This takes action out of the hands of Southern juries.

Southern Democrats have seized on this as depriving persons of their right to trial by jury. Backers of the bill say this isn't so, that juries don't hear contempt cases, and that basic purpose of the provision is to prevent a wrong rather than punish one.

Typical Southern View

A typical Southern view of the bill was stated by Rep. Watkins M. Abbitt (D-Va.). He said the measure, which supporters call moderate, is one of the "most drastic and far-reaching measures" ever proposed.

The "most iniquitous" part of the bill, said Abbitt, is the one letting the Attorney General seek civil rights injunctions. This "brushes aside state administrative remedies, wipes out state sovereignty, and deprives everyone of civil rights except the Attorney General," he said.

The debate was interrupted twice by half-hour roll calls to pull members onto the floor. Southerners had served notice they would force a quorum at all times to hear their jury-trial arguments.

The House will wind up general debate Monday and start voting on the bill Tuesday. The bill is expected to pass in one form or another. The key vote will be on an amendment requiring jury trials in contempt cases. Both sides claim a slim majority on this issue.

South's Move To Kill Rights Bill Is Beaten

Post + Times Herald P. 1

Fri. 6-7-57

By Richard L. Lyons
Staff Reporter

Washington D.C.

Southern Democrats lost a surprise fight to knock the civil right bill off the House floor with one blow yesterday and then settled lown to an expected week of campaigning to soften it up by amendment.

Rep Howard W. Smith (D-Va.) led the fight to send the bill back to the House Judiciary Committee on a technical point that the report accompanying the bill did not spell out every change it would make in existing law. He was supported by Rep. Jere Cooper (D-Tenn.) and other Southerners in contending this violated a House rule.

Speaker Sam Rayburn overrulled Smith on the grounds that sections he cited were additions to rather than changes in law. Rayburn read to a hushed House several precedents backing his ruling, including a ruling made by Cooper while he was acting Speaker in 1940.

Had Smith's point of order been sustained, the bill probably would have been dead for this season. It would have had to retrace its slow course through Smith's Rules Committee and might have been sidetracked in the legislative logjam at the end of the session.

With this parliamentary skirmish out of the way, the Southerners settled down to the real fight of trying to put in an amendment requiring jury trials in civil rights contempt cases.

Post + Times Herald 7-2A

The Administration bill does three things. It provides for another Assistant Attorney General in charge of a civil rights division in the Justice Department. It creates a civil rights commission to investigate alleged civil rights violations and determine the need for more legislation.

Most important, it permits the Attorney General to go to court for an injunction to stop or prevent violation of a person's voting or other civil rights. With the Government a party to the suit, contempt hearings for persons ignoring the court order would be heard by a Federal judge, not by a jury.

This takes civil rights enforcement out of the hands of Southern juries, which might be slow to convict. Southerners have seized on the "right of trial by jury" issue as their main weapon against the bill. Civil rights backers say a jury trial amendment will cripple the bill. The Senate Judiciary Committee has adopted such an amendment and it looks like a nip-and-tuck battle in the House when voting starts Tuesday.

Hyde Is Applauded

One of the stanchest Northern supporters of jury trial is Rep. DeWitt S. Hyde (R-Md.), who was applauded from both sides of the aisle when he said in effect that the no-jury contempt procedure is a bad means to a good end.

Hyde urged support for an amendment that will be offered next week requiring jury trials in cases of criminal contempt. This would be an incident, such as intimidating a voter, that would be a criminal offense even if there were no court injunction against it. Hyde said most cases that would be brought under the bill would fall in this category.

In every case of criminal contempt there is now a law on the books making it a crime and requiring trial by jury, said Hyde. All the civil rights bill does, he said, is switch jurisdiction from juries to a Federal judge. It is a dangerous move because it starts whittling away the right to jury trial in criminal cases, said Hyde. It is just what the King of England did to the American colonies when he switched cases to admiralty courts, which had no juries, he said.

Rep. Richard H. Poff (R-Va.) rejected the argument that Southern juries will not convict civil rights violators. Yet, even if they were slow to convict it would be better to preserve the jury system and let some offenders go free, he said.

Rep. Edwin E. Willis (D-La.) said the purpose of an injunction is to restrain people from doing something, not send them to jail. "But that will be its effect," he said. "The whole purpose is to get around the jury system."

Chairman Emanuel Celler (D-N. Y.) of the Judiciary Committee said the jury issue was a screen to "hide obstructive and dilatory tactics."

"Crocodile Tears"

In alabama recently, he said, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was fined $100,000 for contempt of a state court without a jury trial.

"When the shoe is on the other foot there is no outcry," he said. He called the Southern protests "crocodile tears."

Congress has passed nearly 30 laws in the last 20 years letting judges punish contempt without a jury, said Celler. He said there is serious question whether Congress could grant jury trials in contempt cases.

Rep. Kenneth B. Keating (R-N. Y.), ranking Republican on the Judiciary Committee, said the bill "creates no new rights. It simply affords new remedies designed to strengthen and protect existing rights."

South Wants 3 Rights Bill Amendments

Post-Herald

Fri. 6-7-57

B'ham, Ala.

Jury Trials, Sworn Complaints, State Courts First

P. 13

By MARSHALL McNEIL
Scripps-Howard staff writer

WASHINGTON, June 6—When voting starts next week, Southerners in the House will make an all-out fight to add three major amendments to the civil rights bill. They are:

1. To provide trial by jury for persons charged with contempt of court.

2. To require a signed and sworn complaint, and request for action, from an aggrieved person before the attorney general could start a civil suit to protect his civil rights.

3. To require that a person who believes his civil rights have been violated must exhaust remedies available under his state's laws before appealing to a federal court.

The fight for these three proposals will be the heart of the battle over the President's civil rights program.

Chances for approval of the Southerners' first amendment are regarded as good, if only because the Senate Judiciary Committee had just approved a similar provision in the civil rights bill it is considering.

Prospects for approval of the other two are fair.

Southerners have been warned by some House leaders to temper their words on the floor in order to win more support for their three major amendments.

The pending bill gives the attorney general the right to start civil suits on behalf of the U. S. to stop civil rights violations. If the court upholds the government, its enforcement orders can only be made effective through contempt proceedings. Contempt is punishable by fine or imprisonment.

The Southerners mintain that before penalties are assessed, the individual has an inalienable right to be tried by a jury.

They argue that the "most glaring omission of the entire" bill is the absence of "even a letter" guaranteeing this trial by jury.

The government argues that the bill sets up no new procedures, and that the trial-by-jury proposal is only another attempt by Southerners to make enforcement of civil rights ineffective.

The pending bill also provides that "whenever any persons" have violated, or are about to violate, civil rights laws, the attorney general "may" bring suit in the name of the U. S.

Stressing the word "may," the Southerners assert that this gives the Justice Dept. extraordinary dictatorial powers it should not have.

They insist that the government must be prohibited from starting such civil suits until the individual involved files an affidavit of complaint and requests action.

Finally, the third Southern amendment is directed at a provision of the bill which says that the Federal District Courts shall have jurisdiction over civil rights suits filed by the attor-

Senate Group Approves Rights Bill

By Robert C. Albright

Staff Reporter

The Senate Constitutional Rights Subcommittee yesterday approved President Eisenhower's four-point civil rights bill over Southern opposition by a vote of 4 to 2, without a single modifying change.

A slightly diluted version of the same bill was approved by the House Judiciary Committee Monday, but both measures still face a number of high hurdles, not the least of which is an all-out Dixie floor fight.

The Senate bill must be approved by the full Senate Judiciary Committee headed by Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss.), a leading opponent. The House measure still must clear the House Rules Committee, captained by another Southerner, Rep. Howard W. Smith (D-Va.).

Two Southern Democrats, Sens. Sam J. Ervin (N.C.) and Olin D. Johnston (S.C.) voted against the bill in yesterday's Senate subcommittee showdown. Voting for it were Sen. Thomas C. Hennings Jr. (D-Mo.), chairman of the Subcommittee, and Sens. Joseph C. O'Mahoney (D-Wyo.), Arthur V. Watkins (R-Utah) and Roman L. Hruska (R-Nebr.).

O'Mahoney joined the two Southerners in support of a number of their proposed modifying amendments, however. As a result, five of the Southern amendments failed by 3 to 3 tie votes.

O'Mahoney, a leading liberal, said he voted with the Southerners against some of the provisions of the bill because he believed they placed in jeopardy the right to trial by jury. O'Mahoney also voted against creation of a bipartisan commission to investigate violations of civil rights. The Wyoming Democrat said he voted against the commission for the same reason he opposed the late President Roosevelt's 1936 court plan. He said it "sets up a roving commission, with authority to go anywhere and investigate anything." But O'Mahoney in the end voted to report the bill "because I think we need civil rights legislation."

President Eisenhower's four-point-program would:

- Create a Bipartisan Commission to investigate charges that citizens are being deprived of their vote because of color, race, religion or national origin.
- Forbid anyone from intimidating any citizen in the exercise of his right to vote.
- Authorize the Attorney General to seek injunctions in the Federal courts to prevent civil rights violations.
- Establish a Civil rights division, under an Assistant Attorney General, in the Justice Department.

Besides the move to eliminate the bipartisan commission, southern amendments, defeated by a 3 to 3 tie vote, would have (1) eliminated authority for the Attorney General to bypass state agencies and take a civil rights case directly to a Federal court (2) require a jury trial for persons charged with contempt in these cases (3) stricken authority for the Attorney General to bring certain civil rights suits in the name of the United States and (4) stricken an entire section strengthening civil right statutes. Another amendment requiring a jury trial before the Attorney General could get an injunction in a civil rights case was defeated 4 to 2.

Hennings told newsmen "exhaustive" hearings have been held on the legislation, both this year and last. He said he will seek to report the bill at the next meeting of the full Senate Judiciary Committee, Monday.

Sen. Olin Johnston, however, indicated he may move for further hearings in the full Judiciary Committee.

Committee Rejects Rights Bill Curbs

By J. W. Davis

Associated Press

The Senate Judiciary Committee yesterday rejected, 6 to 4, a Southern proposal to knock out key parts of the Administration's civil rights bill.

The six-man majority comprised Sen. Estes Kefauver (D-Tenn.) and five Republican Senators: Alexander Wiley (Wis.), Arthur Watkins (Utah), Everett Dirksen (Ill.), John M. Butler (Md.) and Roman Hruska (Nebr.).

Voting for the proposal by Sen. Sam J. Ervin (D-N. C.), were Ervin and three other Southern Democrats: Chairman James O. Eastland (Miss.), John L. McClellan (Ark.) and Olin D. Johnston (S. C.).

Yesterday's action was the first voting test of strength recorded in the committee since a subcommittee approved the bill 4-2 on March 19.

Ervin's proposal aimed at dropping provisions which would:

- Create a special division in the Justice Department to enforce civil rights laws.
- Create a special commission with power to examine complaints of violation of civil rights.
- Set up a system permitting injunction suits to protect a variety of civil rights.

If these provisions were dropped, the only thing left in the bill would be a section designed especially to protect the voting rights of Negroes.

The House Rules Committee has a vote set for today on clearing the bill for a vote in the House.

Chairman Eastland said the next subject on the Senate Judiciary Committee list is the McClellan amendment to include a "right to work" amendment which would outlaw any labor contract which requires labor union membership as a condition for getting or keeping a job.

ney "without regard to whether the party aggrieved shall have exhausted any administrative or other remedies that may be provided by law.

The fight will be to write into this grant of jurisdiction a limitation that the aggrieved person must first seek relief under his state's laws before appealing for federal help.

Otherwise, the states' authority and their police power will have no meaning, the Southerners insist.

Charges Attacks Made On Judicial Power Of Courts

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Charges that the pending civil rights legislation is "novel and dangerous" and will "abolish trial by jury" were hailed last week by Kenneth B. Keating (R) N. Y. as "an attack on the judicial power of our courts."

The civil rights bill is now before the Rules Committee of the House of Representatives.

NATIONAL BODY

In a statement to Val J. Washington, director of Minorities Division of the Republican National Committee, Mr. Keating, who is House sponsor of President Eisenhower's Civil rights proposals, said "It has become increasingly clear, in recent years, that the present civil rights laws do not afford adequated protection for the constitutional rights of all American citizens.

"For this reason, President Eisenhower has recommended that the Federal Government be authorized to bring civil suits to protect and insure civil rights. This recommendation has given rise of late to charges that those haled into court for violating such injunctions will be deprived of their right to trial by jury."

TRIAL BY JURY

Mr. Keating reviewed briefly the law affecting trial by jury and made the following conclusions:

(1) "There is no constitutional right to trial by jury in contempt proceedings.

(2) "Congress has never granted the right to trial by jury in civil contempt proceedings. Such a grant the Supreme Court has implied, would be unconstitutional.

(3) Congress has conferred the right to trial by jury only in certain defined cases of criminal contempt.

(4) "Only in criminal contempt proceedings arising out of labor disputes under the Norris-LaGuardia Act (1932) has the defendant ever had a right to a jury trial in actions institute by the United States.... Congress....has nullified that.... provision of the Act.

(5) "In 28 distinct instances Congress has granted the Federal Government authority to seek injunctive relief. Contemptors under these laws have never been givn the right to trial by jury."

'Teeth' Are Removed By Solons

Legislature Passes Emasculated Version In Its Dying Days

A greatly watered-down Human Relations Commission bill was passed by the state legislature in its dying hours last Thursday and is now on the governor's desk.

The measure, House bill No. 125, passed by the House some time ago, lost its "teeth" when it went to the Senate.

Considered quite a strong bill when it was introduced early in the session, the bill had been endorsed by most agencies and individuals interested in civil rights throughout the state. In its emasculated form, many former supporters are now saying that the bill in its present form is "worse than no bill at all."

Among the changes made by the Senate were an elimination of the words "religion" and "creed" from the bill. Originally, House bill No. 125 sought to eliminate any difference in treatment based upon "race, religion, creed, color, national origin or ancestry." The Senate changed this wording to "race or national ancestry." This means that the bill as passed by the senate and later agreed upon by the House applies only to discrimination based upon race and ancestry. It takes no stand against religious intolerance.

Another major change made in the bill was the elimination of a provision giving the Commission the power to hold public and private hearings, to subpoena witnesses, and to take testimony.

The Commission under the new bill still has the power to "receive and investigate complaints of discrimination and to recommend ways of eliminating any injustice occasioned thereby" but it cannot hold hearings.

The bill passed the Senate on Thursday, May 30, the day before the legislative session ended by vote of 30 to 1. It then returned to the House for consideration of the changes made in the Senate and received a 100 to 6 vote in the lower house. This action sent the bill to the governor's desk.

Governor Blair, who in his campaign for governor last fall promised a State Human Rights Commission, was out of his office and could not be reached for comment on the "watered down" bill.

The bill as pased by the legislature:

"Section 1. As used in this act: "Discrimination" shall mean any difference in treatment based on race or national ancestry.

"Section 2. There is hereby created a Commission on Human Rights. It shall consist of 11 members, one from each congressional district of the state, serving without compensation, to be appointed by the governor. One of the members shall be appointed chairman by the governor. Of the 11 members first appointed, three shall be for two years and four for three years; thereafter, all appointments to the commission shall be for a term of three years. In the event of the death or resignation of any member, his successor shall be appointed to serve for the unexpired period of the term for which such member had been appointed.

"Section 3. The function of the commission shall be to encourage equality of treatment and to foster mutual understanding and respect among and prevent discrimination against, any racial or ethnic group or its members.

"Section 4. The powers and duties of the commission shall be:

"1. To cooperate with other organizations, private and public to eliminate racial or ethnic discrimination.

2. To conduct research projects or make studies into and publish reports on discrimination in Missouri.

"3. To receive and investigate complaints of discrimination and to recommend ways of eliminating any injustice occasioned thereby.

"4. To make an annual report assembly and to recommend asembly and to recommend legislation to carry out the purpose of this act.

"5. To employ an executive director and other necessary personnel within the limits of funds made available.

"6. To encourage equality of treatment for, and prevent discrimination against, any racial, ethnic group or its members.

"Section 4. The powers and duties of the commission shall terminat[e] on the thirtieth day of June, 1961.

No funds were appropriated f[or] the Commision. An allotment [of] $12.500 ear-marked for the com[mission] was included in the omni[bus] appropriations bill which faile[d] to pass before the legislative se[ss]ion ended.

10 1957

Decision Opening FBI Files Brings Havoc To Courts

From the beginning of its operations, the voluminous files of the FBI have been held inviolate. Courts throughout the land have long proceeded on the principle that the public interest would not be served by disclosure of their contents—all kinds of material, including even anonymous letters, rumor and hearsay.

These files were never intended for public scrutiny, thus protecting millions of innocent people whose names somehow might have figured in compilation of evidence. But two weeks ago the Supreme Court handed down a notable decision affecting the FBI files. The devastating results of that decision—from the standpoint of federal prosecutors and policy—are told in the following dispatch.

BY CHARLES LUCEY
Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

WASHINGTON, June 17—The U. S. Supreme Court decision in the Jencks case is causing "havoc" and "utter chaos" in federal courts from one end of the country to the other.

This is the decision holding the government must provide defendants in criminal cases with certain material from hitherto secret FBI files.

The Justice Department is being besieged with calls from U. S. attorneys from Alaska to Puerto Rico asking guidance.

The decision may upset the government's seven-year effort to brand the Communist Party as a tool of Moscow. The party now is demanding to see the FBI files.

The Justice Department, which may ask Congress for legislation to overturn the decisions, has sent new instructions to all U. S. attorneys specifying just how far they may go now in heeding the Supreme Court ruling.

It has chosen to permit dismissal of at least one case rather than open FBI files as ordered by a U. S. district judge.

One of the highest government law enforcement officials commented today that "in 25 years of law enforcement I've never seen a court decision at any level or in any jurisdiction cause so much turmoil."

Already defendants in a variety of cases—criminal, anti-subversive, even anti-trust—have come up with a raft of motions for production of FBI material.

Victor R. Hansen, assistant attorney general in charge of the Justice Department anti-trust division, commented:

"This is going to play havoc with us if the courts continue to go as far as they have in several instances since announcement of the Jencks decision. The effectiveness of the FBI is all but gone if we must turn over these reports—and we use the FBI in practically every case.

"Often the FBI reports concern other parties who have nothing to do with the case being tried but who are subject to prosecution in other cases. This tips them off."

Here is how the Jencks ruling has affected specific cases:

In the Western Pennsylvania U. S. District Court, the government had on trial a criminal antitrust action against the Erie County Malt Beverage Distributors' Assn. for alleged price-fixing. It intended using six witnesses, four of them FBI agents, to make its case.

The defense indicated it would demand FBI reports if the FBI men testified.

The Justice Department decided it would not give up the FBI reports and did not call the FBI agents, although it knew this would weaken and maybe lose its case.

In a narcotics case in U. S. District Court in Atlanta, the chief government witness was to be an FBI agent. He had written a report on circumstances of the arrest, and the source of original information. To make public such material would endanger certain informants. The government said it would make available the agent's reports on matters on which he was to testify but asked permission to delete other matters.

The judge rejected this argument. The government refused to give up the entire file. The case was dismissed.

In a federal auto theft case at Wichita, Kas., the defense sought the entire FBI file involved. Washington instructed U. S. attorney to dismiss the case rather than give up the files.

The court finally upheld the government. It said the Jencks decision applied only to FBI reports on testimony of witnesses who had testified and was limited to matters covered in testimony. The government hopes a defense appeal will provide a clarification of the Jencks ruling.

In the bribery trial of Teamsters Union Vice President James R. Hoffa, a federal judge has ordered the Justice Department to produce oral statements made to FBI agents by John C. Cheasty, the Senate committee counsel Hoffa allegedly tried to bribe.

In ordering production of these records, the judge overruled the department's argument that the Jencks decision applied only to written reports to the FBI—not oral statements.

In a Chicago narcotics seizure, FBI agents wrote a report describing activities of five persons. The U. S. attorney decided the affair properly represented two cases, and so two of the five were covered under the indictment, three under another. There were separate defense lawyers in each case.

A motion was made in the first case to inspect the FBI file. The government said it would provide material relating to facts on which an FBI agent would testify, with all material pertaining to the second case eliminated. The court indicated the government should turn over the entire file—and in advance of trial. The government said in that case the court would have to take responsibility for dismissing the case—that only pertinent material would be furnished and then not in advance of the agent's testimony.

The court reviewed the matter again, finally held with the government. These are by no means all the cases thrown into confusion.

The government position today is that the Jencks case is limited to statements of witnesses actually testifying for the government, that it does not justify pretrial "rights of discovery"—so-called fishing expeditions in FBI files.

Richland Legislator Scores Passage Of Civil Rights Bill

COLUMBIA, June 20 (Special)—The passage of the Civil Rights Bill, now before Congress, by the House of Representatives is viewed with "sadness beyond measure" by Richland County Rep. Albert W. Watson.

The bill is now before the United States Senate.

In a letter to The News and Courier, Rep. Watson asks the people of South Carolina to "wake up," because "it's later than you think!"

Rep. Watson said the bill as written does not insure trial by jury. "The right to a jury trial . . . has always been laid up in my mind and philosophy among the sacred fundamentals of the law and our heritage," he said.

"Let's all encourage our senators in their fight for the preservation of constitutional government and the right to a trial here at home rather than in Harlem or Chicago. (They can move it up there under this (The Civil Rights) law)," he said.

Rep. Watson said the "civil rights measure. . . threatens to further reduce our dwindling larder of constitutional rights and carelessly squander the meager residue of States' Rights."

He calls this bill "one of, if not the most crucial, crossroads in American history," and adds, "If taxation without representation would provide sufficient grounds for the patriots of America to climb the funeral pyre of war with their lives, then why aren't Americans everywhere incensed over the present effort of politically mad liberalists, or more aptly leftists, for imprisonment without trial?"

Fep. Watson refers to Article 39 of the Magna Charta of 800 years ago as providing that "no free man should be deprived of life or liberty without a trial by his peers."

Bypass Move Left Up To Entire Senate

Russell Loses In Argument For Committee Referral

WASHINGTON, June 20 (AP)—Vice President Nixon submitted to the Senate tonight the question of whether the House-approved civil rights bill could be placed on its legislative calendar without being referred to committee.

Nixon said he did not regard as well taken a point of order made by Sen. Russell (D., Ga.) against parliamentary procedure which had been invoked by advocates of the measure.

However, he said that rather than rule one way or the other himself, he would put the issue to the Senate for a decision by majority vote.

The vote could come very soon, but was not immediately ordered.

Nixon's statement capped nearly six hours of debate on a move by a coalition of Republicans and Northern Democrats to force action on the legislation and bypass the Senate Judiciary Committee, where a companion measure has been stalled for months.

The move to bypass the Judiciary Committee and put the bill directly on the Senate calendar was initiated by Senate Republican Leader Knowland of California.

Knowland contended that the Senate's Rule 14 permits a bill already passed by the House to be placed on the Senate calendar for action without reference to a committee.

Russell raised a point of order, disputing this. He said Rule 14 had been "superseded and annulled" by the Congressional Reorganization Act of 1946. He said this act requires that all House bills be referred to committee for consideration before they can be brought to the floor for Senate action.

The Senate Judiciary Committee has not yet reported out a civil rights bill which a subcommittee approved last March 19. This bill, like the administration bill passed by the House, would set up new federal procedure for dealing with complaints that Negroes' civil rights are abridged in the South.

Knowland told the Senate Rule 14 should be used sparingly to by-pass a committee, but he said its use was justified when it becomes "obvious that an attempt is being made to prevent the Senate from functioning as a legislative body."

Sen. Humphrey scoffed at Russell's argument that the Senate would be thrown into chaos if committees were bypassed. Humphrey said the only argument that opponents have to using the rule is that "they don't like it."

"Some of us don't like not having a chance to vote on civil rights legislation," Humphrey said.

Russell recalled that in 1948, in a somewhat similar situation on an oleomargarine bill, Knowland supported the argument of Sen. Millikin (R., Colo.) who contended that the Reorganization Act had made Rule 14 inoperable. In reply, Knowland said this was not a fair comparison since in the earlier case there was also a dispute over committee jurisdiction.

In the 1948 case, Russell said, the Senate voted 56-15 in favor of Millikin's argument "and that the bill should go to committee."

If it should reverse itself now, Russell said, it would "throw us into legislative chaos." He agreed with Sen. McClellan (D., Ark.) who said the effect would be to enable any senator at any time to place any bill on the calendar without it having been considered by a committee.

Sen. Sparkman (D., Ala.) had predicted Nixon would rule that the House bill can be put before the Senate.

"Vice President Nixon is running for president," Sparkman said. "It (his ruling) will be favorable to the Eisenhower civil rights program and a bid for the Negro vote."

Committee Studying Election Laws Will Wait On "Rights" Law

Daily World Fri. 6-21-57 Atlanta, Ga.

P. 1

BY ROBERT SCHOENHOLT

A committee studying Georgia's election laws decided Thursday to adopt a "wait and see" attitude in the outcome of the Federal Civil Rights legislation, before attempting to revise voting qualifications.

The committee acted on suggestion of Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook who said:

"When we appeared before the Congressional Committee to debate against the proposed civil rights bill, one of our main arguments was the fact that Georgia has the easiest qualification for voting in the South." He added:

THIS TIME

"In my opinion, it would not be expedient to propose any changes in the requirements at this time.'

The Committee proposed that the law calling for persons to register six months before an election remain intact. Committee chairman, Secretary of State Ben Fortson, pointed out that primaries take place at least two months before the election and registrars need time to check the registration lists. He said:

SOME OBJECTIONS

"There has been some objections to the law as it now stands, but I don't see how you can change it and still get the job done."

Committee member Peter Zack Geer of Colquitt brought up the fact that under the Georgia law, any person whose voting application has been rejected by the registrars has the right of appeal directly into the Federal Court. Geer said that the appeal would go to the Superior Court without such a person using up his recourse in the State Courts.

State Courts. He pointed out that the committee cannot revise this section without a constitutional amendment ,and it was moved to hold for further study.

Sen. James Peters of Manchester, commenting on the particular law, said:

"This goes to the very core of what's happening in this country today.'

MINIMUM SALARY

The committee proposed that a minimum salary be set up for the registrars. It suggested the Superior Court Judge of each county appoint "not more than three and not less than one registrar" in accordance with the needs. It further proposed that the registrars be commissioned by the governor and a chairman be selected. A minimum standard pay of $10 a day for the chairman and $7.50 for the other two members was proposed.

Geer proposed to the committee that qualifications of the voters be based first on basis of good character and understanding the duties of citizenship, and then on a basis of literacy. He said that the 30 questions asked by the registrars to determine the voters understanding of government are inadequate. He said:

Daily World P. 6

"It is general knowledge that organizations conduct schools to tutor blocks of voters on these question."

GOP Leaders Plan Tactics On Rights Bill

News & Courier Sun. 6-16-57 Charleston, S.C.

Nixon-Knowland Team-Up Talked To Push Drive

P. 1

WASHINGTON, June 15 (AP)— Vice President Nixon and Sen. Knowland (R-Calif) are reported ready to team up in a drive to get Senate action on a civil rights bill that the House is about to pass.

Knowland, the Senate Republican leader, and Nixon are cast as possible rivals for the 1960 GOP presidential nomination. Both appear to believe the nomination will be worth more to the man who gets it if they can get the Republicans credited with passing a civil rights bill.

The Knowland - Nixon strategy calls for a move by the senator as soon as a House-approved bill a c t u a l l y reaches the Senate— probably Tuesday — to keep it from going to the Judiciary Committee. The latter group thus far has bottled up similar legislation.

PROPOSED SHORT-CUT

This short-cut could be accomplished either by an objection by Knowland to the bill's reference to committee or by a motion to put the measure on the Senate's calendar. Under the Senate's rules this would require some expert timing by Knowland.

But b e f o r e Knowland could make any move, he would first have to be recognized by Nixon in the latter's role as presiding officer. And, if a point of order were raised, Nixon's ruling would have some influence on the result.

Fifteen Democratic senators, headed by Douglas of Illinois, already have announced they will vote to keep the House bill in the Senate without committee consideration of it. Sen. Javits (R-NY) said he wanted to be associated with them in that move.

Southern opponents of the bill have privately come to the conclusion that, with Knowland spearheading the drive and Nixon presiding, they are facing defeat in their efforts to keep the measure bottled up.

Because of the parliamentary situation, the Southerners cannot hope to filibuster the preliminary move. Debate can be shut off by a motion to table.

The real battle will come when a move is made to take the House bill off the calendar and bring it before the Senate for voting. A filibuster then can only be broken if 64 senators vote to limit debate.

Once the bill is actually before the Senate, a second filibuster can only be stopped by a similar 64-vote approval of debate limitation. If these two hurdles are surmounted, there is no question of Senate approval of the bill.

EASTLAND'S WARNING

Chairman Eastland (D - Miss), an opponent of civil rights measures, said a decision to bypass the Judiciary Committee would "destroy the Senate's committee system." He said that if a precedent were established of taking up House bills without reference to Senate committees "we could be voting on tax bills and appropriations bills that no Senate committee ever studied."

If Knowland is successful in getting the House bill on the Senate's calendar, civil rights legislation advocates will have won an important battle, but not the war. They will have ready for Senate action a measure w i t h o u t the "jury trial" amendment the judiciary group already has attached to its measure.

But they still would face the task of breaking two filibusters.

Maybe Southerners Are Americans, After All

Advertiser P. 4-A Fri. 6-28-57 Montgomery, Ala.

The Supreme Court's recent civil rights rulings may have prompted some second looks at the "civil rights" bill which gives federal judges vast authority to enjoin any and all from things that might happen.

We wondered how such papers as *The Washington Post*, for instance, could dance for joy over the Supreme Court's recent rulings as a slap at authoritarian government control over the individual and, on the same page, display no doubts at all about a bill which would empower federal judges to rule as judicial monarchs in the Southern provinces.

One day last week, the *Post* was saying:

> The civil rights measure passed by the House . . . is a moderate, reasonable measure giving the Department of Justice opportunity to intervene when any citizen's right to vote is threatened by intimidation or coercion through the issuance of an injunction; and if the injunction is violated, the court may exercise its time-honored right to punish the violator. This is a method of law enforcement wholly consistent with the constitution and with established judicial procedures. The House did well to pass the bill without the needless and obfuscating jury trial amendment which opponents had tried to tack on as a method of wrecking it.

This is the simplistic, black & white view of the issue. It has been stated by many newspapers in much the same way. Contempt is contempt and a judge has the authority to enforce it. But the argument ignores the fact that in this second Reconstruction the federal judge serves as a kind of occupation commander to enforce sweeping orders changing the whole fabric of Southern society. In such a situation, unparalleled in this country if you exclude the first Reconstruction, he is police chief, state superintendent of education, prosecutor, judge, jury. This is a lot of power.

And in a 48-hour period following the editorial from which the above is quoted, even *The Washington Post* had a change of heart, perhaps reflecting on the abuses of governmental power in other directions.

Instead of the no-question-about-it attitude above, the *Post's* editorial two days later saw that "the vital aim . . . is not to pass the bill in the precise form recommended by the administration but to bring about fair and impartial enforcement of civil rights in the South as well as in the North." Incredibly, the jury trial issue, which two days before had been "needless and obfuscating," was now troubling the *Post:*

> We have previously noted that decisions of this sort are traditionally left to judges because the issue is primarily one of enforcing the courts' orders. Many students of our judicial system have pointed out however that there are some exceptions to this rule in cases where the nature of the charges or other factors seem to call for an assessment of the facts by a jury . . .
>
> Some cases . . . might well produce rather sweeping injunctions affecting persons not directly parties to the suit, and in these instances questions of fact as to whether accused individuals committed the acts charged against them would invite use of the jury system.

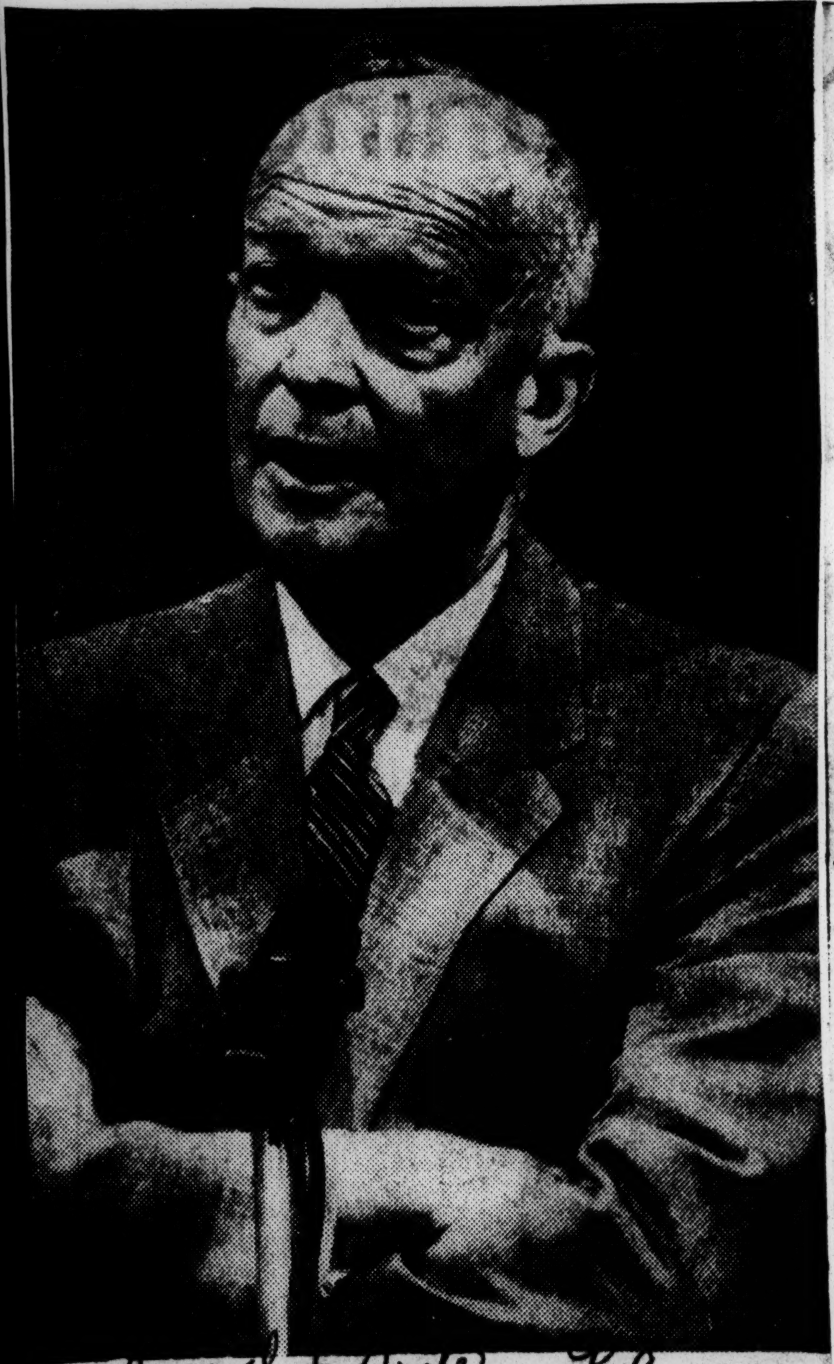
Whereas 48 hours before it was in no mood to give an inch on the jury trial issue, the *Post* was now not so sure:

> A concession along these lines should also have notable psychological advantages. It would indicate to the people of the South that Congress is willing to provide jury trials wherever they are appropriate, thus blunting the argument that the measure would encroach upon the sacred right of trial by peers of the accused . . . The bill must remain strong in principle and must be readily enforceable. But it should have the appearance as well as the substance of fairness . . . It should be entirely free from vindictiveness, rancor and any semblance of oppression.

We do not know what happened to the *Post* in that two-day period. But the change, though it can't be called a flip-flop, is remarkable. That the conquered provinces of the South should be treated fairly, if only for "psychological advantages," is something, anyway.

Could it be that the *Post* has been reading some of its own editorials on the dangers of too much power in the hands of the central government?

10 1957



Journal & Guide P. 9

Right To Vote Stressed

Sat. 7-27-57 Norfolk, Va.

Discussing the administration's civil rights bill now being debated in the Senate, President Eisenhower stated that, despite talk of "clarifying amendments," he hoped that an effective bill would be passed. The President stated that the measure's right-to-vote provisions are most important. He said:

" . . . If in every locality every person otherwise qualified, or qualified under the laws of the state to vote, is permitted to vote, he has got a means of taking care of himself and his group, his class." (See Spivack's column, Editorial Page)

Defender P. 10
Sat. 8-3-57
Chicago, Ill.

Defensive halfback Jesse Thomas, a two-year regular with the Baltimore Colts, signed Tuesday as the club made final preparations for the opening of training camp.

Thomas and other Colt veterans will follow rookies into Westminster on Saturday, but workouts for all players will not commence until Monday. Coach

President won't use troops to force Dixie to integrate

Afro-American Sat. 7-27-57 P. 13
Baltimore, Md.

WASHINGTON (NNPA) — The text of questions and answers on civil rights at President Eisenhower's news conference Wednesday follows:

MERRIMAN-SMITH — (UP) Mr. President, since you have had an opportunity to discuss your civil rights program with Attorney General Brownell, are you aware that under laws dating back to the Reconstruction era, that you now have the authority to use military force to put through the school integration in the South, and are you aware, too, sir, that Part 3 of your current bill carries this forward from the Reconstruction era?

A. Well, first of all, lawyers have differed about some of these authorities of which you speak, but I have been informed by various lawyers that that power does exist. But I want to say this:

I can't imagine any set of circumstances that would ever induce me to send Federal troops into a Federal court and into any area to enforcee the orders

LOUIS R. LAUTIER (NNPA) — Mr. President, I wonder if you would give us the benefit of your thinking on enforcement of the 14th, as well as the 15th Amendment, with respect to civil rights?

A. Well, you are asking me to become something of a lawyer in a very short order here. But I will.

As for the moment, I have announced time and again the objectives I am seeking in civil rights, and the means that I want from the Legislature in order that everybody will know where I stand, and it can proceed in an orderly manner.

I issued a little statement last evening republishing what the objectives are.

Now, the matter is now, as you know, under debate in the Senate and I think that for the moment the best thing to do is for most of us to let them do the debating and we will see what comes out. I am very hopeful that a reasonable, acceptable bill will come out.

* * *

WILLIAM S. WHITE (NYT) —A little further on civil rights, please, sir, specifically there is a bipartisan amendment in the Senate put in last night by Sens. George D. Aiken (Rep. Vt.) and Clinton P. Anderson (Dem. N.M.) which would take out of the bill all injunctive power except to deal directly with the right to vote.

I would like to ask you, sir, if you would comment on how you would look at a bill if it ultimately came out with only the voting right protected by injunction?

A. Well, I think the voting right is something that should be emphasized. Certainly I have emphasized it from the beginning.

If in every locality every person otherwise qualified, or qua-

lified under the laws of the state to vote, is permitted to vote, he has got the means of taking care of himself, his group and his class.

He has got a means of getting what he wants in democratic government, and that is the one on which I placed the greatest emphasis.

Now, I am not going to discuss these amendments in detail as they come up because it would be endless. I do say that I follow the debates in the Senate with the greatest of interest, and we will see what comes out, and then I hope it will be — and, as I say, I believe it will be — a satisfactory bill.

* * *

ROWLAND EVANS JR. (N. Y. Herald Tribune) — Following Mr. White's question earlier, sir, are you convinced that it would be a wise extension of Federal power at this stage to permit the Attorney General to bring suits on his own motion, to enforce school integration in the South?

A. Well, no; I have — as a matter of fact, as you state it that way, on his own motion, without any request from local authorities, I suppose is what you are talking about—

MR. EVANS — Yes sir. I think that is what the bill would do, Part 3.

A. Well, in that, we will see what they agree on. As a matter of fact, my own purposes are reflected against in this little memorandum I published last evening, and I am not trying to go further than that.

I personally believe if you try to go too far too fast in laws in this delicate field that has involved the emotions of so many millions of Americans, you are making a mistake.

I believe we have got to have laws that go along with education and understanding, and I believe when you go beyond that at any one time you cause trouble rather than benefit.

* * *

MR. EVANS — May I ask you one other question on that? Then, if you amend that to allow the Attorney General to move only in case a local or state official requested the Attorney General's assistance you would accept a thing like that?

A. I am not going to say what I would accept or what I would reject. I'm just saying I told you what my objectives are, why I'm trying to do it. Now we will see what the Senate brings out.

Our Opinions

Defender P. 10

They Have Betrayed Our Trust

Sat. 8-3-57
Chicago, Ill.

In striking from the civil rights bill all Federal enforcement powers, the Senate has capitulated ignominiously to the unbridled ranting of the Dixiecrats. As it now stands, the measure—stripped of its deterrent features—amounts to a little more than a pious resolution.

President Eisenhower pulled the rug from under those who were backing the Administration's formula when he repudiated the injunctive powers contemplated under Section III of the legislation. An atmosphere, in which surrender was inevitable, was thus created. It would appear that Mr. Eisenhower's interest in this vital issue was rather perfunctory. He showed beyond dispute that he was more concerned with appeasing the South than protecting the constitutional rights of an oppressed minority.

The President listened to Senator Russells' characterization of the main provisions of the bill as a return to Reconstruction days. That to grant the Attorney General the discretionary power to force compliance with the Supreme Court's school order through the processes of Federal injunctions, is to treat the South as a conquered province in which Federal troops would be used to enforce racial integration. And the President agreed to these extraneous interpretations of his own measure.

Thus the towel was tossed into the ring long before the showdown fight was joined. Senator William F. Knowland, the Republican leader and strategy chief of the disunited bipartisan civil rights bloc threw up his hands in despair when he could not get the President to take a strong stand on his own proposal.

Senator Paul Douglas, after hearing what the President had said at his weekly news conference. labored hard to have Mr. Eisenhower return to his previous full support of the measure, saying that the President's shift "leaves us, who support his program, in a very embarrassing position: whenever we rise to defend the Administration, the rug is pulled out from under our feet."

Senator Douglas was referring to past Presidential vacillation over the budget and over the question of suspending nuclear weapons tests. In each of these cases, as in the civil rights issue, the White House blew hot and cold — or at least lukewarm, creating the impression that it did not know just what it wanted.

The net effect of the President's news conference comments on civil rights was to step up the drive for a compromise, which already was under way. Administration leaders in the Senate got busy after the President's comments and after a full-dress party conference indicated Republican dissatisfaction with Section III of the bill. The stage was therefore set for the nullification of the provisions that gave meaning to the legislation.

Now, having tasted victory, the Dixiecrats will not stop until they have extracted the remaining teeth out of the bill. And in the history of the affairs of men whether on the battle field or in a legislative forum, one concession invariably leads to another. There is no need deluding ourselves into believing that there will be a last-ditch stand on the question of Federal injunction to safeguard the right to vote. The Senate is in the mood to make further compromise.

With the notable exceptions of Paul Douglas, Jacob Javits and a precious few other Senators, in the main, our so-called liberal friends of both parties have deserted to the Confederate flag. They have betrayed our trust.

10 1957

Rights Foes Will Accept Jury Trial Plan

Daily News
Jackson, Miss.
Tues. 7-9-57

But Southerners Continue Fight To Block Senate Action On C-R Bill

WASHINGTON (UP)—Senate foes of civil rights legislation said Tuesday they would "accept" a compromise jury-trial amendment but would continue to fight the bill.

Sen. Richard B. Russell (D-Ga.) leader of the southern Democratic bloc pledged to all-out war against the administration's racial rights measure, told newsmen the proposed amendment was "not completely satisfactory but I am willing to accept it."

The administration and other supporters of the bill contend it would primarily protect Negro voting rights. Southern foes maintain it would permit the federal government to enforce school desegregation at bayonet-point.

OFFERS CHANGE

Southerners particularly object to the fact that the bill does not provide jury trials for persons accused of contempt of court for violating injunctions obtained under the measure.

Sen. Joseph C. O'Mahoney, (D-Wyo.) in an impassioned 54-minute speech late Monday, proposed an amendment to guarantee jury trials in all civil rights cases where questions of fact are involved. He said this would rule out right-to-vote cases and would "assure the voting rights of Negroes in every part of the South." Southerners want jury trials in all cases brought under the bill.

Russell said the O'Mahoney amendment was "highly to be preferred to no jury trial." But he left no doubt its adoption, if agreed to by the Senate, would not lessen the battle against the bill itself.

GOP MOSTLY SILENT

Republican supporters of the administration bill were cool toward the amendment but would not commit themselves definitely. The chief goal of such an amendment, apart from its legal aspects, presumably would be to lessen Southerners' all-out bitterness over the bill and possibly to influence marginal votes which might be crucial in an eventual effort to "gag" a filibuster.

The Senate was set to begin the second day of what promises to become the "filibuster of the century" over racial rights legislation. It was technically debating a motion by Senate Republican Leader William F. Knowland (Calif.) to consider the House-approved four - point administration bill.

The bill provides for a bi-partisan commission to study alleged rights violations, a civil rights division in the Justice Department, new protection for Negro voting rights, and authority for the government to seek injunctions or othercourt action to halt threatened rights violations.

PRAISE FOR SPEECH

Russell praised O'Mahoney's speech as being "in the great liberal tradition." Sen. Sam J. Ervin Jr. (D-N.C.), legal genius of the southern forces, expressed his "deep personal appreciation" of the speech. Sen. John C. Stennis (D-Miss.) praised its "logic and common sense."

Democratic Leader Lyndon B. Johnson called it "a great speech" that "should be read by every citizen in this land who loves his liberty and cherishes his freedom."

There was speculation as to why O'Mahoney offered his proposal this early in the debate. Some observers believed it may have been to prevent party-splitting bitterness that could develop among Democrats.

There was no clear indication yet when the Knowland motion will come to a vote, although leaders of both parties hoped it might be by the end of this week. It was generally expected the motion will carry. Then the bill itself will be before the Senate and a full-fledged filibuster—lasting up to as much as eight weeks—will begin.

PLEDGE TO RESIST

Russell, leading off for the South, promised an all-out fight against those "who press this bitter cup to our lips." He said the bill would make the South the "political whipping boy of the nation" and declared:

"We will resist, we will resist. Call it a filibuster if you wish. If we did not resist, we would not be worthy to be called men."

Ervin said the measure has provisions "utterly repugnant to legal systems."

Concentrating on the lack of a jury trial, he said it would make "legal pariahs and second-class litigants out of southerners involved in civil rights cases."

BAR HEAD BLASTS JUSTICE'S OPINION

Advertiser Fri. 7-5-57 P. 6-B
Montgomery, Ala.

Trial By Jury Defended As Ultimate In Protection Of Individual's Rights

FORT WORTH, Tex., July 4 (AP)—The president of the American Bar Assn. today answered charges that trial by jury is an outmoded, time-consuming process which can be replaced by more efficient legal procedure.

David F. Maxwell of Philadelphia, who heads the lawyers' organization, said instead that jury trials are the ultimate protection against invasion of personal freedom.

He spoke at the diamond jubilee celebration of the State Bar of Texas.

"Too many persons today are prone to view trial by jury solely as a fact-finding device, and hence expendable, if as good or better a method can be devised," he said.

These critics are influenced, Maxwell said, by the late Supreme Court Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes who wrote that an experienced judge should be able to represent the common sense of the community far better than the average jury.

FOIBLES OF JUDGE

The Pennsylvania attorney said "Such a contention presupposes the ability of the trial judge to discard foibles and prejudices built up within himself through his personal experience and background," Maxwell said, adding that a group of average citizens can mete out more even justice than can the most competent and experienced judge.

"So let us in this country take warning," he said. "The jury alone is able to function as the thin wedge of reserved power that separates our system of law from the monolithic, totalitarian despotism behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains."

Garrett H. Byrne of Boston, district attorney who sent eight Brinks robbers to prison for life, called for legislation against carrying the civil rights of a defendant "too far."

In an interview at the state bar meeting, Byrne said: "I think it's a lot of nonsense that a prosecutor shouldn't be allowed to tell the jury what sort of man the defendant is.

REVERSES THEORY

"Because the law says you can't go into a man's background unless he takes the stand, he can sit back and laugh at you."

"I don't go along with the theory that it's better to let 99 guilty men go free than to send one innocent man to prison.

"If a man is not guilty and goes to prison, we will find out about it and release him. I would rather see one man make a sacrifice than 99 hoodlums running loose on the streets who would have been in prison if you could have told the jury what sort of men they were," Byrne said.

He said that $1,180,000 of the $1,270,000 in cash taken in the armored car company robbery Jan. 17, 1950, is still "outstanding and there are "no leads" on where it is or what happened to it.

Trial By Jury

Journal + Guide P. 8
Sat. 7-13-57
Norfolk, Va.

From the Wilmington (Del.) Journal-Every Evening

THE right of an accused person is a basic American right. So is the right to vote. Good liberals and good conservatives uphold both. But in Congress some of them may be confused when southerners tell them they must not pass a civil rights law protecting the right to vote because that law would take away the right to trial by jury.

It is a false issue. The proposed legislation says that officials who try to keep people from registering and voting may be enjoined to stop the process by a federal court. And if they disobey the court, they may be sentenced for contempt. Now whether a man has obeyed a clear court order is a matter of fact, easily established. No jury is needed to protect his rights because they aren't in danger. Obviously, if he obeys the court, the court is not going to punish him for disobeying.

This principle is so well established that

it has hardly been brought into question until now. In matters far less important to us all than the right to vote, judges issue injunctions and punish defiance of them, all without the help of juries. Some of the very states which profess to be concerned over the right to vote have passed laws forbidding the NAACP to engage in activities such as assembly and propaganda, which are constitutional rights. NAACP officials who engage in such activities are subject to injunction, and to punishment without trial by jury if they disobey.

The reason southern Congressmen are insisting on trial by jury of persons charged with violating civil rights injunctions is that they expect southern juries to acquit guilty officials in disregard of the facts. If you think they wouldn't do just that, you haven't read about what happened this week in Montgomery, Ala.

A jury there acquitted two young white men charged with bombing four churches, a Negro taxi stand, two ministers' homes, and other houses. Were they guilty? Their lawyer talked as if he thought they were.

The lawyer said their acquittal would give encouragement to every white man, woman and child in the South who wanted to preserve "our sacred traditions" of segregation. He said a verdict setting them free would "go down in history as saying to the Negroes that 'You shall not pass.'" Clearly, an acquittal could not have such effects if the accused were innocent.

The right of trial by jury is basic. It is not threatened by long-established injunction practices. But it is grossly perverted wherever juries acquit men they know to be guilty. If the civil rights law is amended to permit—and encourage—such perversions, the right to a jury trial will not be strengthened but weakened.

Brownell Wrote A Bill Of Attainder

Advertiser P.4-a
Mon. 8-5-57
Montgomery, Ala.

FURTHER evidence of the profound impact of Southern senators' exposures of the evils inherent in Brownell's civil rights bill are the opinions of Gerald W. Johnson in *The New Republic*.

The New Republic, in case you don't know, is not a conservative magazine.

Brownell, Johnson says, outwitted himself by loading the bill with repressive measures designed, he implies, to fill the needs of "political quacks fishing for the Negro vote." As *The Advertiser* has said, the very viciousness of the bill was the South's best ally.

Had Brownell been content with a moderate measure to quarantine the right to vote without abolishing the civil rights of white Southerners in the process, Johnson says, the South would not have been able to fight the bill on its merits, and would have been forced to use the filibuster which, there seems good reason to believe, might have been halted by the necessary two-thirds vote.

However, Brownell's cockiness made him greedy. He loaded the bill with "steeltraps, deadfalls and spring-guns so thickly that a law-abiding citizen could approach it only at grave risk," Johnson comments.

Whatever the legal status of the bill, as originally introduced, might have been ruled to be by the Supreme Court, he continues, its moral foundation is highly questionable:

> It is based upon the assumption that no Southern jury can be relied on in cases under to the law to respect its oath to be guided solely by the evidence presented. No such assumption is a morally sound basis of legislation.

★

JURIES are frequently presented with incontrovertible evidence of guilt, only to acquit. This happens in all of the nation, Johnson says:

> . . . It happens in Massachusetts and Illinois, as well as in Georgia and Alabama, and nowhere does it happen often enough to justify abandonment of trial in criminal cases. Therefore legislation based on the assumption that it would be the rule, not the exception, in the South is in effect a bill of attainder working corruption of the blood in a whole population.

"Corruption of the blood" was the old legal concept whereby a man lost his rights of citizenship because of criminal conduct. So attainted, he was thereafter ineligible to appear as a witness or serve as a juror. So abhorrent was this concept to the framers of the U. S. Constitution that they wrote in barriers to "bills of attainder." And England abandoned what remained of the doctrine in 1870. But, says Johnson:

> . . . When the law assumes that any jury drawn from a certain population is to be regarded as perjured in advance, then that entire population is in effect attainted. One of its rights of citizenship is deemed forfeited.

It was Edmund Burke who said, "I do not know the method of drawing up an indictment against a whole people." Yet whoever it was who wrote the bill tried just that. He failed — so completely, says Johnson, that "liberals were hamstrung while the filibuster gained a measure of sympathy and even respect."

★

THE favorable vote for the jury trial amendment was a convincing and heartening example of many senators rejecting political expediency and their pre-judgments of the bill.

The Knoxville conviction of the Clinton troublemakers is evidence supporting Johnson's conclusion:

> There will be juries in the South who find their verdict according to the evidence, however much they may dislike the law; and convictions will steadily increase with the passage of time. It will be found difficult to make a hero of a man sent to jail by a jury of his peers; but Americans sent to jail by a judge without trial by jury will be ideal material for a new martyrology.

Johnson wrote his column, we suppose, before the Knoxville verdict. But imagine what would be the standing of the addle-brained John Kasper if he had been convicted by a judge and not a jury of 12 Southern white men?

He might not be a folk hero, but he would certainly not be the justly convicted punk he is now.

Integration Limit Drafted as Offer By Rights Bloc

Inquirer P.1
Fri. 7-19-57
Philadelphia, Pa.

Special to The Inquirer

WASHINGTON, July 18.—Severely modified authority for the Attorney General to enforce public school integration in the South was understood today to have been drafted by the Senate Republican leadership as a possible basis for compromise on the civil rights bill.

Sen. William F. Knowland (Calif.), the Republican leader and chief civil-rights strategist, was prepared to discuss it secretly at a caucus of all Senate Republicans tomorrow morning, it was reported on good authority.

PROPOSED SUBSTITUTE

The proposed substitute for the disputed Section 3 of the House-passed bill would drastically limit interference by the Attorney General into the explosive school integration question as follows:

If a local school board decided on its own, without a court order, to integrate and admit Negroes, but was unable to carry its decision forward because of outside interference, the Attorney General, on request of the board, would be empowered to take civil action in a Federal court and seek an injunction to restrain the outside interference.

ALTERNATIVES READY

It should be noted, however, that the civil rights forces had several other alternatives for Section 3, some a good deal stronger. The one in question could be said to represent a minmum that the civil rights bloc might support, given the Senate's present disposition to compromise. Section 3 as now written would permit the Attorney General to seek civil injunctive relief in school integration cases on his own motion. It would permit similar Federal civil suits to enforce other civil rights for Negroes.

The Northerners moved their strongest counterattack to date in the Senate today to recover some of the ground lost the past 10 days to adroit Southern maneuver. Sen. Jacob K. Javits (R., N. Y.) launched the assault on what he called the effort by the South and by Northern and Western moderates to "cut one vital element" of the bill by striking out Section 3.

Inquirer P.2

JAVITS APPLAUDED

"Section 3 carries out the responsibilities of the Nation under the 14th Amendment," Javits said in a speech that was applauded by Northern Democrats and Republicans alike.

"What have we who are defending Section 3 to apologize for? It is the very Constitution of the United States we are seeking to uphold. Is our memory so short or the dust throwing in the Senate so effective that we can forget in a few weeks the accumulated miseries and injustices which have made the demand for civil rights legislation a hotly boiling pot for 25 years? I cannot see how we can compromise in this bill without admitting that we are unable . . . to give effective and clear constitutional requirements."

MONDAY VOTE LIKELY

Voting on modifying amendments to Section 3 could start tomorrow, but Monday was more likely. The clear prospect was that those opposed to giving the Justice Department new civil powers to move against the segregated schools in the South would succeed at least in severely diluting the section or perhaps removing it altogether.

Meanwhile, there were these other developments in the 10th day of the Senate's debate:

1. Forecasts were strengthening that the Senate would complete action on the bill within three weeks at most.

2. Negotiations between House and Senate Republican leaders have started on the final shape of the legislation. Knowland has been informed that any form of jury trial amendment would be unacceptable to a majority of the House Judiciary Committee.

3. There was no indication the South was prepared to filibuster, in the traditional sense, unless all efforts at compromise failed.

Montgomery Urges Passage Of Rights Minus "Jury" Tag

World P.1
Sat. 8-3-57
B'ham, Ala.

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — A letter, dated July 27 was sent from the office of the Montgomery Improvement Association to President Dwight D. Eisenhower, Vice-President Richard M. Nixon, Acting Attorney General William P. Rogers and certain members of the Senate urging the passage of the Civil Rights bill minus the jury-trial amendment.

Along with the letter, which went out over the signature of the Executive Secretary, Rev. Moss Pleasure, Jr., was included clippings from the Montgomery Advertiser, a Montgomery daily newspaper, showing recent injustices against Negroes in Tuskegee, Alabama.

The letter contests the contention of segregationist leaders in the Senate that justice for Negroes can be had in the South through jury-trials. It shows that the actions of state legislatures and state enforcement officers in the South are committed to the further intimidation and disenfranchisement of Negro citizens.

10 1957

Reasons behind Southern 'rights' victory—

News Birmingham Ala

To Dixie's delight, Ike talked too much, Brownell too little

Thurs. 7-25-57 P.1

BY JAMES MARLOW
Associated Press news analyst

WASHINGTON, July 25—(AP) — Southern Democrats can thank the Eisenhower administration for a big assist in shooting the president's civil rights bill to pieces. Eisenhower and Atty. Gen. Brownell both contributed.

Eisenhower helped the Southerners' complaint that the bill was full of hidden gimmicks by saying, just before it came up in the Senate, there were some things in it he didn't understand himself.

That was on July 3, one day after a savage Southern attack on the bill as "cunning and devious." All year until then he had been calling it "moderate and decent."

By July 3 he had had plenty of time to understand. It was before Congress two years. In June, with his backing, the House passed it. In those two years it should not have taken one of his lawyers more than an hour to give him a full explanation.

BROWNELL HELPED the Southerners, not by saying too much but by saying too little.

His Justice Department lawyers wrote the bill. But never, at repeated appearances before Congressional committees, did he volunteer or give under hard questioning full information on all that Part No. 3 of the four-part bill would do.

The result: When the Southerners dug up a couple of features Brownell had never mentioned about Part No. 3—on the use of troops and compulsory informers—it came as a surprise, even to some of the bill's most ardent Senate supporters.

The Southerners made the troops and informer angles two of their major points of attack. If Brownell himself knew about these two angles, he could have deprived them at least of the element of surprise and the charge of cunning by frankly talking about them months ago.

PART NO. 3 would strengthen the government's hand when civil rights are violated by amending an old carpetbag law of 1871—under which only an injured individual could go into court—to let the attorney general go in for him.

That old law is called Section 1985. Two other old laws, passed to back up Section 1985, were still on the books.

One would empower the president to use troops to enforce court orders in civil rights violations under Section 1985; the other would penalize people who knew of a conspiracy to violate someone's civil rights but didn't tell the government.

Since those laws on troops and informers apply to Section 1985, they would also apply if the Eisenhower bill was passed to amend and strengthen the section.

There was no reason for surprise about this, for none of this was actually hidden from anyone who took the trouble to look up civil rights laws in a book called the U. S. Code, which is a compilation of laws.

Section 1985 and the laws on troops and informers are all there within three pages of one another, and they show, if anyone reads them, that the statutes on troops and informers are linked directly with Section 1985.

SINCE EISENHOWER seems to have no desire to use troops in civil rights cases—he said as much—Brownell could have anticipated the Southerners' attack months ago and disarmed them by doing this:

By frankly telling Congress of the relation between the Eisenhower bill, Section 1985, and the laws on troops and informers, and saying, since the president wanted to use neither troops nor informers that both old laws could be repealed.

The government wouldn't have lost a shred of power, for there are other laws, not related directly to the Eisenhower bill, under which the president could use troops to back up a court order in civil rights cases.

But Brownell said nothing.

The Southerners said plenty. To appease them, the rest of the Senate this week repealed the use-of-troops law which applies to Section 1985. This, of course, was an empty gesture in view of the fact that the other laws on the use of troops still stay on the books.

But by mid-week the Southerners had created so much misgiving in the Senate about Part No. 3 of the bill that yesterday the Senate knocked that out altogether. Now the administration has only pieces of its bill left.

Dixie scores phony victory; Senate erases 1866 statute

Afro-American Sat. 8-3-57 P.13
Baltimore Md.

WASHINGTON (NNPA) — The Dixiecrats scored a victory over a phony issue Tuesday when the Senate voted, 90 to 0, to repeal a Reconstruction era law which gave the President the power to use military to enforce civil rights.

Robert B. Young, a member of the professional staff of the Senate Judiciary Committee, raised the issue while Attorney General Herbert Brownell was testifying in support of the bill before the Senate Judiciary Constitutional Rights subcommittee.

Part three of the civil rights bill was an amendment to section 1985 of the U.S. Code, known as the Ku Klux Act.

It would have given the Attorney General the right to bring civil suits to enjoin threatened violations of civil rights, for which the Ku Klux Act provides a civil remedy in damages to a person damaged as the result of conspiracies to deprive him of his civil rights.

* * *

SEN. SAM J. ERVIN, (D., N.C.) immediately seized upon the fact that in title 42 of the U.S. Code, which Part 3 of the bill would have amended, contained the provision authorizing the President to employ troops to enforce civil rights decrees.

During the debate on the motion to take up the civil rights bill, Sen. Richard B. Russell, (D., Ga.) dramatized the issue when he charged that the bill had been "cunningly" drafted to force racial integration upon southerners at the point of a bayonet.

President Eisenhower repeatedly disavowed any intention to use force for any such purpose. Attorney General Brownell also denied Russell's charge.

* * *

INTERVIEWED BY Rep. Kenneth B. Keating (R., N.Y.) on "Let's Look at Congress," Sunday, Mr. Brownell said Russell's charge was "completely overdrawn and farthest from the President's thoughts in developing this civil rights program under the Administration."

The Attorney General added that "the only new part of this whole program is that instead of going into the criminal court, we shall take the more moderate approach of going into the civil court."

Southerners kept repeating that the purpose of the bill was to enable the Administration to use troops to enforce the Supreme Court decision in the school segregation, bus segregation, and public park and swimming pool cases.

* * *

AS SEN. Joseph S. Clark, (D., Pa.) pointed out Monday, in speaking in support of the Knowland - Humphrey amendment to repeal the Reconstruction era statute, the President is required by the Constitution to see to the faithful enforcement of United States laws.

Since 1795 the President has had full power to use the military forces to execute the laws if wholesale resistance is met.

Senator Clark said the 1795 law was the result of what was known as the Whisky Rebellion.

The Whisky Rebellion was an outbreak in western Pennsylvania in 1794, resulting from an attempt to enforce an excise law (passed in 1791), imposing taxes on whisky. The rebellion spread into Virginia but was easily suppressed.

The statute which the Senate voted Monday to repeal stemmed from a law passed by the GOP-controlled 39th Congress in 1866 and later became the forerunner of the existing Federal civil rights statues.

* * *

DURING THE debate on the measure embodying the 1866 statute, Senator Hendricks of Indiana offered an amendment to strike it from the bill. His argument supporting the amendment was in much the same vein as the arguments of opponents of the pending civil righs bill.

Senator Trumbull, in opposition to the Hendricks amendment, argued that the language had been adopted verbatim from a statute enacted in 1838 during the Democratic administration of Martin Van Buren.

In addition, there are other provisions in the U.S. Code giving the President broad authority to use the land and naval forces to enforce the Federal laws and, in particular, the 14th Amendment.

The amendment to repeal the Reconstruction era statute was offered by Sens. William F. Knowland of California, Senate GOP leader, and Hubert Humphrey, (D., Minn.).

* * *

SENATOR HUMPHREY said the reference to use of the military forces gave opponents of the bill "a dramatic incident, putting out of focus the whole purpose of the proposals which are before the Senate in the field of civil rights."

Senator Clark included as a part of his remarks on the bill a memorandum to Sen. John A. Carroll, (D., Col.) from the American Law Division of the Congressional Library.

The memorandum stated: "Under title 10, sections 332-333 of the U.S. Code, the President already is vested with ample authority to employ the Armed Forces to enforce obedience to any Federal law..."

Sen. Jacob K. Javits, (R., N.Y.) who voted for the Knowland - Humphrey amendment, told the Senate that adoption of the amendment was a "success" for opponents of the bill "because they have succeeded in creating an issue where there was no issue."

RALPH McGILL

Journal + Constitution
Mon. 7-29-57
Atlanta Ga.

Win Battles, Lose the War?

A Southern senator, excited by the Dixie successes in eliminating from the civil rights bill the ambiguously defined injunctive powers of the Department of Justice, called out exultantly: "We have cut it down from a boulder to a watch fob!"

There was r-

doubt but that the astute Southern senators had outmaneuvered and outdebated the uneasy Republican and Northern Democratic coalition which had introduced and supported the original bill.

But privately, the joy was not without reservations. After some 90 years of futile trying all indications now are that some sort of civil rights bill will be passed. It will be a right-to-vote bill with injunctive powers behind it. So deeply embedded in the American tradition is that privilege that it will be both embarrassing and impossible effectively to oppose it.

A determined filibuster against the protected right to vote would subject the South to possible drastic defeat—a change in Senate rules which would abolish filibusters for good. Faced with determined opposition to the right to vote for one's representatives, the Senate almost certainly would vote cloture, or limited debate.

So it is that, privately, Southern leadership is analyzing how much of a chance they may take in risking such action.

Free Ballot

The help which the South had in eliminating the broad powers of injunction provided in the now watered-down Section Three of the original bill will strongly support the right of free ballot.

There was very sound reason to fear the possibilities for abuse of power opened up by the Section Three provisions. But in 1957 there are few men willing to deny all citizens full freedom of the ballot.

Southern senators, while they could point with pride and truth to considerable increases in Negro voters in their states, time after time were placed in awkward positions by the figures in rural counties over the South. These revealed how few Negroes were registered, and frequently were coupled with known instances of intimidation and other devices designed to prevent registration.

Broad Issue

The civil rights issue will be back in the next Congress.

It has become, willy-nilly, a broad and inescapable issue.

It has, temporarily at least, broken the old Republican-Dixie conservative coalition which for so long was like one big happy family. It will not again be together as comfortably as before.

The Northern wing of the Democratic Party has sponsored civil rights for the past 20 years. They were disturbed to see the Republicans, cheered on by the large gains in Negro votes in the presidential campaign of 1956, take the initiative in supporting the bill. They, therefore, stubbornly refused to join in the amendments. They take some political hope from this fact, but it is a frail political reed at best.

The Republicans seem the chief gainers.

Sen. Knowland seized on the bill as a horse he might ride into the governorship of California and, in 1960, to the GOP nomination. Vice President Nixon, barred from floor participation by virtue of being presiding officer of the Senate, nonetheless made the key rule at the outset—namely, that the Senate is not a continuing body and thus could make up new rules.

Between the Southern and Northern Democrats, both of whom were unable to compromise because of their fierce regional politics, the gulf has widened. The GOP sees now a chance to make, on the long haul, really substantial Dixie voting gains . . . to lose the battles but win the war.

SENATE CRUSHES MOVES TO KEEP TEETH IN BILL

News & Observer Wed. 7-24-57 Raleigh, N.C.

Bipartisan Move to Strip Rights Bill of Most Enforcement Succeeds

WASHINGTON, July 23 (AP)—Senate supporters of the civil rights bill were defeated today in two attempts to save—by compromise amendments—most of the enforcement powers in Section 3 of the bill.

P.1

They appeared to be fighting a losing battle against a bipartisan move to strip the bill of all its enforcement powers except those protecting voting rights. A vote on this question comes tomorrow.

An amendment by Sen. Bricker (R - Ohio), which would have placed enforcement powers in the hands of the President instead of the attorney general, was rejected 61-29.

One-Sided Vote.

The Senate then proceeded to crush with an 81-8 vote a second compromise proposal by Sen. Cooper (R-Ky). Cooper's amendment would have permitted the attorney general to intervene in civil rights cases only after an individual complained that a conspiracy existed to deny him rights in defiance of a court order.

As Section 3 now stands, the attorney general can start injunction suits to prevent violations of a wide variety of civil rights. It has been fought bitterly by Dixie Democrats, who call it a weapon to force racial integration of the schools in the South.

The seven senators who supported Cooper on his amendment were Bush (Conn), Dirksen (Ill), Morton (Ky), Wiley (Wis), and Revercomb (WVa), all Republicans, and Kefauver (Tenn) and Mansfield (Mont), Democrats.

Forty Democrats and 21 Republicans united to defeat the Bricker amendment. Twenty-two Republicans and seven Northern Democtats voted on the other side. The 22 Republicans included Sen. Knowland of California, leader of the coalition supporting the civil rights bill.

Arguing for his amendment, Cooper said: "The principal difficulty at present in the actual enforcement and assurance of an individual's right—and let it be remembered, after the court has established the right—is the lawless intrusion and intermeddling of third parties, who conspire to hinder, delay and prevent if possible the court's order.

"This is the case at Clinton (Clinton, Tenn., where seven persons were found guilty of criminal contempt today in a school segregation case).

"I do not see how anyone can reasonably contend that the United States should be powerless to act at this point," Cooper continued, "—that it should be denied the power to move in its own name to uphold the diginity and authority of the decrees of its own court, and this is what my amendment provides."

Cooper conceded in advance that his proposal probably would be rejected and that the amendment to strip down Section 3 would probably be adopted.

But he said he thought his amendment was a middle ground which could "mark an advance" in the direction of protecting some rights besides voting rights.

Bricker told the Senate Section 3 as now constituted gives almost unlimited powers to the attorney general.

"When you get into a field as ticklish as this one," he said, "the responsibility should be in the hands of the man closest to the people." He was referring to the President.

Sen. Morse (D-Ore) argued the attorney general was the proper official to bring injunction suits.

"It would be grossly unfair to drop this political potato on the doorstep of any president," he said.

18 Dixie Foes Of Rights Face New Dilemma

Advertiser Mon 7-29-57 Montgomery, Ala

WASHINGTON, July 28 (AP) — Eighteen die-hard Southern opponents are rapidly backing themselves into a political corner from which the only exit may lead to Senate passage of a civil rights bill.

P.1

The 18, representing nine Dixie states, form the core of dwindling resistance to passage of any civil rights legislation. By their own actions, they are making it more difficult to accomplish their objective.

Faced with a dilemma, they chose to back amendments to the administration's civil rights bill. Their only other course was to let the bill stand as it was passed by the House and attempt to defeat it with a filibuster.

But that course also involved efforts by them to expose to public view some of what they have called "punitive" features of the bill — among them the House-approved and Senate-rejected authority for the attorney general to seek civil injunctions to enforce racial integration in schools and other public places in the South.

MORE PALATABLE

Once having brought up these issues, the Dixie senators had to vote for amendments which would soften the terms of the bill and make it more palatable to many of those they might have counted on to help them defeat a more stringent measure.

Thus the 18 have gone a long way toward destroying the reserve strength they would need to prevent the Senate from mustering the necessary 64 votes to clamp limitation.

If the Senate accepts this week an amendment to require jury trials in all criminal contempt of court cases, including those involving voting rights, the last chance of defeating a debate limitation will have departed.

P.1-A

Paradoxically, if a jury trial amendment is beaten in a close vote, that action will revive Southern hopes of eventually miring the bill in a lengthy filibuster and thus defeating any action on it in this session.

Mon 7-29-57

TALKING POINT

Without the inclusion of a jury trial provision, it is doubtful 64 senators would vote to end debate. The die-hard 18 would have a talking point for a lengthy filibuster.

With a jury trial amendment written into the bill, the Southerners would be confronted with a measure largely limited for all practical purposes to the protection of voting rights.

While they may find other features of the measure to criticize, none of them seems willing to stand up in the Senate and say he wants to deny any "qualified" citizen — black or white — the right to vote.

The requirement that voters "qualify" for registration under state laws remains as the anchor to windward for senators who are opposed to any substantial increase in Negro registrants in their states.

The 18 Democratic opponents of the measure include Sens. Byrd and Robertson of Virginia, Russell and Talmadge of Georgia, Eastland and Stennis of Mississippi, Ellender and Long of Louisiana, Ervin and Scott of North Carolina, Johnston and Thurmond of South Carolina, Fulbright and McClellan of Arkansas, Hill and Sparkman of Alabama, and Holland and Smathers of Florida.

Senator Backs Negro Jurors

Advertiser Montgomery

WASHINGTON, July 28 (AP)—Sen. Neuberger (D-Ore) said today he will try to insure that Negro jurors are not excluded under the proposed jury trial amendment to the civil rights bill.

Neuberger told a reporter he will offer an amendment to the O'Mahoney jury trial amendment tomorrow or Tuesday requiring that juries in criminal contempt cases must be selected from the "entire American citizen population" in the areas involved.

He contended that jury panels in some Southern areas are now chosen exclusively from the voting rolls and he said this means all-white juries.

10 1957

THOMAS L. STOKES

Star P. 11-A

Rosy Outlook for Civil Rights

Mon. 6-24-57 Washington D.C.

Nixon-Knowland Rivalry Among Factors Seen Indicating Senate Passage of Bill

It seems safe now to forecast that a civil rights bill along lines of that sponsored by the Eisenhower administration, which has been approved by the House, will this time overcome, at long last, the age-old traditional hurdle and also pass the Senate.

That will give the President and his party a big victory in the field of civil rights. That in turn will have its political potency.

Whatever the outcome of the current maneuvering over procedure—that is, how the measure will get to the Senate floor—it seems certain of getting there in this session. There it will, of course, encounter a sure filibuster. But now Republicans and Northern Democrats indicate the will to break the filibuster, which has been missing in recent years, and the will is all that is needed. That coalition has the votes.

Anyone trained in judging the atmosphere of the Senate can now sense a new determination among Republican leaders that has an inevitability about it. Along with this confidence, you can detect a contrasting spirit of defeatism and desperation among the back-to-the-wall Southern Democrats who are fighting what seems to be a losing delaying action.

In seeking the reasons for predicted Republican success this year you find three factors that are very influential.

One is that the two top Republican leaders in the Senate—Vice President Nixon and Senate Leader Knowland—are both running as hard as they can for President. Each is doing everything he can for civil rights legislation to identify himself and his party with a cause and an issue that counts heavily in big urban centers. They have what might be called a mutually protective alliance on last issue.

Another reason for the favorable situation of Republicans in the Senate is that the issue has been simplified by concentrating on one basic right and the protection of that—the right to vote. This avoids other confusing and emotional issues, such as, for example, the now burning integration issue, as well as issues which Republican and Northern Democrats formerly tied into civil rights measures. These include the Fair Employment Practices Act, the FEPC so deplored in the South; a Federal antilynching bill, and repeal of the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting as it still is in six Southern States.

This strategy of concentrating largely on the right to vote is credited to Attorney General Herbert Brownell, who is a shrewd political strategist. The bill, too, is certainly "moderate," as President Eisenhower described it in this week's news conference.

It is hard to attack a bill designed to protect the right to vote and arouse much sympathy for such an attitude. In recent years, as a matter of fact, the South has been pointing proudly to a gradual extension of the franchise among Negroes as an advance in civil rights, even though, as statistics show, there are still some areas where Negro voting is almost nil. The Negro vote was substantial enough in some Southern cities in last November's election, however, to cause politicians, both South and North, both Democrat and Republican, to pause and ponder, especially the sizable defection to President Eisenhower which was enough in at least one State to account for the margin of the President's victory in carrying that State again. That was Tennessee.

Nobody says anything in debate in Congress about the possible future effect of the Southern Negro vote on political leaders of the old school who have dramatized themselves by fighting civil rights measures—but it is suspected that this is a factor in the depressed spirits of some Southern members of Congress.

A third factor improving the outlook for civil rights legislation is that this is an issue upon which the Republican Party in Congress can join almost unanimously. Such solidarity on an issue that will be prominent during the rest of this session will help to divert attention from divisions in the party on other issues. At the same time, civil rights is the issue that divides the Democratic Party most sharply. It is to the advantage of Republicans to keep it constantly to the fore and thus keep before the public the picture of the Democratic Party in a noisy and nasty family quarrel.

This is clearly the intention of the two California presidential aspirants—Messrs. Nixon and Knowland.

Bill Meets With Bitter Resistance

Post + Times Herald Washington, D.C. Tues. 7-9-57

Southern Attack Starts; O'Mahoney Offers Amendment

P. 1

By Robert C. Albright
Staff Reporter

The long-awaited big push to pass a Civil Rights Bill got under way in the Senate yesterday and promptly bumped into Southern "resistance."

Senate Republican Leader William F. Knowland (Calif.) touched off the battle with a simple motion to call up the Administration's own House-passed bill.

In the maneuvering that followed, Southern Democrats opened a furious counter-attack and non-combatants laid down the first important bid for a compromise.

Knowland, speaking in effect for a new coalition of Republicans and liberal Democrats, made his move at 2:17 p. m.

Said Knowland: "I appeal to my colleagues to permit this chamber as a part of the coordinate branches of the Government . . . to function under Section 1, Article 1 of the Constitution."

Floor Fight Starts

That touched off a floor fight that Knowland himself estimated may continue for six weeks or more, before a vote can be had on the bill itself.

Sen. Richard B. Russell (Ga.), chairman of the Southern Democratic caucus, compared the South to a chained bear being poked with a pole and ordered to "dance."

"We will resist—we will resist," said Russell. "We will explain and discuss the issues involved in this bill until each and every Senator fully understands them in all their implications . . . You may call it a filibuster if you wish."

A few minutes later, Sen. Sam J. Ervin Jr. (D-N. C.) opened the first all-out Southern attack, terming the bill "drastic . . . indefensible . . . an insulting and insupportable indictment of a whole people."

Sen. Paul Douglas (D-Ill.) insisted that all proponents of the bill are seeking to do is "to make effective in actual life the constitutional rights of a ll citizens—regardless of race and color—primarily the right to vote."

The initial move for a "compromise" was unveiled by Sen. Joseph C. O'Mahoney (D-Wyo.) at a press conference, and was later formally presented in a Senate speech.

Post Times Herald

O'Mahoney proposed an amendment to require jury trial of civil rights cases "if it appears that there are one or more questions of fact to be detemined."

P. 6-A

The Wyoming Democrat told newsmen, however, that in most contempt cases involving denial of voting rights the trial would be conducted by a judge without a jury.

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The presiding judge, himself, would determine whether the case involved questions of facts warranting a jury trial.

O'Mahoney said he got the idea for his amendment from a recent article in the New York Times Magazine by Telford Taylord.

O'Mahoney argued that most right-to-vote cases would not involve questions of fact, but the well-documented actions of local voting officials. Most civile rights cases of a non-voting character would involve such questions, and would be tried by juries under his amendment, he said.

He told newsmen he is chiefly interested in allaying Southern fears that the Attorney General, under tse pending Civil Rights Bill, could "govern the South's entire social order" and force integration of public schools.

More Sweeping Plan Sought

The so-called jury trial amendment recently defeated in the House, and about to be offered by Southern Democratic Senators, is more sweeping, requiring jury trials in all civil rights contempt cases.

As passed by the House on June 18, by a vote of 286 to 126, the Administration's bill now on the Senate calendar does these things:

- Empowers the Attorney General to bring civil suits directly in the Federal courts to prevent impending violations of civil rights. Those disobeying a court injunction could be tried by a judge for contempt without a jury.
- Creates a bipartisan commission, armed with subpena powers, to make a two-year investigation of complaints that individuals are being denied their civil rights.
- Establishes a separate Civil Rights Division, headed by an Assistant Attorney General, in the Justice Department.

As the Senate debate got under way, White House Press Secretary James C. Hagerty announced that Sen. Russell, leader of the Southern forces, has requested and will get an appointment with President Eisenhower to talk over the civil rights measure.

Russell bitterly attacked the bill on the Senate floor a week ago. Questioned about some of Russell's charges, Mr. Eisenhower told newsmen last Wednesday there were "certain pharses" in the Administration's Civil Rights Bill he did not "completely understand." He added that he intended to talk to Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr. and "see exactly what they do mean."

In answer to questions yesterday, Hagerty said Mr. Eisenhower has since discussed the civil rights measure with Brownell and that the points which the President did not understand have been cleared up for him.

He said no time has yet been set for the President's talk with Russell.

As the debate got underway yesterday, Senate Democratic Leader Lyndon B. Johnson (Tex.) told the Senate Sen. Knowland had advised him that only matters of "extreme urgency" or measures that can be handled by unanimous consent, will be permitted to come before the Senate while the Civil Rights Bill is pending.

BOTH SIDES FIRM AS FIRST BALLOT ON RIGHTS NEARS

Times P. 1 Mon. 7-15-57 New York

Leaders Adamant Despite Talk of Compromise—Bill Likely to Reach Floor

By ALLEN DRURY
Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, July 14 — Friends and foes of civil rights legislation were officially standing firm today while awaiting a vote to make the bill the pending business before the Senate.

The vote, on a motion by the Senate Republican leader, William F. Knowland of California, is scheduled to come shortly after 6 P. M. on Tuesday.

The coalition of Republicans and liberal Northern Democrats led by Mr. Knowland is expected to win by a comfortable margin.

The result is likely to be a Southern filibuster, a tactic of dilatory debate designed to kill a bill. A filibuster of moderate duration may eventually result in a compromise measure stressing principally the right to vote.

Despite a week of preliminary

debate and much cloakroom maneuvering looking toward agreement on such a compromise, leaders of both camps remained adamant today in their public statements on the issue. This reflected a general belief in the Senate that it would not be strategic for either side to concede too quickly that a compromise was possible, even though most Senators conceded privately that an accommodation of conflicting views was necessary if civil rights legislation in any form was to pass this year.

Eastland and Ervin Hit Bill

In line with such strategic considerations, Senator James O. Eastland, Democrat of Mississippi, declared on a special television discussion of the Columbia Broadcasting System that, "there is no part of this bill that I would approve." A colleague, Senator Sam J. Ervin Jr., Democrat of North Carolina, appearing on the same program, agreed that the bill "is so bad it can't be patched up enough to make it palatable."

Also appearing on the program were Senators Clifford P. Case, Republican of New Jersey, and John A. Carroll, Democrat of Colorado. They were equally positive on the other side. Senator Case said the bill was "a reasonable bill * * * applying traditional remedies." Senator Carroll insisted that it was a bill to "persuade and not punish" the South in encouraging it to grant greater civil rights to Negroes.

With similar firmness, Senator Richard B. Russell, leader of the southern bloc, declared on "Open Hearing," television program of the American Broadcasting Company, that the bill was "a very severe and un-American measure, in my opinion."

The Georgia Democrat said that it had as its primary purpose "not voting rights, but to enforce the intermingling of the races in the public schools at the point of a bayonet, if need be."

Times P.D.C.

Senator Paul H. Douglas, Democrat of Illinois, leader of the Northern Democratic wing of Senator Knowland's coalition, insisted on the A. B. C. television program, "College Press Conference" that the measure was "a moderate bill" that was being opposed only by "the extremists and the race-baiters in the South."

Anderson Plans Amendment

In a separate development, Senator Clinton P. Anderson, hitherto considered a member of Senator Douglas' group, announced that he was preparing an amendment paralleling one offered by Senator Russell that would strike from the bill a section giving the Attorney General broad powers to intervene in civil rights matters.

Senator Anderson, a Democrat of New Mexico, said his amendment would delete Section III of the bill, which authorizes the Attorney General to seek Federal injunctions against violations or threatened violations of civil rights, including the right to attend non-segregated schools. Anyone who was convicted of ignoring the injunctions would be subject to fine and imprisonment without trial by jury.

Senator Anderson said his amendment would not affect this power in cases involving voting.

Other proposed amendments, including one offered yesterday by Senator Karl E. Mundt, Republican of South Dakota, would strike out Section III and provide for jury trials in voting cases where the facts were in dispute.

The Mundt amendment has already won wide support as a potential basis for compromise.

Both Senator Douglas and Senator Case insisted today that Section III was necessary for adequate civil rights protection. Senator Eastland said it would authorize "shot-gun government."

Senator Russell said he believed civil rights pressure groups had convinced leaders of both political parties that whichever did the most to win civil rights legislation would win the Presidential election of 1960.

He said much of the pressure for the bill, backed by such organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Americans for Democratic Action, was "shot through and through with politics."

The Georgian conceded earlier in an interview that the Knowland motion to make the bill the pending business would probably pass. He said he hoped it would be defeated but said he recognized "the realities" of the situation.

"I know a number of men who will vote for Senator Knowland's motion are opposed to some of the provisions of this bill," he said. He added that Southern forces on Tuesday would "muster nothing like our total strength," which will be displayed later against the bill itself.

Rights Measure Clears Its First Hurdle in House

Post & Times Herald P.1
Thurs. 6-6-57
Washington D.C.

By Robert C. Albright
Staff Reporter

The Administration's "right-to-vote" civil rights bill cleared its first House hurdle with comparative ease yesterday as the House, after a brief, nonviolent debate, voted the bill right-of-way over all other measures.

A "rule" providing for four days of general debate, and no limit on amendments, was adopted, 290 to 117, without any real floor fight. But the ominous quiet was clearly the prelude to a storm.

Battle lines were already forming around a Southern attempt to strike at the heart of the bill by writing in an amendment guaranteeing jury trials in right-to-vote contempt cases.

Under the bill, anyone violating a Federal court injunction against interfering with the right to vote would be subject to trial for contempt by a Federal judge.

President Eisenhower took a firm position against the South's so-called "jury-trial" amendment at his news conference yesterday. Later the full House Republican membership heard two hours of pro-and-con arguments on the Southern proposal. Immediately after the House GOP meeting, House Republican Leader Joseph W. Martin Jr. (Mass.) predicted a majority of House Republicans would vote against the amendment.

Taft Quoted by Ike

President Eisenhower, in answer to a question by Louis R. Lautier, of the National Negro Press Association, quoted one of his predecessors, President (and later Chief Justice) William Howard Taft, in opposition to the jury trial amendment.

"He (Taft) stated that if we tried to put a jury trial between a court order and the enforcement of that order, that we are really welcoming anarchy," Mr. Eisenhower said.

"Now, I think most of us here are not great Constitutional lawerys. But, Mr. Taft, by the way, made that statement when he was president in 1908, but there is no evidence that he ever changed his mind; and I would take his opinion far more than I would an opinion that was given, let's say, in the heat of partisan argument."

Post & Times Herald P. 12-A

Rep. Kenneth B. Keating (R-N. Y.) picked up the President's news-conference remark and used it in House debate. Later Keating and other Administration Republicans told the full-dress House GOP conference that Mr. Eisenhower opposes the so-called jury trial amendment "because it will defeat the very purpose of this legislation."

Rebuttal Opened

Unbudging Southern opponents, led by Rep. William M. Colmer (D-Miss.) opened an immediate rebuttal on the House floor. Colmer said the bill would take away the "right to trial by jury" not only in the South, but also in other sections and would "destroy the liberty of the man in the street." He charged the bill "sets up a Gestapo."

House debate will continue on the bill until next Tuesday, when members will begin voting on a number of Amendments, mostly Southern-sponsored. The jury trial amendment itself will be offered by a Northern Republican, Rep. William E. Miller (N. Y.), it was announced at yesterday's GOP conference.

Late next week, or possibly early in the week of June 16, the House-passed civil rights bill will be sent to the Senate. At this point, Senate liberals may maneuver to hold the House measure before the Senate, to prevent possible burial in the Senate Judiciary Committee. If the liberals so move, it is entirely possible that the Senate's long-awaited Southern filibuster may get under way then, ahead of schedule.

Yesterday's comparatively undramatic House debate on the ground rules was the result of an informal "deal" between friends and foes of the bill. The Southerners, in effect, agreed not to resort to a series of "points of no quorum", which would have thrown the House into day-long turmoil, if proponents would wait until today to start debate on the bill. Supporters of the bill went along with the agreement. They said they figured no time would be saved by kicking off the debate on the bill to an earlier, angrier start.

Jury Trial Is Wedge Of Liberty, Maxwell Warns Bar Group

Inquirer Fri. 7-5-57
Philadelphia, Pa. P.16

FORT WORTH, Tex., July 4 (AP).—David F. Maxwell, president of the American Bar Association, today replied to charges that trial by jury is an outmoded, time-consuming process which can be replaced by more efficient legal procedure.

Maxwell, Philadelphia attorney, who heads the lawyers' organization, said instead that jury trials are the ultimate protection against invasion of personal freedom.

He spoke at the diamond jubilee celebration of the State Bar of Texas.

"Too many persons today are prone to view trial by jury solely as a fact-finding device and hence expendable, if as good or better a method can be devised," he said.

These critics are influenced, Maxwell said, by the late Supreme Court Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, who wrote than an experienced judge should be able to represent the common sense of the community far better than the average jury.

"Such a contention presupposes the ability of the trial judge to discard foibles and prejudices built up within himself through his personal experience and background," Maxwell said. He added that a group of average citizens could mete out justice more fairly than the most competent and experienced judge.

"So let us in this country take warning," he said. "The jury alone is able to function as the thin wedge of reserved power that separates our system of law from the monolithic, totalitarian despotism behind the iron and bamboo curtains."

10 1957

Dixie Leaders Assail Rights Bill 'Tyranny' And Win First Round

Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

Fri. 7-12-57 P.1

Jury Trial Key Demand By Senators

Constitution Atlanta, Ga. Fri. 7-12-57

By ALBERT RILEY
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, July 11—Believing they now have Northern liberals on the defensive, Southern forces in the Senate tonight rolled out some of their biggest oratorical guns to thunder against the civil rights bill. P.1

Democratic Senators Eastland of Mississippi, Hill of Alabama, and Thurmond of South Carolina and Johnston of South Carolina hammered away at the bill as a completely unjustifiable and tyrannical measure to subjugate the South.

LICKS IN RECORD

Not many Republicans or Northern Democrats hung around to listen as the debate over a motion to take up the bill began to take on the aspects of a minor filibuster.

But the Southerners were getting their licks in the record and their arguments went out over the nation.

Eastland argued that the bill would give the attorney general such powers of injunction in civil rights cases as to make him a virtual dictator over millions of Americans in a near totalitarian state.

Hill declared the bill would deprive Americans of the sacred right of trial by jury.

MAY VOTE WEDNESDAY

And Thurmond denounced it as one "to arm the federal courts with a vicious weapon to enforce race-mixing."

With Sen. Russell quarterbacking the southern forces, Sen. Talmadge stood ready to speak against the bill whenever he is called upon.

As the debate rolled on, Democratic majority leader Lyndon Johnson told the Senate he hoped to get an agreement tomorrow for a vote next Wednesday on the motion by Republican minority leader to take up the bill.

Until then, he said, he would hold the Senate in increasingly long daily sessions so that all who want to speak may get a chance to be heard.

Constitution

KNOWLAND DOUBTFUL

Talk also was revived today of the Senate possibly reversing itself and sending the bill to the judiciary committee for further study. But Sen. Knowland told newsmen he would oppose such a move and predicted it would be overwhelmingly defeated.

Meanwhile, as the southern blows apparently began to take effect, the impression grew on Capitol Hill that the administration may be forced to settle for a bill just to protect voting rights.

The Dixie bloc also hopes to get a still further modification that would provide a jury trial for defendants accused of violating a person's right to vote—or any other civil right.

Fri. 7-12-57

TALK REVIEWED

Talk of sending the bill to committee was revived by Sen. Morse (D-Ore) and drew perhaps significant support from majority leader Johnson.

During a speech by Sen. Johnston (D-SC) today, Morse again urged such a course. He was backed up by Sen. Johnson of Texas, who agreed the bill should go to committee.

The Texan has previously agreed with Southern arguments that the Senate is working under a handicap by not having its own committee report on the bill.

When Sen. Javits (R-NY) ob-

ASKS WEDNESDAY VOTE
Sen. Lyndon Johnson

jected to such a procedure, Johnson replied that it might actually save time in getting action on the bill.

Johnson said: "There is very little assurance that this bill will pass this body in its present form," even if it isn't sent to committee.

PREDICTS DEFEAT

Talking with reporters off the Senate floor, Sen. Talmadge predicted that the bill will not pass the Senate in its present stringent form.

Talmadge said enough "fair-minded men" are in the Senate to prevent passage of such a harsh bill that could permit the use of federal force to impose racial integration on the South.

Today in National Affairs

Herald Tribune P.25

Jury Trials in Civil-Rights Contempt Cases Advocated

Wed. 6-5-57 New York

By DAVID LAWRENCE

WASHINGTON, June 4.—It was a wise move on the part of the Senate Judiciary Committee this week to recommend that jury trials be provided by law in contempt cases arising out of the enforcement of "civil rights." It will do more to help the cause of public understanding on the integration-segregation issue and similar questions than anything the Congress or the courts have done thus far.

Lawrence

This is because the action by the Senate committee comes at a time when emotion has been substituted for reason in many parts of both the North and the South in dealing with matters of law and constitutional rights.

A dramatic example was the case last week in Montgomery, Ala., when a white jury acquitted two white men who were defendants in a case involving the dynamiting of a Negro church. No one was injured, but property was damaged. It was apparent from the way the case was summed up by the prosecuting attorney and defense counsel that the issues were presented in the background of current antagonisms. Although the defendants had signed a confession, the claim was made later that it had been irregularly processed—that it wasn't made at Police Headquarters but in a hotel room under circumstances which led to the expression of many doubts.

This correspondent spent the week end in Alabama and talked to many people about the integration question. Notwithstanding the individual beliefs of citizens generally, it is fair to say that many people who are on the anti-integration side were shocked by the verdict of the jury at Montgomery. Yet in some respects the verdict wasn't surprising. As one man in the South put it: "Why should not twelve men in Alabama express their feelings in a verdict, when nine sociologists on the Supreme Court do the same thing?"

Recent Cases of Rape

Reference was made specifically to some of the recent cases of rape committed by Negroes against white women—cases in which confessions were duly recorded and guilt plainly established, only to have the Supreme Court of the United States reverse such verdicts on technicalities and allow the defendants to go free.

Emotionalism has brought a state of tension that is not going to be cured by any provision of law denying jury trials merely because the privilege has been or might be abused. While contempt committed inside a courtroom has always been punishable by a judge without a jury trial, and attempts to violate directly the terms of an injunction are ordinarily within the power of a judge alone to punish, the real issue is whether the judge's injunctions can be stretched to cover crimes committed outside the courtroom itself that normally are tried by juries.

It is better, therefore, for Congress to error on the side of caution and to put faith and trust in the people in all sections of the country, rather than to assume in advance that they cannot be trusted in the jury box. To apply such faith is to follow the path of reason as against emotionalism.

For the racial questions are far from settled, and those persons who think that, by the order of any court, the people of the South or of any other section will approve an edict which they honestly believe is not constitutional just do not understand the workings of human nature. The crusade, for instance, against the Eighteenth Amendment on prohibition—the willful disregard of the provisions of the law by millions of people—showed clearly that a reform which isn't sold to the people in advance by thorough understanding isn't accepted just because it is solemnly proclaimed as "the law of the land."

Not Just in South

It's a condition rather than a theory which confronts the nation in dealing with the racial question which now has begun to present problems in all parts of the country, and not just in the South. Violence will not solve it, nor will coercion by broad injunctive orders of the courts. An adjusted society has to come voluntarily out of the processes of reason.

The amendment to the law which would grant jury trials in contempt cases involving alleged crimes is bound to assist the cause of reason. It puts the responsibility squarely upon the people to see to it that jury trials are fairly conducted and fairly resolved.

There are, of course, extremists on both sides. Their number will diminish, however, only as a sense of fairness develops through the application of reason instead of violence. That's why the grant of a jury trial in criminal contempt cases would be a progressive step toward a better understanding of the responsibilities of citizenship. But if Congress, on the other hand, does deny jury trials, far more ground will be lost than gained in the emotionally complicated, if not presently unsolvable, problem of sociology and government.

PUT JURY TRIAL PROVISO IN BILL ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Daily Tribune

Some Senators Call It Weakening

Thurs. 6-4-57

Chicago, Ill.

P. 3

Washington, June 3 (AP)—A jury trial provision in the civil rights bill won approval by the senate judiciary committee today over protests of administration backers that it would seriously weaken the bill.

Chairman Eastland [D., Miss.] announced the 7 to 3 vote after a closed session. Six Democrats and one Republican supported the amendment. Three Republicans voted against it.

The amendment would guarantee trial by jury to persons accused of contempt of court in civil rights cases.

Cites Unionist Rights

Eastland, who supported the amendment while continuing to oppose the civil rights bill as a whole, said the section added today would give civil rights defendants the same right trade unionists now have in labor injunction cases.

Backers of the administration bill argue that southern juries, in particular, would be unlikely to convict a person charged with violating court orders in voting or other civil rights cases.

Southern house members plan to fight for a similar amendment when a companion civil rights bill reaches the floor Wednesday.

Kill Right to Work

In other actions today, the Eastland committee:

1. Let stand, on a 5 to 5 tie vote, a proposal to set up a bipartisan commission which would look into allegations that Americans are deprived of voting rights or subjected to "unwarranted economic pressures by reason of their sex, color, race, religion or national origin."

2. Knocked out a "right-to-work" proviso offered by Sen. McClellan [D., Ark.]. This would have added to the civil rights bill a ban on labor agreements requiring employes to be union members. McClellan told newsmen hea probably would reoffer it later.

Vote on Jury Trial

Eastland said those voting for the jury trial amendment, in addition to himself, were Senators Kefauver [D., Tenn.], Olin Johnston [D., S. C.], O'Mahoney [D., Wyo.], Ervin [D., N. C.], Butler [R., Md.], and McClellan. Ervin was the sponsor of the amendment.

Those voting no were G. O. P. Senators Wiley [Wis.], Dirksen [Ill.], and Watkins [Utah].

The bill, whose original recommendations were made by President Eisenhower, has been before the judiciary committee since March 19, when it was approved by a subcommittee.

FOES OF CIVIL RIGHTS BILL AGREE TO VOTE

Times-Picayune P. 1

Sat. 7-13-57

Motion to Bring Measure to Floor Set Tuesday

New Orleans, La.

By WILMOT HERCHER

WASHINGTON, July 12 (AP) — Southern opponents of the civil rights bill agreed in the Senate Friday to allow a vote about 6 p. m. (EDT) Tuesday on a motion to bring the measure to the floor for action.

All signs pointed to adoption of the motion, which would constitute a major, though strictly preliminary, victory for Northern supporters of the bill.

Sen. Russell (D.-GA.), leader of the Southern opposition, conceded he has no hope of preventing the bill from coming before the Senate.

He said his bloc agreed to let the bill come up because it feels there is a good chance of winning changes that will make it more palatable — even though still objectionable—to the South.

Defended and Denounced

Unanimous Senate agreement to vote Tuesday came after five days of debate in which the civil rights bill was defended as progressive legislation and denounced as an attempt to return the South to the reconstruction days that followed the War Between the States.

The legislation would set up a civil rights commission to make a two-year study of civil rights problems. It would also create a civil rights division in the department of justice and head it up with an assistant attorney general.

A section which Southerners have attacked repeatedly would permit the attorney general to seek federal court injunctions against any violation or threatened violation of voting rights or other civil rights. Violations of these injunctions would be punishable as contempt of court, without jury trials. Southern senators are expected to fight hard for a jury trial amendment.

There are still 15 or 20 Senators who want to make speeches on the issue.

Filibuster Threat Holds

The senate recessed at 6:55 p. m. EDT Friday night. Majority leader Johnson (D-Tex.) announced the Senate would meet at 9:30 a. m. (EDT) Saturday, Monday and Tuesday to allow all the senators to be heard. Night sessions will also be held if necessary, he said.

Russell said he expects the Senate to begin consideraing amendments immediately after Tuesday's vote. He anticipated there might be a vote on one or more amendments next week, since he saaid he expected no "long speeches" by Southerners.

The threat of a Southern filibuester to prevent passage of the bill still existed. Russell said any decision of a filibuster—an effort to talk the bill to death—may be influenced by how far the Senate goes in softening the terms of the legislation.

Russell was the only senator who spoke on the debate limitation agreement. He appealed to all senators to approach the issue as "responsible men" once the bill is before the Senate. He said the legislation was simply "an abstract question" to some senators but that the South never could look at it in that light.

Stennis, Talmadge Rap Bill

"All we seek is that we be dealt with justly and fairly," Russell said.

Two Southerners made major speeches against the bill during the day.

Sen. Talmadge (D-Ga.) attacked it on the ground it would set up "tyranny in its rankest form."

He said it would turn the attorney general into a civil rights czar superior to the constitution and create a civil rights commission with "limitless inquisitorial powers."

Times-Picayune P. 5

some "crafty and designing lawyers" which, he said, contains "at least 10 revolutionary departures from sound and accepted legal principals and procedures."

Sen. Knowland of California, the Republican leader, moved last Monday to bring the legislation to the floor.

Backed by President

Knowland deporaed after a White House breakfast with President Eisenhower that the administration still stands behind the civil rights measure as it passed the House June 18.

"Their recommendations are still their recommendations," the GOP leader said. "They have never taken the position, however, that there should not be any clarifying amendments."

Some Northern Democrats supporting the bill, including Rep. Celler of New York and Sen. McNamara of Michigan, contend that Eisenhower is wavering in his support of the legislation. Asked if this were true, Knowland said "No."

Russell is working out a voting agreement with Knowland and Johnson. He told reporters "there is no possibility of a vote on Sen. Knowland's motion before Tuesday. I'd prefer to delay it until Wednesday, or even Thursday."

Russell Cites Unusual Course

Almost all the Southern Democrats attended a 45-minute conference in Russell's office.

"We felt we have been fully justified in our debate on the motion to take up," Russell said. "This bill has pursued a very unusual course. There is no committee report on it. We feel justified in putting into the Senate record, at least, an analysis of this bill."

Knowland's motion has been debated in overtime Senate sessions since last Monday. Johnson is reported to believe that when the time for voting comes, the motion will be carried by about a 2-1 ratio.

In a renewal of the debate today, Johnson told the Senate that the speeches so far had demonstrated that the civil rights controversy is not one that can be settled by a simple "yes" or "no."

"I believe that most thoughtful men now agree that there are serious issues which must be explored carefully and prudently," he continued.

"There are still those, of course, who believe that the Senate should operate on the basis of 'Get out of town by sundown.' But I doubt whether they will impress the Senate or the great majority of our people."

Knowland has estimated the civil rights fight may keep Congress in session until mid-September. Very little other business will be taken up by the Senate while the debate is in progress. A log-jam of other legislation is piling up.

Malone Indicates Agreement

Russell, in another floor speech, contended the bill gives the attorney general far more power to enforce civil rights by injunction than he asked for initially.

He called the measure "an attempt at legislative legerdemain and obfuscation."

Russell said the broad and punitive powers sought for the attorney general were aimed at 40 million white persons who live in the South. By a series of questions, Sen. Malone (R-Nev) indicated he agreed with Russell.

TALMADGE LASHES 'IKE'S' RIGHTS PLAN

Commercial Appeal P. 17

Says Unprecedented Power Is Being Sought

Memphis, Tenn.

SPEAKS IN MONTGOMERY

Tues.

By The United Press

MONTGOMERY, Ala., July 15.—Senator Herman Talmadge (D., Ga.) Monday accused President Eisenhower of demanding "unprecedented power to regiment the social, economic and political life of this nation."

7-16-57

"The President and his attorney general have demanded that Congress give them authority to interpose the Government of the United States between the individual and his right under the law to seek either damages or criminal prosecution for his civil rights," the Georgian said.

Addresses Legion Meeting

"They have demanded that Congress enact a new 'force' bill which, through adroit manipulation of the amendment process, robs every citizen of his right by trial by jury and authorizes full use of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps and militia of the nation to enforce the attorney general's notions of what are and are not civil rights," Senator Talmadge said.

The former Georgia governor addressed about 1,000 members of the Alabama Department of the American Legion meeting here.

"We have seen Congress abdicate more and more of its authority to the Executive Branch and we have heard proposals that the Senate relinquish its traditional freedom of debate despite the fact that it is an integral part of the delicate balance of powers afforded under our form of government."

Senator Talmadge said, "There is not an area of human thought or conduct which the language of the civil rights bill now before the Senate does not cover. It runs the gamut from sowing to reaping, from sleeping to waking, from thought to action and from the cradle to the grave.

Housing Program Rapped

"It does not confer upon a single American a single additional right. The only person to whom it grants any new rights is the attorney general of the United States, on whom it confers the arbitrary and unrestricted power to use the Federal Judiciary as an instrument of his political caprices to deny civil rights," he said.

Senator John Sparkman (D., Ala.) charged veterans' housing will "dwindle to nothing if the current rate of decline" continues.

Senator Sparkman challenged Mr. Eisenhower's housing program as "a shrug and a statement that housing is postponable and, unfortunately, must take a back seat.

10 1957

THOMAS L. STOKES

Star P. 9-A

Prelude to the Civil Rights Fight

Wed. 7-3-57

Senator Russell's Denunciation of Bill Viewed as Sign of South's Desperation

Washington D.C.

In a dramatic prelude to the civil rights bill fight due to start next week in the Senate, the acknowledged leader of the Southern forces—Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia—recalled to the student of history and of the Senate another belligerent Georgian.

It was on the eve of the Civil War that the other Georgian—Senator Bob Toombs—launched forth in his booming voice a stream of invective: ". . . black Republicans . . . Lincoln an enemy of the human race . . . the Constitution of the United States a mistake . . . the Declaration of Independence, glittering generalities." After a few more observations such as: "The Union is dissolved, sir . . . you see the glittering bayonet, and hear the tramp of armed men from yon Capitol to the Rio Grande," he stomped up the aisle under a full steam of fury, pushed through the swinging doors and down to the Treasury to collect his mileage and go home, serve as Secretary of State for a time in the cabinet of the Confederate States, later as a general in her armies, and never again take the oath of office and become a citizen.

"Dick" Russell used no such histrionics. He has none of that in him. But his words in the Senate, here so long after that other Georgian, were almost as bitter as he compared President Eisenhower's bill to protect voting and other civil rights to "force bills" of the reconstruction era, and let loose his own flow of invective thus:

"I unhesitatingly assert that this section of the bill was deliberately drawn to enable the use of our military forces to destroy the system of separation of the races in the Southern States at the point of a bayonet, if it be necessary to take this step . . . neither Sumner nor Stevens in the persecution of the South in the twelve tragic years of reconstruction ever cooked up any such devil's broth as is proposed in this misnamed civil rights bill. . . . The unusual powers of this bill could be utilized to force the white people of the South at the point of a Federal bayonet to conform to almost any conceivable edict directed at the destruction of any local custom, law or practice separating the races and enforce a comingling of the races through the social order of the South."

Senator Russell argued that the Eisenhower administration measure is far more than a "moderate" measure whose chief aim is to protect the voting rights of Negroes as claimed by President Eisenhower, and that the public has been purposely deceived and misled about that. Its real aim, he said, is to force integration of public schools.

The bitter tone of his speech told of the spirit of desperation in which the hard-pressed band of Southerners face this coming fight which is scheduled to start in the Senate next week after the recess in celebration of July Fourth and its historic declaration that "all men are created equal."

This spirit of desperation had other clues. There was one in a meeting of the Republican policy committee in a terse announcement by the grim and determined Republican Senate leader—Senator William F. Knowland of California. He said it is his intention to bring up the issue next week by his motion to take the administration civil rights bill off the calendar, where it was put under extraordinary procedure a few days ago that bypassed the Judiciary Committee, and to keep the question before the Senate "until disposed of."

This was followed by a brief discussion by Republican leaders of ways and means of organizing squads for all-night guard duty during the certain filibuster by the Democrats. The Republican aim is to keep the Senate in continuous session in the effort to wear down the Southerners, stop their talk marathon, and eventually get a vote.

Senator Knowland is in deep earnest, unlike some Republican leaders of the past who went into periodic sham battles over civil rights with an understanding with Southern Democrats that, after a time, the fight would be called off. The Californian let it be known privately that he would not have undertaken this fight had he not meant to go through with it—and he has a reputation among his colleagues of meaning exactly what he says, and doing it, and no fooling.

Aside from Senator Knowland's determination and Senator Russell's bitterness, there are other signs of desperation among the Southerners. One was the threat by Senator Spessard Holland of Florida that some Southern States would abolish public schools rather than permit integration, as, in fact, some already have enacted laws to do. Another is the belief that not all of the 22 Southern Senators from the 11 Southern States are ready to wear themselves out in a last-ditch filibuster, though they probably will all make speeches.

Senate Seems To Be Ripe For Civil Rights Compromise

Post-Herald Fri. 7-12-57 P. 11

B'ham, Ala.

BY MARSHALL McNEIL

Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

WASHINGTON, July 11—The Senate seems ripe for a civil rights compromise.

If it comes, it won't be soon. Some insiders think it's a certainty. Maybe even with White House help.

On the other hand, Vice President Nixon and Sen. Everett Dirksen (R., Ill.), first defender of the pending bill in the Senate debate, have taken stands against major modification of the House-passed measure. Even the Democrat who sponsored the bill in the House says "no compromise" while admitting there's "strong talk" to this end.

But compromise conferences go on.

Meanwhile, the Senate debate proceeds. The end of the talking is not in sight.

Today or by week-end the time will be tacitly fixed for the first showdown—the vote on whether to take up the bill. This could come by the middle of next week.

Thereafter, Sen. Wayne Morse (D., Ore.), will move to send the bill to the Senate Judiciary Committee, which only a few weeks ago was denied by a Senate vote a chance to study it. This move will appeal to some who want an easier way out of the present predicament. But as of now Morse's motion is not expected to prevail.

When it is defeated, the long debate on the bill itself will begin, offering the actual opportunity for modification of the measure.

Some Senate leaders think it could take this form:

1. **ELIMINATION** of the hotly controversial Section III, which Southerners say can be used to force school desegregation if need be, with military help.

2. **PROVISION FOR** trial-by-jury for those held in contempt for violating a court order protecting an individual's right to vote.

This would scale the measure down to cover voting rights only, and give the government the right to enter civil suits to protect these rights.

Southerners won't favor such a bill.

They don't want the Civil Rights Investigating Commission the pending measure creates. They oppose the idea of a new assistant attorney general presiding over an enlarged civil rights division in the Justice Department.

Many of them don't want any bill bearing the name civil rights.

But the bulk of them won't fight as bitterly against the suggested compromises as against the pending bill.

The proposed modification would, moreover, be palatable to some border state and mid-Western senators.

There are heavy pressures at work to bring about compromise.

First, there is a growing sense in the Senate that the country and the world are watching as it struggles with this loaded issue. That's one reason debate so far has been high-level. Speeches have been carefully tailored. Though forthright and hot, there's been no name-calling. Every speaker shows he's done a lot of homework.

Second, many are convinced the White House and the Senate GOP leaders won't give up trying to get some sort of civil rights bill. But from both the White House and the Republican floor leader, Sen. William Knowland of California, come hints that "clarification" would be acceptable. How far they'd be willing to go doubtless would depend upon how insistent is Senate pressure. Sen. Richard

Demo Leader Says—

Post-Herald

Rights Compromise Talk Premature

Fri. 7-12-57 P. 1

B'ham, Ala.

Sen. Johnson Tells Senate It's Too Early To Predict Outcome

WASHINGTON, July 11 (AP)—The Senate's Democratic leader said today it was premature to talk of a possible civil rights compromise. Nevertheless, some GOP sponsors of the bill moved toward narrowing its provisions.

Compromise talk at this time, said Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, is "both premature and inaccurate."

He told the Senate meeting an hour and a half earlier than usual to debate the civil rights legislation, that there is no way to predict the outcome at the present time.

"There is quite some distance to go before the end result even begins to take shape," Johnson said.

Sen. Francis Case (R., S. D.) had disclosed earlier that he is drafting an amendment which would confine the enforcement provisions of the bill to the single field of protecting voting rights of Negroes and other minorities.

This would go some distance toward meeting the violent objections of Southern Democrats to the legislation, which has been passed by the House.

Sens. Clifford Case (R., N. J.) and Kuchel (R., Cal.) said in separate interviews they support the principle of Sen. Francis Case's proposal.

Opposition speakers have contended the bill in its present form would empower the federal government to force school integration and other racial changes on the Southern states.

Johnson told the Senate he knew of no compromise efforts "Nor do I consider the study of this bill as being intended for compromise purposes."

"The discussion arises, in my opinion," he said, "because the debate has been conducted on a high plane, free of rancor and bitterness."

Johnson is expected to vote against the bill, at least in its effort to limit debate on it.

Compromise talk increased on Capitol Hill yesterday after Sen. Russell (D., Ga.) had a 50-minute conference with President Eisenhower and reported the President's mind "is open . . . not closed to amendments which would clarify the bill."

While Sen. Clifford Case favors narrowing the bill, in principle, he said in an afternoon statement that he agreed with Johnson that talk of compromises is premature.

"The immediate matter before the Senate is a procedural one—whether to make this bill the pending matter of business in the Senate," Case said. "There will be ample time, once this is voted through, to debate the substance of the bill and to offer

SENATE, BY 71-18, VOTES TO TAKE UP CIVIL RIGHTS BILL

Times Wed. 7-17-57 New York P.1

ACTION IS HAILED

President Voices Hope but Sees Changes for Strong Measure

Text of Eisenhower statement will be found on Page 14.

By WILLIAM S. WHITE

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, July 16—The Senate voted 71 to 18 today to take up the Administration's civil rights bill.

This measurably advanced the prospect for the first fundamental legislation in this field since the Reconstruction Era that followed the Civil War nearly a century ago.

The Senate's decision, though procedural, amounted to an indispensable first-phase victory for the Eisenhower Administration and for bipartisan civil rights forces marshaled by Senator William F. Knowland of California, the Republican Senate leader.

Without this action to make the bill officially the Senate's pending business it would have been impossible to grapple with its substance or to reach any ultimate conclusion about it.

Southerners Resist

The traditional Southerners resisted to the end, but for the most part without bitterness or passion. Significantly defections depleted their ranks. The Senate Democratic leader, Lyndon B. Johnson, a Texan, voted with the majority to take up the bill. So did the two other "new Southerners," Senator Estes Kefauver and Albert Gore, both of Tennessee.

President Eisenhower expressed gratification at the outcome and voiced the "hope" that the bill at length approved by the Senate would be "an effective piece of legislation."

He implicitly conceded, however, the inevitably of Senate alterations in his text, saying:

"The details of the language changes are a legislative matter."

Earlier Senator Harry I. Byrd, Democrat of Virginia, vehemently attacked the Administration measure.

The Senate itself was moving unmistakably toward compromise, a process being guided by Senator Johnson.

Hardly had the procedural vote been taken when Senators Clinton P. Anderson of New Mexico and George D. Aiken of Vermont put in a basic and bipartisan amendment that would strike from the Administration's bill the feature most adamantly resised by the Southerners and by some non-Southern allies.

Mr. Anderson is a liberal, pro-civil rights Democrat; Mr. Aiken, a liberal, pro-civil rights Republican from the Eisenhower wing of the party.

Would Limit Powers

Their paper, in effect, would confine the Administration's measure to protection of the right to vote. It would knock out a provision to set up special Federal sanctions that could be used to force school integration in the South.

Both sets of powers are sought by the Administration. Both would operate in this manner: The Department of Justice would be given authority to seek injunctions, with or without the consent of the victim, against actual or threatened deprivations of civil rights, such as the right to vote or to attend an integrated school.

Persons refusing to obey these injunctions could be tried by a Federal judge, without a jury, fined or imprisoned for contempt.

Senators Anderson and Aiken would leave this non-jury provision intact, but it could apply only to voting cases.

Once their amendment had been introduced, Senator Johnson arranged to have it put down on the calendar in such a way as to make this proposed change in line for the first of the many decisions that are now to come on the bill.

18 Democrats Oppose

The vote on Senator Knowland's motion to make the measure the pending business of the Senate was ended at 4:53 P. M., with this division:

For taking up the bill, 42 Republicans and 29 Democrats all these latter Northerners or Border State men save for Senators Johnson, Kefauver and Gore.

Against, 18 Southern Democrats.

Senator Wayne Morse then sought and failed to have the bill, which has already been approved by the House of Representatives, sent to the Senate Judiciary Committee for study.

This would be the ordinary course, but the committee some time ago had been repudiated on the issue and its jurisdiction taken away by the Senate. This had been done because the committee for five and a half months had refused to act on a Senate companion to the House measure.

Senator Morse, a liberal, pro-civil rights Democrat from Oregon, proposed to instruct the Judiciary Committee to report the bill back to the Senate within seven days.

He argued that the Senate was taking a dangerous step in bypassing an established committee and that better legislative action could be had in the long run by restoring jurisdiction to that committee.

Senator Knowland contended that the Morse plan would mean fatal delay for civil rights.

Mr. Morse was voted down 54 to 35, with this division:

For his motion, 31 Democrats and 4 Republicans; against 16 Democrats and 38 Republicans. The original Senate action to bypass the judiciary committee, taken on June 20, had been by vote of 45 to 39.

The final hours of the eighth day of the debate of Senator Knowland's move to take up the bill proceeded without vehement language except for the speech by Senator Byrd.

Senator Byrd attacked the Administration's measure as one justifying the South in fearing a second Reconstruction, or a period of harsh Federal intervention against local rights.

He went beyond this, however, to call Earl Warren, Chief Justice of the United States, a "modern Thaddeus Stevens." Mr. Warren, former Republican Governor of California and vice presidential candidate in 1952, was the author of the Supreme Court's 1954 unanimous decision outlawing racial segregation in the public schools.

Thaddeus Stevens, a radical Republican member of the House of Representatives from Pennsylvania, was a dominant member of a joint Congressional committee on the reconstruction that helped to form a punitive policy for dealing with the defeated confederacy.

To generations of Southerners, even to those holding no ill-feeling toward the North in general, he has been a symbol of tyrrany and carpetbaggery, or evil and heavy-handed rule of a conquered people by aliens.

Byrd Is Critical

Senator Byrd told the Senate that President Eisenhower and others had indicated a lack of understanding of the real scope of the Administration's civil rights bill.

"Of course," Mr. Byrd went on, "I have no documentary proof, but I strongly suspect that the modern Thaddeus Stevens, now cloaked in the robes of the Chief Justice of the United States, has a thorough and complete knowledge of what could and would be done under the bill. And likewise I suspect that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, one of the principal beneficiaries of his official acts, has at least a working familiarity with the provisions of the bill. I suspect also that the Americans for Democratic Action, the N. A. A. C. P.'s gold dust twin, has at least guilty knowledge of what the bill proposes."

Senator Knowland, whose ties with Senator Byrd involve the deepest of mutual respect and affection, is also an admirer and political protégé of Chief Justice Warren, his fellow Californian.

Mr. Knowland reddened in the first distress he had shown in the debate. He declared he hoped Mr. Byrd had not meant to imply thta the Chief Justice had "entered into a conspiracy" with organizations such as the N. A. A. C. P.

Senator Byrd retorted that he had not made such a charge, though it seemed clear to him that Mr. Warren "and the N. A. A. C. P. know something about this bill."

"Whether they are in a conspiracy or not," Mr. Byrd added, "I can't say." But, he said, "if Mr. Warren and his court" continued to render the kind of decisions they had rendered in the segregation issue and on other matters "these decisions will destroy the fundamental principles that have made America the greatest national in all the world."

Senator Knowland and others strongly defended the Chief Justice. Senator Clifford P. Case, Republican of New Jersey, denounced Mr. Byrd's language as "intemperate," "inflamatory," "entirely unjustified, utterly gratituous," and without a proper place in any debate.

The incident passed shortly, with Senator Byrd observing that he had no apology to make for having followed a long line of American leaders, including Jefferson, Madison and Lincoln, in attacking what he believed to be improper and destructive decision by the court.

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and vote on various amendments.

"There has been much talk of agreement, before the bill is taken up, on a jury trial amendment. A good deal of this talk is clearly intended to encourage adoption of such an amendment."

Case said he was "certain" the votes could be mustered to defeat such an amendment. "Anyone who has studied the matter must realize that its effect would be to make it possible to disobey the law," he said.

Several unsuccessful efforts were made in the House to attack a jury trial amendment. Southerners want jury trials for any persons charged with contempt of court for violating civil rights injunctions. Under the bill, these persons would be tried by the judges who issued the restraining orders.

Johnson, in his Senate speech, said debate on the motion to bring up the civil rights bill probably will have to continue into next week (it began last Monday). Johnston noted that the Senate Judiciary Committee had been bypassed in an attempt to bring the House-approved bill directly to the floor.

He said most Senate bills, many of a far less controversial nature, have lengthy and detailed committee reports accompanying them.

"This bill was naked when it reached the Senate," the Democratic leader said. "It had not a stitch—not even a diaper."

Sen. McNamara (D., Mich.), a supporter of the bill, told the Senate he had sent Eisenhower a telegram protesting reports that the President might consider amendments to the bill.

He said he had urged Eisenhower to issue a public statement "reaffirming your strong support of this moderate legislation in the form so overwhelmingly passed by the House of Representatives." The House vote on passage June 18 was 286-126.

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RIGHTS BILL ENFORCEMENT POWERS ARE CUT TO VOTING

Southern Senators Score Solid Victory, 52-38

By WILMOT HERCHER

WASHINGTON, July 24 (AP) — President Eisenhower's civil rights bill was stripped in the Senate today of all its enforcement powers except those covering voting rights.

The vote on the crucial issue, coming after five hours of debate, was 52-38.

It was a solid victory for Southern senators, who have argued for weeks that the bill as it came from the House would permit the federal government to force racial integration of the schools in their states and impose other social changes.

All Louisiana and Mississippi senators voted for the Anderson-Aiken amendment.

Thirty-four Democrats and 18 Republicans joined to adopt an amendment by Sen. Anderson (D-NM) and Aiken (R-Vt) to eliminate almost all of Section 3 from the measure. Thirteen Northern Democrats and 25 Republicans voted against the amendment.

Section 3 would have empowered the attorney general, on his own initiative, to seek federal court injunctions against all kinds of civil rights violations or threats of violations. Persons flouting the injunctions could be charged with contempt of court and tried by federal judges without a jury.

Sees 'Great Jeopardy'

Northern supporters of the amendment hailed the vote as diminishing the chances of a Southern filibuster against what's left of the bill and increasing the chances of passage.

"I think this vote makes the enactment of a workable civil rights bill very likely," Aiken said.

Some of those on the other side declared knocking out Section 3 would be followed by Southern assaults on other sections of the measure. Sen. Javits (R-NY) said today's action "leaves the bill in great jeopardy."

"I hope those who are really for civil rights will see the jeopardy of losing one position after another and rally to support the other provisions of the House bill," the New Yorker told the Senate.

Still in the bill is authority for the attorney general to seek injunctions in voting rights cases. In addition, persons who felt their right to vote was being denied illegally could bypass state courts and go directly into federal courts with petitions for restraining orders or demands for damages.

Also in the bill are provisions to set up a bipartisan commission with broad subpoena powers to investigate the civil rights problem, and to create a civil rights division in the Justice Department.

Johnson's Act Surprise

But all the remaining provisions are under attack in varying degrees, and further efforts probably will be made to soften the legislation.

Immediately after adoption of the Anderson-Aiken amendment, Majority Leader Johnson (D-Tex) called up a jury trial amendment proposed by Sen. O'Mahoney (D-Wyo). This was a surprise, since supporters of the bill had expected to go to work next on amendments to the commission part of the bill.

Vice President Nixon, who was presiding, followed Senate custom and recognized the majority leader first, although Minority Leader Knowland (R-Calif) was seeking recognition at the same time. Knowland heads the bipartisan coalition backing the bill.

The O'Mahoney amendment would provide for jury trials in injunction proceedings where persons were charged with contempt and threatened with criminal penalties. It is one of several pending proposals for jury trials under the bill.

ISSUE DECLARED SIMPLE

Knowland's coalition opposes a jury trial amendment as weakening the legislation, some members of the group contending that juries in the South would not convict in cases involving the voting rights of Negroes.

As the Senate prepared to vote on the Anderson-Aiken change, Johnson said it would be a crucial test that "well may be the deciding factor as to whether we have a bill or no bill."

"The issue is simple," the Democratic leader told the Senate. "We can write an adequate bill to safeguard the right to vote. We can create a commission which can study the problems and return to us with recommendations.

"Or we can attempt to write into law new and drastic enforcement procedures that cover a wide variety of vaguely defined, so-called 'civil rights'."

Sen. Bricker (R - Ohio) agreed with Johnson regarding the chances of passing the bill as it came from the House last month. "We can have legislation more adequately protecting the right to vote or we can have no legislation at all," he said.

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People commented glumly that the vote "calls for the whistling of 'Dixie' but hardly for 'My Country 'Tis of Thee.'"

"The adoption of this motion," he added in a statement, "says plainly to American Negroes that, as far as the Senate is concerned, they can expect little, if any, assistance from the federal government in attempts to win enjoyment of their constitutional rights."

Sen. Potter (R-Mich) said the amendment would "sweep under the rug an entire category of individual rights guaranteed by the Constitution."

Aiken and Anderson both voiced final pleas that Section 3 as drafted would have injected the federal government too deeply into state and local affairs.

INJUNCTION RULE OPPOSED

"It would inject federal controls into all phases of life," said Aiken.

"I don't desire a government by injunction," said Anderson.

Sen. Mansfield (D-Mont) joined those calling for elimination of everything but the voting right clauses in Section 3. He said no one denies that the powers contained in the section are "broad and sweeping."

"It seems to me the choice is clear," Mansfield told his colleagues. "We can return to Reconstruction and refight battles that are over and done. Or we can try to meet the problems of the present day in a spirit of reason. . . ."

Sen. Douglas (D-Ill) took the other side. He said in his prepared speech:

"If a senator believes that Negroes should be denied equal access to public parks, paid for in part by them, let him vote to strike . . . for that is the effect of his vote.

'DEEP SADNESS' FORECAST

"If a senator believes that Negro children in the schools should be segregated forever, and that a state has no duty to even begin compliance with the law of the land, let him vote to strike . . . for that is the effect of his vote.

"If the Anderson - Aiken amendment carries there will be gleeful pleasure among the advocates of apartheid and white supremacy but deep sadness amongst those who are struggling for a better way for men to live together."

Sen. Javits (R-NY) and others told the Senate the striking of Section 3 would be only the start of efforts to "emasculate" the measure.

Emphasizing the importance of the upcoming vote, Javits said adoption of the Anderson-Aiken amendment would "start the process by which the ball game could be lost."

A coalition of Republicans and Northern Democrats supporting the bill has made repeated efforts to find compromise language for Section 3 but has had no success.

Sen. Knowland told newsmen that if Section 3 is struck down, a modified substitute for it may be offered later. He said, however, it would depend on whether language could be found that would be "helpful" and would attract "widespread support."

Sen. Church (D-Idaho) told the Senate he would vote for the Anderson-Aiken amendment because of the absence of any assurance that a jury trial provision would be written into the bill. If a jury trial amendment is adopted later, he said, the way might then be open for restoration of some portion of Section 3.

Gravel Praises Civil Rights Vote

ALEXANDRIA, La., July 24 (AP)—Louisiana's Democratic national committeeman Wednesday praised action of the Senate in stripping President Eisenhower's Civil Rights bill of all enforcement power except protection of voting rights.

Camille F. Gravel Jr., target of an all-out drive by segregation forces because of his support of the bill, commented when informed of the 52-38 vote removing section three:

"I have always thought and always stated that the protection of the right to vote was the prime purpose of the bill, and I'm very glad that the controversial part three was eliminated. I hope the right to vote is protected by the ultimate result."

He suggested one more amendment was needed, to provide for a jury trial for those charged with violating the act.

Senate Cuts Bill to Vote Guarantees

52-to-38 Decision Eliminates Key Part of Section III

By Robert C. Albright
Staff Reporter

The Senate, by a vote of 52 to 38, yesterday struck out of the Administration's civil rights bill proposed authority for the Attorney General to seek injunctive enforcement of a broad range of Constitutional rights.

The vote left intact for the time being, however, the so-called right-to-vote section authorizing use of court injunctions and, if necessary, punishment for contempt to guarantee the franchise to Negroes in the South.

Thus in one dramatic vote, striking out most of Part III of the bill, the Senate transformed the Administration's general civil rights measure into essentially a right-to-vote bill.

Senate roll-call vote on the Anderson-Aiken amendment to the civil rights bill. Page A2.

Near future expected to see spur to Negro voting in South. Page A2.

Debate Not Ended

The Senate action did not end the debate, now in its third week. Nor did it foreclose other important changes in the bill, notably some form of jury trial amendment. But in the opinion of responsible observers on both sides of the aisle it probably assured an early end to the historic sectional clash without the filibuster everyone had expected.

Southern victory, routing the newly formed civil rights coalition of Administration Republicans and Liberal Democrats on the first important showdown, came when the Senate voted on an amendment by Sens. Clinton P. Anderson (D-N. M.) and George D. Aiken (R-Vt.) to strike out Section 121 of Part III of the bill.

Thirty-four Democrats and 18 Republicans supported the amendment. Thirteen Democrats and 25 Republicans voted "no."

Immediately following the vote, Senate Democratic leaderer Lyndon B. Johnson (Tex.) moved to call up an amendment by Sen. Joseph C. O'Ma-

honey (D-Wyo.) to require a jury trial in criminal contempt cases.

As the bilwl now stands, the Attorney General can still use injunctions to enforce voting rights. Persons violating the injunctions could be charged with contempt, and tried by a jury. O'Mahoney's amendment would still permit this procedure in so-called civil contempt cases, but require a jury in criminal contempt trials.

Thorough Debate Seen

All signs pointed to a thoroughgoing debate on the jury trial issue, particularly in the light of the conviction of John Kasper and six defendants by an all white jury in the Clinton, Tenn., segregation trial. Southern Senators, assisted by "moderates" on both sides of the aisle, seized on the Kasper conviction to make a new and stronger stand for insertion of a jury trial requirement.

There were signs that the talking would run out some time next week, when the Senate will proceed to more voting. Sen. Anderson said approval of his amendment could result in passage of the bill, without a filibuster, in 8 to 10 days.

"It gives the bill a better chance of passage," said Anderson. "It means we are going to have a good civil rights bill."

Senate Majority Leader Johnson similarly told the Senate the vote to strike out most of Part III "may well be the deciding factor as to whether we have a bill or no bill."

"As far as I am concerned, I am ready to support an adequate right to vote bill with proper safeguards," said Johnson. "I am willing to support a (civil rights investigating) commission which will make reasoned inquiries into this serious problem. I believe we can work out such a measure if we do not clutter up the bill with other details."

Failing in their efforts to save Part III, Republican and Democratic liberals voiced concern for other sections of the bill, however.

Rep. Jacob K. Javits (R-N.Y.) said the bill is now in "great jeopardy," adding: "I hope those who are really for civil rights will see the jeopardy of losing one position after another and rally to support the other provisions of the House bill."

Sen. Joseph S. Clark (D-Pa.) voiced "disappointment" with the vote, but blamed the Administration for "scuttling" Part III. Clark charged President Eisenhower put the skids under the controversial section at a news conference last week and that 18 Republicans followed his lead.

Senate Republican Leader William F. Knowland (Calif.) who fought to hold the bill intact, offered no alibis.

"That was the battle of today," said Knowland. "The major fight coming up is on Part IV (the right to vote section). An effort will be made to preserve it without amendment. I believe we have a very good opportunity to keep Part IV as it is."

Vote on Rights Amendment

Associated Press

Here is the 52-38 vote by which the Senate adopted yesterday the Anderson-Aiken amendment stripping the Administration's civil rights bill of all enforcement authority except protection of voting rights.

DEMOCRATS FOR (34)

ANDERSON (N.M.)
BIBLE Nev.)
BYRD (Va.)
CHAVEZ (N. M.)
CHURCH (Idaho)
EASTLAND (Miss.)
ELLENDER (La.)
ERVIN (N. C.)
FREAR (Del.)
FULBRIGHT (Ark.)
GORE (Tenn.)
GREEN (R. I.)
HAYDEN (Ariz.)
HILL (Ala.)
HOLLAND (Fla.)
JOHNSON (Tex.)
JOHNSTON (S. C.)
KEFAUVER (Tenn.)
KERR (Okla.)
LONG (La.)
MANSFIELD (Mont.)
McCLELLAN (Ark.)
MONRONEY (Okla.)
MURRAY (Mont.)
O'MAHONEY (Wyo.)
ROBERTSON (Va.)
RUSSELL (Ga.)
SCOTT (N. C.)
SMATHERS (Fla.)
SPARKMAN (Ala.)
STENNIS (Miss.)
TALMADGE (Ga.)
THURMOND (S.C.)
YARBOROUGH (Tex.)

REPUBLICANS FOR (13)

AIKEN (Vt.)
BARRETT (Wyo.)
BENNETT (Utah)
BRICKER (Ohio)
BUTLER (Md.)
CASE (S. D.)
COTTON (N. H.)
CURTIS (Neb.)
DWORSHAK (Idaho.)
FLANDERS (Vt.)
GOLDWATER (Ariz.)
HICKENLOOPER Iowa)
MALONE (Nev.)
MUNDT (S. D.)
SALTONSTALL (Mass.)
SMITH (N. J.)
WILLIAMS (Del.)
YOUNG (N. D.)

DEMOCRATS AGAINST (13)

CARROLL (Colo.)
CLARK (Pa.)
DOUGLAS (Ill.)
HUMPHREY (Minn.)
JACKSON (Wash.)
KENNEDY (Mass.)
LAUSCHE (Ohio)
MAGNUSON (Wash.)
McNAMARA (Mich.)
MORSE (Ore.)
NEUBERGER (Ore.)
PASTORE (R. I.)
SYMINGTON (Mo.)

REPUBLICANS AGAINST (25)

ALLOTT (Colo.)
BEALL (Md.)
BUSH (Conn.)
CAPEHART (Ind.)
CARLSON (Kas.)
CASE (N. J.)
COOPER (Ky.)
DIRKSEN (Ill.)
HRUSKA (Neb.)
IVES (N. Y.)
JAVITS (N. Y.)
JENNER (Ind.)
KNOWLAND (Calif.)
KUCHEL (Calif.)
LANGER (N. D.)
MARTIN (Iowa)
MARTIN (Pa.)
MORTON (Ky.)
POTTER (Mich.)
PURTELL (Conn.)
REVERCOMB (W. Va.)
MRS. SMITH (Me.)
THYE (Minn.)
WATKINS (Utah)
WILEY (Wis.)

Not voting nor paired but announced as for the amendment:
SCHOEPPEL (R-Kas.)

Not voting nor paired by announced as against the amendment:
HENNINGS (D-Mo.)
NEELY (W. Va.)
PAYNE (R-Me.)

South pushes victory—

Sheared 'rights' in new crossfire

WASHINGTON, July 25—(AP)—The administration's civil rights bill, with one key section sheared off by the Senate, ran into a new crossfire of dispute today over a proposed jury amendment.

The jury trial proposal was called up hard on the heels of the 52-38 vote by which the Senate late yesterday ripped out of the House-passed bill all enforcement authority except that to safeguard the right to vote.

THE MEASURE, as it now stands, would permit the attorney general to obtain federal court injunctions against violations or threatened violations of voting rights, but not to enforce other civil rights.

In the latter category, under decisions of the Supreme Court, fall racial integration in public schools, buses, swimming pools and other public places.

Authority to use injunctions to enforce these and other civil rights generally was erased from the bill with the adoption of an amendment offered by Sens. Anderson (D., N. M.) and Aiken (R., Vt.).

Thirty-four Democrats and 68 Republicans voted for the amendment while 13 Democrats and 25 Republicans voted against it.

THE NEXT MAJOR TEST in the battle over the legislation began to shape up immediately when Senate Democratic Leader Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas called up a jury trial amendment proposed by Sen. O'Mahoney (D., Wyo.).

Under the bill, persons accused of violating injunctions obtained by the government could be convicted and jailed for contempt of court without a jury trial.

Senate Republican Leader Knowland of California said in an interview he thought the amendment would be defeated and the bill's supporters could preserve its voting rights section intact.

He said the issue was not likely to come to a vote before the first of next week.

THE ADOPTION of the Anderson-Aiken amendment was a resounding victory for Southern foes of the legislation, but Sen. Javits (R., N. Y.) said he hoped it would arouse civil rights supporters "to close ranks" and stand fast by the rest of the bill.

"Otherwise," he said in a statement, "they are in grave danger of seeing the results of divide-and-conquer tactics. This could lead to a hollow-shell bill. . . ."

OTHER PARTS of the bill, not yet taken up for consideration, would establish a civil rights division in the Justice Department and create a bipartisan civil rights investigating commission, appointed by the president.

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), said the Senate's voice yesterday gave "aid and comfort to those who would nullify the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment."

"In a very real sense," he said in a statement, "this action has said to the Supreme Court that the United States Senate is not willing to provide effective, time-tested machinery to implement the court's decisions."

Wilkins also contended the vote said "to Negro Americans that, so far as the Senate is concerned, they can expect little, if any, assistance from the federal government in attempts to win the enjoyment of their constitutional rights."

But both Anderson and Aiken said the adoption of their amendment increased the chances of passing a civil rights bill and lessened the possibility that Southern senators would try to filibuster it to death.

Just before the vote, Johnson told the Senate that the outcome might determine "whether we have a bill or no bill."

"The issue is simple," he said. "We can write an adequate bill to safeguard the right to vote. We can create a commission which can study the problems and return to us with recommendations.

"Or we can attempt to write into law new and drastic enforcement procedures to cover a wide variety of vaguely defined, so-called civil rights."

A STRIKINGLY different view was expressed by opponents of the Anderson-Aiker amendment.

Sen. Potter (R., Mich.) said its effect was to "sweep under the rug the entire category of individual civil rights guaranteed by the constitution."

Sen. McNamarra (D., Mich.) protested the amendment had "the effect of nullifying the historic Supreme Court decision desegrating public schools."

Sen. Douglas (D., Ill.) said adoption of the amendment meant its backers were voting for segregation of the races in buses, parks and shcools. Sen. Kuchel (R., Calif.) said the amendment's adoption would reduce the general enforcement of civil rights to a "farce."

Sen. Kefauver (D., Tenn.), the 1956 Democratic vice presidential nominee, said he wasn't happy about supporting the amendment. But he said his decision to do so reflected his belief that subtlety, rather than harsh measures, was needed to bring about integration in schools and elsewhere.

ANDERSON said the Senate's adoption of the amendment "means we are going to have a good civil rights bill passed by the Senate." And Aiken said it cleared the way for the enactment of a "workable" civil rights bill.

O'Mahoney, explaining his jury trial amendment briefly last night, said it would apply in cases of criminal contempt involving acts in willful disobedience of court orders and also in violation of federal or state criminal law.

He said it would not provide for jury trials in civil contempt cases in which a person could purge himself and free himself of punishment by complying with a court order.

This is similar to an amendment offered by Kefauver. Originally, O'Mahoney had proposed an amendment providing for jury trials in contempt cases when questions of fact were in dispute. He said he had drafted that prior to the Senate's decision to strike out authority for the use of injunctions in civil rights cases generally.

O'Mahoney called the jury trial issue "the preponderant question in this whole debate."

Kentucky Senators Oppose Weakening Civil-Rights Bill

Washington, July 24 (AP)—Here is the 52-to-38 vote by which the Senate today adopted the Anderson-Aiken amendment stripping the Administration's civil-rights bill of all enforcement authority except the protection of voting rights.

For the amendment (52):

Democrats (34)—

Anderson of N. M.; Bible of Nev.; Byrd of Va.; Chavez of N. M.; Church of Idaho.

Eastland of Miss.; Ellender of La.; Ervin of N. C.; Frear of Del.; Fulbright of Ark.

Gore of Tenn.; Green of R. I.; Hayden of Ariz.; Hill of Ala.; Holland of Fla.

Johnson of Texas; Johnston of S. C.; Kefauver of Tenn.; Kerr of Okla.; Long of La.

Mansfield of Mont.; McClellan of Ark.; Monroney of Okla.; Murray of Mont.; O'Mahoney of Wyo.

Robertson of Va.; Russell of Ga.; Scott of N. C.; Smathers of Fla.; Sparkman of Ala.

Stennis of Miss.; Talmadge of Ga.; Thurmond of S. C.; Yarborough of Tex.

Republicans (18)—

Aiken of Vt.; Barrett of Wyo.; Bennett of Utah; Bricker of Ohio; Butler of Md.

Case of S. D.; Cotton of N. H.; Curtis of Neb.; Dworshak of Idaho; Flanders of Vt.

Goldwater of Ariz.; Hickenlooper of Iowa; Malone of Nev.; Mundt of S. D.; Saltonstall of Mass.

Smith of N. J.; Williams of Del.; Young of N. D.

Against the amendment (38):

Democrats (13)—

Carroll of Col.; Clark of Pa.; Douglas of Ill.; Humphrey of Minn.; Jackson of Wash.

Kennedy of Mass.; Lausche of Ohio; Magnuson of Wash.; McNamara of Mich.; Morse of Ore.

Neuberger of Ore.; Pastore of R. I.; Symington of Mo.

Republicans (25)—

Allott of Col.; Beall of Md.; Bush of Conn.; Capehart of Ind.; Carlson of Kan.

Case of N. J.; Cooper of Ky.; Dirksen of Ill.; Hruska of Neb.; Ives of N. Y.

Javits of N. Y.; Jenner of Ind.; Knowland of Cal.; Kuchel of Cal.; Langer of N. D.

Martin of Iowa; Martin of Pa.; Morton of Ky.; Potter of Mich.; Purtell of Conn.

Revercomb of W. Va.; Mrs. Smith of Maine; Thye of Minn.; Watkins of Utah; Wiley of Wis.

Not voting or paired, but announced as for the amendment: Schoeppel (R., Kan.).

Not voting or paired, but announced as against the amendment: Hennings (D., Mo.), Neely (D., W. Va.), and Payne (R., Me.).

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Grand Jury In Barbour Echoes Call For Passive Resistance

Advertiser Wed. 7-3-57 P.1
Montgomery, Ala.

CLAYTON, Ala., July 2 (AP)—A judge's call for passive resistance in the face of civil rights investigations was echoed today by the Barbour County Grand Jury.

The jury, making its formal report after a two-day session, said "We are heartily in accord with", Circuit Judge George Wallace, who had urged local law enforcement officers to refuse to cooperate with federal authorities under the civil rights program pending in Congress.

Wallace made his observations in charging the grand jury yesterday. The jury report today said Circuit Solicitor Seymore Trammel had expressed the same views to the jurors.

The report said:

"We will continue to cooperate with all agencies in the field of legitimate law enforcement endeavors.

"But if the pending civil rights bills pass at this session of Congress, we recommend that the citizens of this county and the law enforcement officials of this county refuse to aid in the politically and spitefully inspired civil rights investigations of our citizens.

"Our enemies respect only resistance and we recommend to the officialdom of Barbour County. . . total and absolute resistance within the law to the federal government's taking over this county if and when the civil rights measures pass Congress."

Will Hold Congress Until Civil Rights Bill Is Voted On

Daily World Wed 7-10-57 Atlanta Ga

WASHINGTON, D. C. — President Eisenhower agreed to back the position of Republican Senators in their effort to pass civil rights legislation Tuesday, and added that he would be willing to hold Congress in session until a vote is made. P.1

Senate Republican leader William F. Knowland in discolsing the President's position, said he himself may demand that the senate go into around-the-clock sessions late this week to get a vote on his motion to bring the house-passed Civil Rights Bill up for action.

"GAG" ON DEBATE

A difference of opinion on what constitutes a filibuster at this point appeared to crop up between Knowland and senate Democratic leader Lyndon B. Johnson, who said he expects a vote on calling up the bill about the middle of next week. In possible answer to Knowland, Johnson declared the senate "is not going to be stampeded into taking hasty action in advance of full understanding."

FORTY MINUTE RECESS

The senate took an unusual forty minute recess early in the Day. Johnson, in ordering it, said the GOP policy committee was meeting and obviously there would not be a quorum of members on the floor. The recess was in line with Johnson's policy not to rush things.

Southerners continued to hold the floor in resistance to the bill Sen. John Sparkman (D) Ala. charged that the measure to permit the government to obtain injunctions to protect voting and other righs of Negroes who made Federal Judges "the tool of administration policy."

KEY VOTE IN BATTLE

fight over an amendment for a trial by Jury rather than by judge is expected to be the key vote in the senate battle.

Mr. Eisenhower told GOP leaders at a White House conference that he is aware the Civil Rights battle may mean that certain other key measures must be by-passed until next year. But according to Knowland, the President said he was in full accord with the strategy to hold congress in session for a final vote regardless of how long it takes. Knowland said the session might go to October.

Knowland also stated that the President is not ruling out amendments. Asked how he himself felt about an amendment that would prevent the bill being used to force school integration, the Californian replied.

"I have not closed my mind. If the bill goes beyond what the administration originally intended and this can be demonstrated, it is possible we can get clarifying amendments if they do not nullify the purpose of the bill."

CIVIL RIGHTS BILL CHANGES LOSE IN HOUSE

Daily Tribune Tues. 6-18-57 Chicago, Ill. P.1

Senators Dispute on Procedure

BY PHILIP DODD

Washington, June 17—The house continued to defeat amendments offered to the administration's civil rights bill while the senate argued about what to do with the measure when the house completes action.

The house was working under a unanimous consent agreement under which all debate on the bill and amendments ended at 5 p. m.

The senate argument started when Sen. Morse [D., Ore.] pulled out of a move to bypass the senate judiciary committee by putting the house civil rights bill on the calendar as soon as it arrives from the other end of the capitol.

Signs Douglas Document

Morse was a signer last week of a declaration of intent, circulated by Sen. Douglas [D., Ill.] and designed to speed the by-passing maneuver.

Today the Oregonian said it had been a mistake to sign the document because it might prove to be a "boomerang" — a precedent which could be used against the self-styled "liberals" in the future.

The Douglas group had intended to use a senate rule which provides if one senator objects to further proceedings after the second reading of the bill, the measure must go on the calendar rather than being referred to a committee, the regular procedure.

Question of Precedence

But the legislative reorganization act provides that "all" bills must be referred to committee. Some senators argue that the act takes precedence over the senate rule.

That contention was made by Sen. Russell [D., Ga.], a leader of the anti-civil rights southerners, in today's debate. He said the proposed action would be a "perversion of senate rules which could lead to legislative chaos." He said it would permit one senator and the presiding officer to "take charge of the senate."

Senate Majority Leader Johnson [D., Tex.] commended Morse for his statement and said he did not agree with the rules interpretation under which the civil rights bill backers proposed to act.

Sen. Knowland Disagrees

Minority Leader Knowland [R., Cal.] disagreed. He said the judiciary committee had failed for six months to do anything about civil rights legislation and that drastic action was necessary to get "this important matter of public policy"—the civil rights bill—before the senate.

In today's house voting, another "trial by jury" amendment was defeated by a 163 to 141 vote. It was offered by Rep. Smith [D., Va.] and would have provided that no person could be deprived of a jury trial under the bill's provisions who would have been entitled to such a trial in the absence of the proposed law.

Could Be Jailed

One of the principal provisions of the bill would permit the attorney general to seek civil injunctions in the federal courts to prevent persons from being deprived of their civil rights, including the right to vote. Violators of such injunctions could be jailed for contempt without jury trials.

Another defeated amendment, proposed by Rep. Ray [R., N. Y.], would have provided a federal court could not act in a civil rights case if there was "sufficient" remedy in the state courts. The proposal was defeated 146 to 127.

Daily Tribune

Brooks' Proposal Loses

Rep. Brooks [D., La.] was defeated, 118 to 108, on a proposal that no person could be tried for a civil rights violation outside the federal judicial district in which the alleged violation occurred.

Rep. Hoffman [R., Mich.] proposed a substitute bill which would have eliminated sections creating a civil rights commission to investigate civil rights violations and a special civil rights division in the department of justice. It was defeated by a voice vote.

Hoffman made his proposal after Rep. Gross [R., Ia.] complained the bill would create hundreds of new government jobs.

HARRIMAN CRITICIZES PRESIDENT ON RIGHTS

Times P.2 C Wed. 7-24-57 New York

Governor Harriman charged President Eisenhower yesterday with "lack of firmness and clarity" on civil right legislation.

"He is ready to accept amendment" and "it is not clear what he is ready to stand on," the Governor said in an interview.

If the President took a firm stand for the civil rights bill pending in Congress, he went on, Republican and Northern Democrats would support him and the bill would pass.

He expressed pleasure at Monday's vote in the Senate repealing a Reconstruction era law that empowered the President to use troops to enforce civil rights decrees of Federal courts. That law was outmoded, he commented.

Governor Harriman was interviewed at New York International Airport, Idlewild, Queens, before he and Mrs. Harriman left for a week's visit to Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands. They will attend the Commonwealth Day celebration in San Juan Thursday. Puerto Rico became a free commonwealth of the United States on July 25, 1952.

In Puerto Rico, the Governor said, he will discuss improved opportunities for Puerto Ricans in New York.

The Chief Provisions Of the Civil Rights Bill

Times P.15 C Tues 7-30-57 New York

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, July 29—The Administration's civil rights bill would provide for the following:

Part I—Creation of a Federal Civil Rights Commission, with power to subpoena records, and witnesses, to investigate instances of violations of civil rights and to propose remedies.

Part II—Establishment within the Department of Justice of a special Civil Rights Division.

Part III—Making clear beyond dispute the right of an individual to go on his own into Federal court for injunctions to protect his voting right.

Part IV—Giving the Justice Department authority to intervene, with or without the victim's consent, to obtain injunctions against deprivation of the voting right. Persons refusing to obey such injunctions could be tried without a jury and fined or imprisoned.

The Main Provisions Of the Civil Rights Bill

Times New York

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, July 21—The Administration's civil rights bill would provide in substance for the following:

¶Establishment of a special Civil Rights Division within the Department of Justice.

Earnest Efforts To Pass Civil Rights

From every indication, it is evident that the Eisenhower Ad-
Both the President and Vice President have indicated no patience
Both the Uresident and Vice President have indicated no patience with foot-ball playing with an old ball, or those otherwise who would find something of the texture of this particular legislation upon which to build a fortification for votes.

From the very beginning the President made known his intention to see that the right to vote be not abridged. He stressed that a government designed for regulation by the consent of the governed, would lean heavily upon the voters and in that none should be excluded from participation in making known their wishes by the route of the ballot.

Vice President Nixon showed his mettle when he ruled in the face of Senator Richard B. Russell, the apparent leader in the Senate against the legislation, that the bill could by-pass the Eastland committee where possibly a grave had already been dug for it, with its winding sheet prepared for a short funeral.

This ruling paved the way for a vote on the motion to place the pending bill on the senate calendar for action. This ruling certainly shows to us that the present Vice-President is sincere about Civil Rights.

There is no question in our mind that this issue has been used as a political football for many years. But action by the President and leaders of his party and some of the northern Democrats convinces us that the time has come when there is determined and sincere efforts to enact into law legislation to strengthen the position of Civil Rights for colored Americans.

The bill has already passed the House by a big margin. As the membership of the two parties are about evenly balanced in the Senate both could take credit for this bill if the southerners could be dissuaded from staging a real filibuster.

Under the present rule of the Senate, two filibusters are possible. One on the question to take up the measure, and of course, one of the bill itself. It will require two-thirds of the Senate membership, or 64 votes to stop a filibuster.

As we have stated, the bill could pass and both parties receive their respective share of the credit, but if the filibuster develops, the Republicans stand to get more credit politically whether the bill passes or not.

In the next ten days the bill is tentatively scheduled for consideration and the voters of the nation will take careful note of what they see and hear.

¶Creation of a Federal Civil Rights Commission armed with subpoena powers to compel witnesses to testify and produce records.

¶Authority for the Department of Justice to intervene, in the name of the United States, in behalf of individuals in instances of actual or threatened violations of civil rights—such as the right to vote or to attend an integrated school.

¶Federal prosecutors could obtain injunctions from Federal district judges against such real or threatened violations. Persons disobeying these injunctions could be fined or imprisoned for contempt by Federal judges, without jury trial.

CIVIL RIGHTS BLOC EXPECTS TO BALK JURY-TRIAL PLAN

Humphrey Asserts Senators Seeking to Amend the Bill 'Haven't Got the Votes'

SEES PASSAGE 'INTACT'

Neuberger Proposes to Bar Use of Talesmen From Registration Rolls

By ALLEN DRURY
Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, July 28 — A leader of the fight for a strong civil rights bill predicted today that the Senate would defeat attempts to write in a sweeping jury-trial amendment.

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, Democrat of Minnesota, said on a Columbia Broadcasting System television show, "Face the Nation," that supporters of the amendment "haven't got the votes."

He said that Part IV of the bill, permitting the Attorney General to intervene to obtain Federal Court injunctions against deprivation of voting rights, "will be passed intact."

The section provides that persons refusing to obey such injunctions could be fined or imprisoned without a jury trial—a point around which Southern Senators, a number of Western liberal Democrats and some liberal Republicans have massed forces in an attempt to amend the bill.

Democratic Amendment

An amendment to accomplish this has been offered by three Democratic Senators, Joseph C. O'Mahoney of Wyoming, Estes Kefauver of Tennessee and Frank Church of Idaho.

It would provide for jury trials not only in cases involving voting rights, but also in all other Federal criminal contempt actions, including those involving labor unions.

In an attempt to head off a reported swing of Northern Democrats toward support of the amendment, Senator Richard L. Neuberger announced today that he would offer an amendment to the O'Mahoney proposal should it be adopted.

The Oregon Democrat's amendment would provide that the jury-trial provision would not take effect in any Federal district court jurisdiction where jury panels were drawn exclusively from registered voters.

This would hit directly at areas in the South where juries are drawn from registration lists, and where only white citizens are permitted to register.

Senator Humphrey said he thought that plans to call for a vote on the O'Mahoney amendment on Tuesday had been deliberately delayed by "my good Southern friends" in an attempt to gain more support for the change. He described this as "a sign of weakness" on their part.

One favoring vote came during the day from Senator Henry M. Jackson, Democrat of Washington, a member of the northern liberal group. He announced that he would support the O'Mahoney amendment.

Indications were that the vote would be, in the words of another Northern liberal who opposes the amendment, "very close."

Senator Humphrey, in response to questions, outlined the minimum bill that his group would accept.

He said it would contain three features now in the pending measure: a special Presidential commission to study civil rights, the creation of a new Assistant Attorney General to head a special civil rights division in the Department of Justice, and "Federal protections of the right to vote."

Keating Opposes Move

From the House, meanwhile, Representative Kenneth B. Keating of upstate New York, who is the ranking Republican on the House Judiciary Committee and an author of the House version of the bill, said it was "inconceivable" that the Senate would be so "utterly irresponsible" as to approve the O'Mahoney amendment.

He joined his colleague, Representative Emanuel Celler, Democrat of Brooklyn and chairman of the Judiciary Committee, in serving notice that as one of the House conferees on the joint Senate-House conference that will ultimately iron out differences on the bill, he would oppose any such amendment.

In a debate with Representative Armistead I. Selden Jr., Democrat of Alabama, on the American Broadcasting Company Television program, "Celebrity Parade," Mr. Keating said that "no serious advocate of civil rights will vote for the amendment."

The position of the two New Yorkers gave further point to the statement of the Senate majority leader, Lyndon B. Johnson, Democrat of Texas, on Friday.

He said that the problem was not merely to win the test but win it "substantially"— reference to the fact that a big majority would give Senate conferees a strong bargaining position when they meet the House.

An interruption in the civil rights debate may come by unanimous consent one day this week, to permit the Senate to take up other measures.

Both the Senate and House will have to agree by Wednesday to extend a temporary resolution granting operating funds to Federal departments whose regular appropriation bills have not yet cleared Congress.

Five such appropriations are pending—the $38,759,850,000 Defense Bill, a $3,666,543,757 Agriculture Bill, an $880,000,000 Rivers and Harbors Bill, the foreign aid appropriation and a final supplemental appropriations bill.

Senate House confrees have yet to meet and agree on a foreign aid authorization figure, before an appropriation can be passed.

Rights Foes Challenged To Filibuster

Sen. Knowland Says He Favors Fighting Out Measure Now

WASHINGTON, July 29 (AP)—Sen. Knowland (R-Calif) challenged Southern Democrats today to get going with a filibuster against the civil rights bill.

"If there is a filibuster, I am in favor of having it now and fighting it out, rather than postponing it, even if it takes until September to get this measure passed," the GOP leader told newsmen.

Knowland heads a loose coalition of Republicans and Northern Democrats fighting for civil rights legislation.

He predicted the Senate would defeat a pending amendment to write a broad jury trial provision into the bill.

Some additional Republicans and Democrats lined up over the weekend in opposition to any such amendment, Knowland said, and the coalition is ready for a test vote at any time.

MAY BE DELAYED

It had been expected that a vote on the jury trial amendment—the biggest remaining issue in the civil rights fight—might come today or tomorrow. But Senate maneuvering indicated a roll call may be delayed.

Knowland said he didn't anticipate any further statement from President Eisenhower on the legislation. This made it appear that administration forces in the Senate are now on their own to get the best terms they can for the bill.

Knowland disputed the idea that if the jury trial amendment is defeated it will be more difficult to get a final Senate vote on the bill which the House passed June 18. It was then he said he is ready to meet a Southern attempt to talk the bill to death in a filibuster.

The Senate is entering the fourth week of its debate on the legislation. In this period the bill has been reduced from one providing for enforcement of civil rights in every field to one limited to the protection of voting rights.

Under the voting rights section, the attorney general would be authorized to seek federal court injunctions against any violations or threatened violations of an individual's voting rights. Persons disobeying these injunctions would be subject to trial by federal judges without a jury.

It is to this section the jury trial amendment would be attached.

Three Democratic senators O'Mahoney (Wyo), Kefauver (Tenn) and Church (Idaho), have proposed a change to guarantee jury trials for all types of criminal contempt, including labor cases.

Knowland, noting that the House had rejected similar amendments said that if such a proposal is written into the bill there would have to be a subsequent compromise with the House over the final language.

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Satellite Takes Spotlight

'Moon' Puts Civil Rights in Shadow

By Rowland Evans Jr.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 12.—The grave civil-rights threat to the Democratic party symbolized by Little Rock is fading somewhat under the brilliant glare of Soviet missile and satellite achievements.

The Democrats are genuinely concerned about the implications of this country's apparent lag in rocket technology. At the same time, they are convinced that the American people will demand an explanation as to why the United States, with its supposed scientific and technological supremacy, has allowed the Russians to gain at least a temporary supremacy.

The explanation, they believe, will be found in the Eisenhower administration's arbitrary spending ceiling imposed on the military defense program.

Case Speaks Out

In addition, the Democrats are confident that the Soviet earth satellite, and the companion Russian claim of a successful long-range ballistic missile test, have tarnished the President's reputation as the nation's foremost military expert and exposed a Presidential flank hitherto invulnerable.

A number of potent Republicans are not prepared to contradict these claims as of now. Sen. Clifford P. Case, N. J., spoke out strongly today in a speech to 1,500 Young Republicans in San Francisco.

Sen. Case, an "Eisenhower Republican" of the first rank, warned that the "maintenance of our security requires a sustained, consistent effort for as long as we can presently see into the future" of our defense requirements."

"Budgetary considerations are necessarily secondary," he said. "We cannot maintain an adequate program on a piecemeal basis, carried on in starts and spurts, at one time forcing drastic reductions and then reversing the field in a moment of panic."

Sen. Case continued:

"Consider the importance of skilled man power to our whole defense effort. Last spring, Ralph J. Cordiner, president of the General Electric Co., made a thorough study of the problem of retaining in the armed services highly qualified and skilled officers and men. . . . The Cordiner Committee recommended a basic overhaul of the military's present man-power policies, including a 'pay-by-skill' plan to replace outdated pay scales.

"Largely because of the effect certain needed pay increases would have upon the budget, the Cordiner report was for all practical purposes shelved. Such economy is shortsighted. Indeed, it is a dangerous gamble."

The preliminary inquiry by the staff of the Senate Preparedness subcommittee into the American missile and satellite program is turning more and more into a study of dollar-spending limits imposed by the Bureau of the Budget. This preliminary study is almost certain to grow into a full-scale investigation by the Armed Services Committee.

Want "Public Show"

The Democrats are itching for a public show. They hope it will prove that the Administration has valued dollars over defense. And they feel it may be the only way to provoke the White House and Pentagon into taking drastic action.

But also, they know that if the Russian lead in rocket technology can be dramatized for the American people, the inflammatory civil-rights division between the Northern and Southern wings of their party will take on relatively less importance.

Attacking Court Rulings

Move for Legislation to Offset Civil Rights Decisions Questioned

The writer of the following letter is a practicing lawyer.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

Your correspondent Luther A. Huston reports in your issue of Oct. 28 that a committee from the National Association of Attorneys General will ask Congress for legislation to offset the "damaging effects" of the recent civil rights decisions of the Supreme Court. In other words, Congress would take upon itself the right and power of a super Supreme Court by reversing the decisions in question.

If Congress has the right to thus encroach upon the powers of the judicial branch of the Government by reversing its decisions in the civil rights cases, then it also has the right to reverse the Supreme Court decisions in the school segregation cases. One fact should be borne in mind—that both the civil rights cases and the segregation decisions were decided solely on constitutional grounds.

Since the Supreme Court has the power to declare rights under the Constitution, statutes by Congress overruling its decisions would be a clear invasion of the province of a coordinate branch of the Government, and unthinkable.

It is a common saying among lawyers that when one loses a case after a trial he has a right to go to the nearest tavern and "cuss the judge"—but no further. Here the Attorneys General, having so to speak, lost their cases before the highest tribunal, not only "cuss the judges" but, more, they demand that their powers be curtailed.

Contemplated Court-Packing

When, about a dozen years ago, the Supreme Court declared the N. R. A. Act unconstitutional President Roosevelt did not ask Congress to constitute itself a super court and override the Supreme Court's ruling. What he wanted to do was to increase the number of the judges, and thereby get a majority of the court friendly to his views. Fortunately, his plan was frustrated, and everybody, probably including Roosevelt himself, was glad of it.

Stewart Honeck, Attorney General of Wisconsin, the committee chairman and spokesman, is reported to have said that where no law exists the courts should not "seek by judicial fiat to declare a rule of conduct." If by law he means statute law he may be right. But the great bulk of our laws are unwritten—our common law. The common law is a mass of precedents, based on what is just and equitable. And when no precedent is found the courts will create one, also just and equitable.

Mr. Honeck further stated that his association has no desire to "tamper in any way with the existing jurisdiction of the Supreme Court," but since "the power to decide includes the power to err," legislation to correct errors is desirable. Which means that Congress would sit as a court of last resort and be the censor of Supreme Court decisions, a power never contemplated or dreamed of by the creators of the Constitution. If Congress had been vested with such power it would have been on the theory that it would be infallible, that it would never err, which, of course, is contrary to the historic facts.

HENRY WALDMAN.

New York, Oct. 28, 1957.

Demo Council Okays Strong Civil Rights

WASHINGTON, Oct. 20 (AP)—The Democratic Advisory Council today adopted what was described as a no-compromise stand on civil rights. It also directed its staff to study the need for recommending new legislation, possibly to cover other than just voting rights.

The 24-member council, which includes former President Truman and Adlai Stevenson, voted unanimously not to make public its civil rights statement until tomorrow. However, several of the 17 members who met here today indicated its tenor.

Gov. Averell Harriman of New York, a strong supporter of civil rights legislation, said he was satisfied with the statement. He said it means the Democratic party will never back down on civil rights.

All Democratic National Chairman Paul M. Butler would tell newsmen about the civil rights statement was that one of two Southern members present voted against it. One member said the lone dissenter was Mrs. Benjamin B. Everett, North Carolina national committeewoman. The other Southerner reported present was Camille F. Gravel Jr., Louisiana national committeeman.

The economic statement approved by the Council criticized the Eisenhower administration for what it called a "negative" policy to combat the "worst peacetime inflation" in history.

One member of the Council said the civil rights statement, adopted just before the Council ended two days of private sessions, reaffirmed a Council declaration of Sept. 15, which criticized President Eisenhower's alleged lack of leadership in the Little Rock, Ark., school integration crisis. The September statement also said Gov. Orval Faubus' action in keeping Negroes out of the Central High School there with National Guard troops was not the position of the Democratic party. That was nine days before the President ordered federal troops into the city.

The statement approved today also was reported to have criticized Eisenhower for not appointing by now the Civil Rights Commission and a new assistant attorney general provided for in the civil rights bill passed earlier this year by Congress.

Broaddus Made Great Strides In Civil Rights

by Clarence Matthews

On December 1, Mayor Andrew Broaddus stepped down as Mayor of Louisville after four years of dedicated service as the city's top administrator.

The Broaddus' administration accomplished many civic improvements during his tenure in office. Significantly, some of the greatest achievements were made in the area of civil rights and equal opportunities for Negroes.

Major Accomplishments

Some of the major accomplishments of the administration were: the new city incinerator, completed in 1957, which was financed out of a bond issue proposed by the mayor and his administration; created new department of sanitation which was authorized by an act of legislature; improvement of park and recreation facilities and the planning of Urban Renewal and Redevelopment.

Under the Broaddus administration, more Negroes gained responsible positions in city government and Negroes began to be employed in every branch of city administration. Parks heretofore all white were also opened to Negroes.

Excerpts

Excerpts taken from the diary of Mayor Broaddus' chronicle some of these events and other major accomplishments of the administration.

On December 17, 1953, shortly after taking office, Mayor Broaddus attended a regular meeting of the Board of Health and urged that Negroes be admitted to the nurses' home at General Hospital.

January 9, 1954, he met with Civil Service Board representatives and requested the discontinuance of the practice of specifying the race of prospective employees in advertisements for City Job openings.

August 5, 1954, he selected a 24-member Citizens' Advisory Committee to help the City's new Department of Building and Housing Inspection in its fight against urban blight.

On April 6, 1955, the Mayor ordered the Parks Department to end its segregation rules at Chickasaw Park and Beecher Terrace Playground to permit regularly scheduled baseball events involving both white and colored players.

April 12, 1955, Mayor Broaddus submitted to the Board of Alder-

men a plan for redevelopment of blighted sections of Southwick area by private home builders.

Through the efforts of the mayor in increasing sanitation facilities and his program of urban renewal, Louisville has grown and will continue to grow into a safe, clean city to live in.

Great credit is due Mayor Broaddus for his four years of amazing resourcefulness which enabled so many of the above accomplishments to become a reality. The growth of Louisville the last four years, both civicly and in the area of civil rights, can be laid to a great extent, to the foresight of Mayor Andrew Broaddus.

Civil Rights Is Keynote Of Political Science Talks

More than 400 educators and Government officials are expected at the third annual conference of the District of Columbia Political Science Association on Saturday at Georgetown University.

The keynote address, "The Courts, Civil Liberties, and Academic Freedom," will be delivered at 10 a.m. in Healy Building by Robert K. Carr, general secretary of the American Association of University Professors. Carr is on leave as professor of law and political science at Datmouth College.

At 11:15 a.m., Robert H. Connery, professor of political science at Duke University and consultant to the Governmental Affairs Institute, will speak at a roundtable on "Federal Responsibilities in Metropolitan Areas." The chairman will be Franklin L. Burdette, professor and director, Bureau of Government Research, University of Maryland.

Participants will include Robert E. Merriam, assistant director, Bureau of the Budget; Louis Brownlow, former director, Public Administration Clearing House; Kathryn H. Stone, member of the Virginia House of Delegates, and Paul T. David, director of governmental studies, Brookings Institution.

Other roundtable subjects and participants will be:

"Treaty Power and Executive Agreements," chairman, Charles J. Zinn, law revision counsel, House Judiciary Committee; participants: Loftus E. Becker, legal adviser, State Department; Col. Howard S. Levie, international affairs division, Office of the Judge Advocate General; Richard W. Van Wagenen, dean, American University graduate school.

"The Courts and School Desegregation," chairman, Don Shoemaker, executive director, Southern Education Reporting Service; participants: Walter E. Hager, president, District of Columbia Teachers College; James M. Nabrit, secretary, Howard University; Alfons J. Beitzinger, assistant professor of politics, Catholic University; Edmund D. Campbell, attorney and former member of Arlington County Board; B. M. Miller, The Constitution Party, Arlington.

"The Determination of Fiscal Policy," chairman, Gerhard Colm, National Planning Association; participants: Joseph Pechman, Committee for Economic Development; Norman Ture, Joint Economic Committee; Edwin L. Dale, New York Times

"Defense Policy — The Next Ten Years," chairman, Charles A. H. Thomson, Brookings Institution; participants: William Y. Elliott, professor of government, Harvard University; Roger Hilsman, Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress; James E. King Jr., School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University; James A. Atkinson, assistant professor of government, Georgetown University; Brig. Gen. Thomas R. Phillips, USA (ret), military analyst, St. Louis Post Dispatch.

"The Congress and Its Politics," chairman, Max M. Kampelman, former counsel to Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.); participants: Ernest S. Griffith, director, Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress; Gerald W. Siegel, counsel, Majority Policy Committee, United States Senate; Robert A. Forsythe, administrative assistant to Sen. Edward J. Thye (R-Minn.); Col. J. Donald Hittle, USMC, legislative assistant to the Commandant; Michael B. Deane, vice president, American Watch Association.

Reservations may be made by calling Martha K. Trytten, secretary-treasurer of the association, at Capitol 4-3121, ext. 1243. The conference will end with a business meeting at 4:30 p.m.

CIVIL RIGHTS:

Moderate and the Bumps

It was one thing for Congress to create a Civil Rights Division in the Department of Justice (part of last session's bitterly contested civil-rights legislation). Finding the right man to head it was quite another.

The crux of the problem was this: The appointment of an outside lawyer with experience in the race-relations field would require Senate approval; a necessary preliminary would be an investigation by the Senate Judiciary Committee headed by Mississippi's James O. Eastland, implacable foe of all civil-rights legislation. Eastland would be sure to give even the most "moderate" nominee a rough time.

Last week the new Attorney General, William P. Rogers, arrived at a solution. He appointed a man who was already an assistant attorney general and therefore would not require Senate confirmation or investigation by Eastland.

His choice was W. Wilson White, a former Philadelphia attorney who has headed the department's Office of Legal Counsel since last March. A 51-year-old graduate of Harvard and the University of Pennsylvania Law School, White has had no special experience with race relations. But he is esteemed by colleagues for the massive preparation he puts into trial cases, and none doubted he soon would find his way through the thickets of civil-rights law.

White and the legal staff he is recruiting will be responsible for seeking injunctions against anyone interfering for reasons of race or color with another's right to vote. Hitherto, only private citizens could sue for such injunctions. Beyond this, the new division will have powers to handle emergencies like the Little Rock school-integration uproar.*

How does White stand on civil rights? In describing him, his friends use the elusive word "moderate." They are firm, however, in agreeing that he will fight ardently to enforce the law.

The New Civil Rights Division

The selection of W. Wilson White as head of the Justice Department's civil rights division is expected to draw the fire of Congressional resentment. The report is current that some Southern senators are planning to undertake a minute inquiry into Mr. White's background and fitness for his new job.

Though his name will not be sumbitted for confirmation by the Judiciary Committee of the senate, there will be much probing into Mr. White's past history.

The civil rights division is a part of the executive branch of the government. Since Mr. White was an assistant Attorney General in charge of the Department of Justice's office of Legal Counsel technically he was merely transferred to new duties. No formal confirmation was therefore necessary. This stratagem has angered the senators who have been robbed of the opportunity to use their tomahawks.

Mr. White is believed to have masterminded every step in the legal battle over integration in Little Rock. The Office of Legal Counsel which came under his supervision has the responsibility of drafting statutes and legal memoranda. It is understood that the various proclamations and orders issued by President Eisenhower in the Little Rock incident, were prepared by this unit of the Justice Department. Sen. James O. Eastland (D) Miss., chairman of the senate's judiciary committee and leading foe of all civil rights actions, would have blocked the White's appointment had it come before his committee for confirmation. But Eastland will have his chance for wielding the axe when the names of the other Commissioners come up for senatorial consideration.

The senate Judiciary Committee, doubtless, will enjoy a field day when the time comes for action on the Presidential nominees. As matters stand now there is little likelihood that a sufficient number of the civil rights commissioners will be confirmed in time for that body to swing into action before the Congressional elections of 1958. Every trick in the bag will be utilized by Eastland and company to delay approval of the Commissioners.

However, under the Civil Rights Act, the Justice Department is empowered to seek injunctions against those persons who deny the ballot to Negro citizens. Moreover, the Department is given broad authority in handling emergency situations of the kind characterized by the Little Rock crisis. We hope that the Department of Justice will push forward unhesitatingly on the new front despite threats of intimidation by the segregationists.

10 1957 AMERICAN COUNCIL ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Tell Ike Stand Firm On Rights

Defender

WASHINGTON. — The American Council on Human Rights last week urged President Eisenhower to stand firm in his "support of the bi-partisan civil rights legislation" now before the Senate.

ACHR, according to its director, John T. Blue, jr., "believes that through this legislation the Federal government takes a strong step forward to guarantee all of its citizens the right to vote."

Blue added that the Council, which is composed of major college fraternities and sororities joined together to promote its civil rights programs, commends the core of the legislation which authorizes the Attorney General to seek court injunctions to protect voting and other civil rights.

Clinton Injunction Partly Defective, Is Finding of Civil Liberties Union

Post + Times Herald Wed. 2-27-57

Washington D.C.

The Federal injunction which resulted in the arrest at Clinton, Tenn., last fall of John Kasper and 16 other segregationists was partially defective, the American Civil Liberties Union concluded yesterday after a legal analysis of the order.

P. 13-a

Kasper was held in contempt of the injunction, which prohibited interference with integration at Clinton high school, and is under a year's prison sentence. The 16 others still await a trial which has been postponed indefinitely.

The ACLU's lengthy analysis of the order and Kasper's subsequent contempt conviction was prepared, a spokesman said, "in response to questions from many persons as to whether civil liberties were violated by the injunction and contempt proceedings."

Executive Director Patrick M. Malin said the ACLU believed the injunction was too broad in its scope to be constitutionally valid.

"To the extent that it (the injunction) enjoins overt acts of hindering and obstructing the enforcement of the integration order it is valid" the ACLU said. "To the extent that it enjoins free speech in opposition to or advocating ignoring of the order or peaceful picketing for these purposes it is invalid."

The ACLU will consider legal intervention should the question of the injunction's constitutionality reach the Supreme Court Malin said, and suggested that trial of Kasper's 16 co-defendants be delayed pending resolvement of the question.

Meanwhile, United States District Court Judge Robert L. Taylor, who issued the original injunction, ordered Kasper's rearrest Monday on a second allegation of failure to comply with the permanent injunction. Free on $10,000 bond pending appeal from his original conviction, Kasper was not immediately taken into custody.

Kasper, a Washington resident, is executive secretary of the Seaboard White Citizens Council, a segregationist group.

Clinton Writ Is Challenged

Evening Star Wed 2-27-57

NEW YORK, Feb. 27 (Special) —The American Civil Liberties Union says that parts of the injunction granted by the Federal District Court in the Clinton (Tenn.) school desegregation conflict last Fall violated free speech and association. At the same time, the union added, other sections of the injunction enjoined overt acts of hindering or obstructing the carrying out of the integration order do not raise a constitutional issue.

Washington D.C.

The union's executive director, Patrick Murphy Malin, made public yesterday a legal analysis of the injunction and contempt proceedings concerning John Kasper of Washington, D. C., and 16 other anti-integrationists for interfering with the court order to the Anderson County School Board to integrate the Clinton High School last fall. Violence broke out and peace was restored when the State Guard moved a military force into the area.

P. 5

Mr. Malin said the analysis was prepared in response to questions from many persons as to whether civil liberties were violated by the injunction and contempt proceedings. He emphasized that the ACLU supports the Supreme Court decision as constitutionally correct and urges all citizens to obey it, but that the union also defends the civil liberties of all Americans, regardless of their opinions. The ACLU official declared, however, that violence does not come within civil liberties defense and that the union "abhors and condemns the use of force by those who oppose integration, in the original incident last fall and the more recent outbreak of bombings."

The ACLU analysis said the injunction was too broad in its scope to be constitutionally valid. "To the extent that it enjoins overt acts of hindering and obstructing the enforcement of the integration order, it is valid. To the extent that it enjoins speech in opposition to or advocating ignoring of the order, or peaceful picketing for these purposes, it is invalid."

LIBERTIES REPORT HITS KASPER WRIT

Times 2-27-57

New York

It Asserts Segregationist's Right to Free Speech Is Impaired by Injunction

Wed. 2-27-57

The American Civil Liberties Union asserted yesterday that a Federal court had violated constitutional rights of free speech and association in the school desegregation case at Clinton, Tenn.

P. 19-c

In that case John Kasper and sixteen others were cited for contempt of court. They were charged with defying an injunction to stop interference with the court's order to integrate Clinton High School last fall.

Kasper was found guilty and sentenced to one year in prison by a Federal District Court. He has taken the case to the Federal Court of Appeals. The others are awaiting trial.

The union held that the injunction was "to broad in scope to be constitutionally valid."

"To the extent that it enjoins overt acts of hindering and obstructing enforcement of the integration order it is valid," said the union. "To the extent that it enjoins speech in opposition to or advocating ignoring of the order, or peaceful picketing for these purposes, it is invalid."

Free Speech Explained

The union said mere advocacy to ignore the law or judicial orders should not be prohibited. Citizens have the constitutional right, it said, to oppose a decision of the United States Supreme Court by peaceful means, through speech. Mere picketing to express a point of view, in the absence of intimidation, it went on, should not be enjoined.

Despite the invalidity of the injunction with respect to free speech, the union said, it sees "no civil liberties issue in the contempt citation of John Kasper and his subsequent conviction." An injunction must be obeyed until its validity can be determined by higher courts, it explained.

The union held that the same legal principle applied to the sixteen others awaiting trial, but "what may be legally correct may also be unwise."

"If the injunction violates First Amendment rights [on free speech], then punishment for contempt of an invalid injunction seems unfair," it said.

It therefore suggested that the trial of the sixteen be postponed until the constitutionality of the injunction was determined by the courts.

Ex Fisk Teacher To Be Defended By Ark. Friends

Nashville, Tenn.

By G. G. Iggers

Fayetteville, Ark.

2-15-57

Some of America's best known mathematicians have organized a committee to raise money for the legal expenses of a mathematician who is well-known nationally for his civic rights activities, according to information given by members of the University of Arkansas Mathematic Department to the Arkansas State Correspondent of American Civil Liberties Union, Dr G. Iggers.

The treasurer of the fund-raising committee is Dr. David Blackwell, Statistics Department, University of California, Berkley 4, California, who is former Head of the Howard University mathematics department and is now a member of the Executive Council of the American Mathematical Society.

The funds for the defense of Dr. Lee Lorch Professor of Mathematics at Philander Smith College in Little Rock, who is under indictment for contempt of congress and is expected to be tried soon. He was indicted first on this charge in February 1955, but the government dropped the charge just as the trial was to begin in April 1956. In a surprise move, the government reindicted him in July 1956 on the very same charges. Trial was set for November 13, but was postponed indefinitely. Information as to a new date is expected shortly.

The indictments arose out of a hearing held in Dayton, Ohio, by the House Un-American Activities Committee in September 1954 to which Dr. Lorch (who is white) was summoned on only a few days notice after he had attempted to enroll his daughter in a so-called "colored" school in Nashville, Tenn., where he was then living, following the May 17, 1954 decision of the Supreme Court outlawing segregation in public education. The official purpose of the Dayton hearing was to investigate Communist activities in the Dayton area, and the Committee had never explained what a man living hundreds of miles away could have contributed to the officially declared purposes of the hearing.

The organization of the fund-raising committee became known here through an item in the official NOTICES of the American Mathematic Society, sent to all members of that Society throughout the country and abroad. The news was published by authorization of the Executive Council of the Mathematical Society in what is believed here to be an unprecedented action.

In addition to Professor Blackwell, who is receiving funds for Dr. Lorch's expenses, the Committee includes: Prof. D. H. Lehmer, Head of the Mathematics Department at the University of Calif., Prof. R. S. Phillips, Univ. of Southern Calif., Prof. J. H. Roberts, Duke Univ., Associate Secretary of the American Mathematical Society and Editor of the Duke Mathematical Journal; Prof. G. Szego of Stanford University; Prof. A. Zygmund, Univ. of Chicago, member of the Executive Council of the American Mathematical Society. All are leaders in their respective fields of mathematical research.

In releasing this information, Dr. Iggers stated: "The action of these distinguished mathematicians in coming to the support of a colleague in an important civil liberties case is very welcome news. So too is the decision of the Executive Council of the American Mathematical Society in calling this to the attention of the entire mathematical world by publication in one of the Society's organs. The mathematicians have set an example which I hope others will follow. Cases of this kind involve much greater expense than is generally realized and so I want to urge all who can do so to send contributions for Dr Lorch's defense to Prof. David Blackwell, Statistics Department, University of California, Berkley 4, California.

Civil Liberties Union Hails Ground Gained Last Year

Globe Fri. 3-22-57
Nashville, Tenn.
P. 1

Praises Executive Department Of Government And Courts For Fair Rulings In Fights For Justice, But Organization Sees Strong Resistance Menace To Full Liberty

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(Advance) New York, N. Y., March 24—The decisions of the federal courts and executive agencies and the "growing force of public opinion" played a strong part in civil rights progress last year, the American Civil Liberties Union declares in its 36th annual report.

The report, published today, is entitled "Liberty Is Always Unfinished Business." It identifies public opinion as a factor which expressed itself in the 1956 elections and suggests this opinion might press through a minimum civil rights program in the Congress in 1957.

"While the effort in the new Congress," the report declares, "to end the filibuster blocade by adopting new rules of debate was defeated, the increased number of Senators who supported the resolution and Vice President Nixon's doubts as to the constitutionality of the present rules offer real encouragement for a future change. The rising chorus of insistence on at least the minimum program to protect the right to vote—a chorus which made itself heard in the 1956 elections—may press this program through."

Nothing the United States Supreme Court's contribution to civil rights progress, the report states that the high court "continues unanimously to uphold equality before the law, and recently in intra-state bus transportation." Further advance is observed "in educational desegregation (where) there continues to be steady progress, frequently nunpublicized, in the border states."

Still Strong Resistance

But, the report cautions, "as in all advances toward freedom strong resistance blocks the road . . . we are still shocked by headlines of violence and economic reprisal, and the deliberate refusal of eight southern states to comply with the law of the land—not to mention failures of federal, state and local authorities to desegregate public housing in northern states.

"Today victories for the equal rights of Negro Americans have to be won in the midst of the most crucial situation since the nation was divided in 1861. It is a situation in which not only the Negro's right to equality is at stake. It is a situation in which the First Amendment rights of free speech and association, for such Negro defense organizations as the NAACP and the National Urban League, and for the white people who support equality, are also at stake."

In describing the civil rights scene, the report stresses that the civil liberties of both opponents and defenders of integration must be protected. ". . . we will uphold the indivisibility of liberty—that the whole Bill of Rights was written for every American," it says.

In addition to the civil rights effort, the report forecast in 1957 a battle over the revision of the immigration laws. Supporting the Hungarian refugee program, the ACLU declares, "the principle of asylum must be given further effect in extending American freedoms to the brave people who come to our shores to escape Communist tyranny.

10

"And we may hope that this dramatic development will strngthen the mounting opposition to the unfair sections of our basic immigration laws, especially the discriminatory and outdated national origins quota system."

Turning to other civil liberties areas, the 96-page report lists these positive gains:

* The United States Supreme Court decisions in the Cole and Nelson cases, the first limiting the federal employee security program only to sensitive jobs and the second parring state sedition laws because of the federal government's pre-emption of prosecutions for sedition.

* Official administrative censorship, prior to the publication or mailing of books or magazines or the showing of motion pictures, "is rapidly disappearing." There are signs of increased allowance for realism and variety in subject matter and treatment in motion pictures.

* The courts, in the area of fair procedures, are "gradually" elaborating standards to be observed by the State Department in the withholding or revocation of passports.

* There has been some easing of the pressures on free speech and association in the relationship between the draftee and the military personnel security program.

Remaining Problems

But balanced against these gains, the report points out these remaining problems:

* In the federal employee security program there is "the vital necessity, of guarding against ignorance and bais in the minds of officials—frequently far from the top, who make the original determinations concerning reliability of applicants for and occupants of jobs . . ." This problem assumes special importance also because of the increasing growth of government contracts to private industry, where security policies also apply.

* "The basic question" of whether the First Amendment can limit the scope of legislative investigations remains unanswered by the Supreme Court.

* Official concealment of non-security information from newspapers and other mass media still exists, although government censorship of the mails and movies may have lessened. To meet this problem, the report suggests the possibility of establishing within the federal government "an independent agency to represent the public interest in the declassification of records hitherto kept secret."

Danger of censorship also is seen in the development of the general and secondary boycott against books sellers and motion picture theatres, "whereby religious and other groups not only exercise their right to guard their members from material believed objectionable, but also may keep other people from exercising their own judgment on that and other material."

* Although improved standards in the passport field are being developed, the report says there are other dangers in the area of due process. ". . . there seems to be a rapid growth of state and local wiretapping—official and unofficial, legal and illegal," it states. And the ACLU warns that the pressure to "do something" about juvenile delinquency from time to time causes police in the big cities to resort to "night stick justice" in dealing with children of low-income, minority group neighborhoods.

* Although the Army has removed mere kinship to alleged subversives or membership in a "front" organization as proof of individual guilt, greater progress can still be made in the military personnel security program. Pre-induction activities of the serviceman continue to affect his military assignment. The report says: "It is improper, illegal and unconstitutional to give other than an honorable discharge to a person whoe has served honorably in the armed forces. . . and who . . . has fully disclosed all the information requested of him by the Army."

'Rights' Drive Slated in South

Evening Star
Washington, D.C.

NEW YORK, Mar. 25 (AP).—The American Civil Liberties Union plans a broadened campaign in the South against discrimination.

Mar. 3-25-57

In its annual report released yesterday, the ACLU said:

"Our focus will be on the building of a larger corps of volunteer lawyers to handle all kinds of civil liberties cases for all groups in the community.

"This is not a campaign imposed for the North, but a development around the host of people within the South itself who want to uphold the Bill of Rights.

"Undoubtedly the job will be difficult, for trouble will come not only from those who oppose integration, but also from those who wish to deny to the foes of integration the civil liberties which are their right under the Constitution."

The ACLU said it is "shocked by headlines of violence and economic reprisal" in the South. But it also said there have been "failures of Federal, State and local authorities to desegregate public housing in Northern States."

Among other current problems, the ACLU cited what it called concealment of Government news, boycotts against booksellers and movie theaters, "ignurance and bias" in the initial phases of security risk cases, the scope of legislative investigations, wiretapping, "nightstick justice" against low-income, minority-group children and "unfair immigration laws.

ACLU unit picks S. Redding

HAMPTON, Va. — J. Saunders Redding recently was elected to a board of trustees for research and education by the National Academic Freedom Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union.

In addition to Mr. Redding, James Weldon Johnson professor of creative literature at Hampton Institute, four other educators were elected to the board. Mr. Redding is also AFRO book reviewer.

Civil Liberties Union Says Catholic Group Is Forcing Censorship On All Americans

NEW YORK, May 5 (AP) — The American Civil Liberties Union said today a Roman Catholic group is actively engaged in "censorship of what the American people may read."

The ACLU statement said the actions of the National Organization for Decent Literature are "seriously violative of the principle of freedom."

The ACLU said more than 150 prominent figures in the fields of publishing, literature and the arts signed the statement. They included novelists James T. Farrell and John O'Hara, playwright Arthur Miller, theologian Reinhold Neibuhr and Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, widow of the President.

"There are other religious organizations, as well as racial, labor, parent-teachers and women's groups, who also engage in censorship activity," the ACLU said, "but our attention . . . is focused on the NODL because of the prominence it has achieved and the great influence it has wielded in removing books from circulation."

The ACLU said the NODL uses a "reading community of mothers of the Roman Catholic faith in the Chicago area" to evaluate literature as to its suitability for youth.

The NODL has "prepared blacklists, threatened and imposed general boycotts and awarded unofficial certificates of compliance," the statement said.

The ACLU said works by Nobel Prize winners Ernest Hemingway and William Faulkner are among those on the banned list.

"A fundamental objection to these extended activities of the NODL," said the statement, "is that the judgment of a particular group is being imposed upon the freedom of choice of the whole community.

"The novel which may be thought by a committee of Catholic mothers to be unsuitable for a Roman Catholic adolescent is thus made unavailable to the non-Catholic. It is plainly necessary to challenge the NODL as keeper, by self-election, of the conscience of the whole country."

The ACLU emphasized that it does not "presume to object to the NODL advising communicants of the Roman Catholic Church about any publication."

"Nor does the union see any element of censorship in the NODL's informing the general public of its opinion that certain writings are immoral," the statement added. "Such criticism is a right of private freedom, and must immediately be protected when threatened."

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION DECLARES OPPOSITION TO ANY AMENDMENTS TO CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION REQUIRING JURY TRIAL ON CHARGES OF CONTEMPT IN VOTE INTERFERENCE CASES

Advocate Sat. 5-25-57

Position Adopted Unanimously By Organizations Board Of Directors

Jackson Miss. P. 1

See Need To Prevent Weakening Power Of Courts To Uphold The Law Of The Land

New York, N. Y., May 21.—(Special)—The American Civil Liberties Union declared its opposition today to any amendment to civil rights legislation which would require a jury trial for persons charged with contempt of Federal court injunctions restraining interference with the right to vote.

The ACLU position, adopted unanimously by its Board of Directors, was made public by executive director Patrick Murphy Malin.

The key sections in the proposed legislation authorize the Federal government to seek by the civil remedy of injustice a more effective protection of the right to vote and other constitutional rights, against deprivation especially by state officials. Under the present law, a person charged with criminal contempt in cases where the United States seeks an injunction is not guaranteed a jury trial.

"While there is always need to guard vigilantly against the misuse of government power," the ACLU said, "including injunctions which are too broad . . ., there is also need to prevent weakening the power of our courts to uphold the law of the land. The right of equal treatment under law is fatally undermined when community sentiment blocks the enforcement of law."

Advocate

The injunction is an effective legal technique, the ACLU continued, to protect constitutional rights by seeking to prevent state officials from committing acts violative of a criminal law. "It is far better for all concerned—including those officials—to enjoin these acts before they are committed than to prosecute after the harm has been done. The main point to be kept in mind is that the proposed legislation aims simply at providing more effective enforcement of voting and other constitutional rights for all citizens."

Persons charged with contempt have adequate due process, the ACLU stated, despite the argument of jury trial advocates that giving power to the federal court to restrain criminal conduct would circumvent due process.

". . . before a person is enjoined he is entitled to all the guarantees of a fair hearing, with every opportunity to prove the invalidity of the application for the order," the ACLU said, adding, "He also has a full right to appeal to higher courts a check on arbitrary decisions." At the trial for the permanent injunction, the ACLU asserted, the defendants have counsel, they may confront and cross-examine witnesses and present information that the injunction is unwarranted.

The ACLU said it had always been a vigorous defender of the right of trial by jury because of its strong belief that abuse of government power can be limited by juries, which represent a cross section of community sentiment rather than the views of a single judge. But, it continued, after careful study it was convinced that the present jury trial argument is chiefly a "contrived obstruction to defeat the desperately-needed civil rights legislation.

"The current Congressional proposals to strengthen our civil rights laws are the least dramatic and most cautious approach to the enforcement of basic constitutional rights. Their purpose is not to punish but to prevent infringement of the right to vote. Jury trials in contempt cases growing out of such legislation would give a privileged position to state officials who might defy federal judges upholding the law of the land."

The full text of the statement is attached.

The American Civil Liberties Union believes that all Americans are entitled to all the civil liberties guaranteed in the Constittuion, free speech and association, due process and equality before the law. To advance equality before the law for all Americans, particularly the Negro citizens of the South who have been denied equal treatment, the ACLU is supporting federal legislation toward this objective—bi-partisan legislation suggested by the Administration and backed by influential leaders in the Democratic Party.

The key sections in this legislation authorize the Federal government to seek by civil remedy of injunction a more effective protection of the right to vote and other constitutional rights, against deprivation especially by state officials. This is proposed to insure more effective protection for Negroes against intimidation, coercion and physical assault which prevent their voting and enjoying other constitutional rights. The need for this civil relief was pointed up by the Attorney General, in his testimony of February 14, 1957 before the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights.

"Criminal prosecutions of course cannot be instituted until after the harm actually has been done, yet no amount of criminal punishment can rectify the harm which the national interest suffers when citizens are illegally kept from the polls. Furthermore, criminal prosecutions are often unduly harsh in this particular field where the violators may be respected local officials."

Civil rights legislation has been blocked for years by the filibuster and other devices. This year it is being opposed especially on the ground that persons who are charged with contempt of a federal court injunction restraining interference with the right to vote will not receive a trial by jury. Opponents of the legislation correctly state that under present law, although a person charged with criminal contempt is generally entitled to a jury trial when the enjoined acts would be a violation of the criminal law, he is not entitled to it in a case where the United States has brought the action for injunction, as would happen under the proposed civil rights legislation.

The right of trial by jury is rooted deep in our constitutional guarantees, to prevent the power of government being used as a weapon of oppression, among other purposes. The American Civil Liberties Union has been a vigorous defender of this right, even in some areas where it is not strictly required constitutionally, because of our strong belief that the abuse of governmental power can be limited by juries, which represent a cross-section of community sentiment rather than the views of a single judge. This concern for the citizen's liberty has made us apprehensive of broadening the power of federal courts to prohibit criminal conduct under the threat of punishment for criminal contempt, as indicated in our February 27 statement on the Clinton, Tenn., case. That case concerned John Kasper and 16 other anti-integrationists who were arrested for contempt of the court order enjoining them from interfering with the Clinton school integration program.

The Constitution guarantees jury trial only in criminal cases, and in civil suits involving more than twenty dollars; there is no such guarantee in contempt cases. Until 1914, Congress made no provision at all for jury trials in contempt cases where the acts were also violations of federal or state criminal laws except, in order that the Federal government might carry out its functions and enforce the laws of the land, in cases to which the United States is a party. Another exception was made in 1932, when the Norris-LaGuardia Anti-Injunction Act accorded labor unionists jury trials when they were charged with contempt of court injunctions in strike situations.

The absence of a jury trial in suits brought by the government is not unusual. There are at least 28 other laws under which the U. S. is authorized to seek injunctions, without provision for jury trials; these include the anti-trust laws, the Atomic Energy Act, the Fair Labor Standards Act, the Securities and Exchange Act and acts affecting the Inter-State Commerce Commission and Fair Trade Commission. Moreover, jury trials in contempt proceedings are not generally required under the constitutions or laws of the States, including the Southern States.

After full and careful study of the possible need for a jury trial amendment to the proposed civil rights legislation, we are convinced that the present jury trial argument is chiefly a contrived obstruction to defeat the desperately-needed civil rights legislation. So, we are vigorously opposed to any amendment requiring a jury trial.

What are the reasons for the ACLU's opposition to the jury amendment?

1. While there is always need to guard vigilantly against the misuse of government power, including injunctions which are too broad and restrain constitutional activity (as we have recently argued is the case in the Clinton, Tennessee injunction), there is also need to prevent weakening the power of our courts to uphold the law of the land. The right of equal treatment under law is fatally undermined when community sentiment blocks the enforcement of law. The injunction is an effective legal technique to protect constitutional rights. As the Attorney General pointed out in his testimony, this method of protection would seek to prevent state officials from committing acts violative of a criminal statute. It is far better for all concerned — including those officials — to enjoin these acts before they are committed than to prosecute after the harm has been done. The main point to be kept in mind is that the proposed legislation aims simply at providing more effective enforcement of voting and other constitutional rights for all citizens.

2. Supporters of jury trial amendments contend that, to grant power to the courts to restrain criminal conduct would circumvent due process. However, before a person is enjoined he is entitled to all the guarantees of a fair hearing.

with every opportunity to prove the invalidity of the application for the order. He also has a full right to appeal to higher courts, a check on arbitrary decisions. Even temporary restraining orders are issued only if the government's affidavits show clearly that "an immediate and irreparable" loss will be suffered, so that no notice can be given and a hearing held. Then hearings on temporary restraining orders are quickly scheduled; the orders are of criminal duration; preliminary injunctions cannot be issued without notice and a hearing, which gives the defendants an opportunity to be heard. Then, at the trial for a permanent injunction, the government has to present its case that there is a threat of irreparable injury; the defendants are represented by counsel, they may confront and cross-examine witnesses and present information to show that the injunction is unwarranted. Finally, if the order is disobeyed, it must be established beyond reasonable doubt that the disobedience was willful before a person can be punished for criminal contempt. The act of disobedience is an act of contempt of court, not an act violating a criminal statute, and it is penalized in order to maintain the court's traditional and indispensable authority to uphold the law — and the due process requirements provide a safeguard against the fear that federal judges will not administer justice impartially, because of regarding violation of their injunctions as a personal affront or because of owing loyalty to the national administration under their appointment by the President.

3. A major argument advanced for the jury trial amendment is the alleged discriminatory treatment of persons disobeying an injunction to guarantee civil rights, as compared with the treatment of labor unionists under the Norris-LaGuardia Act. But the very purpose of the Norris-LaGuardia Act was to support a congressional policy, that workers should be free to organize and bargain collectively; it was passed for the very reason that judges had been going beyond the law. As Senator Paul Douglas said, in a brief submitted to Congress on the jury trial question on April 18:

"In the decades prior to the 1932 . . . courts would issue injunctions and use their contempt power indiscriminately, not to prevent violations of law but to prevent labor organization and freedom of collective bargaining. Decades of such demonstrated hostility by the courts to labor and its interests prompted Congress to implement the growing national policy in the labor field by specifically curtailing the Federal injunctive power in many areas of labor litigation and by providing that juries, rather than judges determine whether contempt had been committed."

In short, the jury trials granted under the Norris-LaGuardia Act were included to protect people against oppressive government. To grant jury trials in the civil rights legislation would protect officials who are failing to do their duty in protecting the constitutional rights of citizens. Moreover, Congress subsequently limited the Norris-LaGuardia Act jury trial provision by providing in the Taft-Hartley Act that such provision would not be applicable to injunctions sought by the U. S. under the new act.

The current Congressional proposals to strengthen our civil rights laws are the least dramatic and most cautious approach to the enforcement of basic constitutional rights. Their purpose is not to punish, but to prevent infringement of the right to vote. Jury trials in contempt cases growing out of such legislation would give a privileged position to State officials who might defy federal judges upholding the law of the land.

Sets Year 2,000 For End of Racial Bias in America

Washington, D. C.—(CNS)—"Discrimination both legal and social, will have been eliminated from this country—North and South—by the year 2000," so told Dr. Patrick Murphy Malin, ~~noted liberal~~ and ~~director of the~~ American Civil Liberties Union as he spoke before the ~~89th commencement~~ at Howard University.

He warned, though, that the "full elimination of prejudice will not come without heat."

Rear Action

Asking the nearly 8,000 in his audience to "pardon a white man for setting the date so far in advance," Dr. Malin told that he believed that you could not rid the nation of 200 years of discrimination in a few short years.

However, "powerful forces which are united in "a rear action to slow the process down, would keep the full realization of our hopes to less than 50 years.

But help would come from the "Nation's courts, from individuals acting voluntarily and from churches" to make integration a reality.

Dr. Malin received an honorary doctorate of laws along with Jackie Robinson, formerly of the Brooklyn Dodgers and the Rev. Martin Luther King, Montgomery, Alabama's noted leader.

10 1957

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

"THE PEOPLE TAKE THE LEAD"
Publication- Ten-year survey of Civil Rights in the United States

CIVIL RIGHTS GAINS OF DECADE HAILED

Survey Compares Advances With Freeing of Slaves—Eisenhower Comments

The American Jewish Committee reported yesterday that despite current tensions and problems still ahead, "momentous civil rights gains" were registered throughout the country in the last ten years.

These gains, said Irving M. Engel, president of the 50-year-old agency, represented "the greatest achievement in the advancement of freedom and equality since the Emancipation Proclamation" of 1863.

Mr. Engel announced the publication of a ten-year survey of civil rights in the United States entitled "The People Take the Lead."

In the forty-page report, President Eisenhower, former President Harry S. Truman and Vice President Richard M. Nixon underscored the significance of human equality and the advances in civil rights. The survey includes reports by leaders in various walks of life on progress in their respective areas.

President Eisenhower declared that "although freedom is the foundation of our national community, we cannot rest upon it nor cease to build upon it." He added that "freedom is a basic American privilege and a responsibility which demands the continual effort of each citizen."

"In our daily lives," the President wrote, "in our work and play, in our worship and art, in our civic activities and public service, we can take the lead in making our land a place where freedom will be enjoyed by all regardless of race, creed or color. May we find the strength and courage to go forward in this work."

The booklet will be issued on Bill of Rights Day next Sunday, when the 166th anniversary of the Constitution's first ten amendments is observed. The survey marks the tenth anniversary of the Report of the President's (Truman) Committee on Civil Rights.

Mr. Truman cited the three basic motivations—moral, economic and international—that his committee had stressed as reasons for civil rights action in this country. He said that they "are as valid today as they were then."

Vice President Nixon, who serves as chairman of the President's Committee on Government Contracts, declared that "by scrupulously following fair employment practices, the Government not only sets an example for other employes, but directly protects the rights of more than two million workers to equal job opportunity."

Donald A. Quarles, Deputy Secretary of Defense, wrote that in all components of the nation's armed forces and in "the vast industrial complex which supports national defense in all levels of management and leadership, we seek constantly to increase mutual understanding and respect among all personnel."

Reporting on civil rights in education, the Very Rev. Paul C. Reinert, president of St. Louis University, said that the "most significant chapter in the civil rights story has been written in the field of education." He stated that "all the Southern and border states but seven 'hard core' holdouts—Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina and Virginia—have desegragated at least one school district; in several, integration is well on the way."

The committee's survey said that although resistance continued in the Deep South, 350,000 Negro and two million white children were currently in "integrated situations."

The American Jewish Committee is devoted to combatting bigotry, protecting civil and religious rights of Jews and, it says, advancing "the cause of freedom everywhere."

AJC Urges Passage Of Civil Rights Bill

The American Jewish Committee has called for passage of President Eisenhower's civil rights program and continuance of United Nations troops in the Gaza Strip to guard against border raids.

The resolutions were passed yesterday in the concluding session of the committee's five-day, 50th anniversary meeting at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel attended by more than 1000 delegates.

Murray I. Gurfein, a New York attorney, was elected chairman of the committee's administrative board and Irving M. Engel was re-elected for his fourth one-year term as president of the organization.

CIVIL RIGHTS ADVANCE TOLD IN LAW STUDY

Resistance in South Also Cited

New York, Oct. 27 [Special] —The American Jewish congress reports that major advances on civil rights have been made in the last several months in a dozen states.

These advances, a survey by the organization showed, were made despite resistance "in Arkansas and in other southern areas to granting full equality to all citizens."

The study, entitled "Summary of 1957 State Anti-Discrimination Laws," reported that a number of legislatures —from Vermont to Washington—had enacted laws to outlaw discrimination in such fields as employment, education, housing and public accommodation.

Two Amend Laws

The study, prepared by the organization's commission on law and social action, pointed out that Colorado and Wisconsin had amended their existing "voluntary" fair employment laws by creating effective enforcement procedures. San Francisco, the report showed, adopted a new fair employment law.

New laws relating to discrimination in education were adopted by Missouri, Washington, California, and Illinois. Missouri repealed its school segregation laws. The study explained that Washington became the fourth state to be covered by a broad fair educational practices law. The others are New Jersey, New York and Masscahusetts.

Pass Housing Laws

In housing, the survey reported that Massachusetts, Minnesota, New Jersey, Oregon, and Washington, as well as the city of Los Angeles, had adopted legislation aimed against discrimination.

With the exception of Minnesota, the new housing laws prohibit discrimination in publicly assisted projects, the study said.

Laws aimed at ending discrimination in public accommodations were passed by Colorado, Illinois, Oregon, Vermont and Washington.

The survey concluded: "New 1957 laws against racial and religious discrimination significantly enlarge the area in which that evil is being effectively combatted by legislation."

The report said that "perhaps the most significant aspect of the new statutes is the continuing trend toward reliance on administrative procedures rather than criminal penalties to enforce anti-discrimination laws."

ADA Asks Backing For Civil Rights In Appeal To GOP

Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.
Aug 31-57

WASHINGTON, March 16 (AP)—The Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) today accused a combination of "Dixie-Democrats and Republicans" of mutilating the administration's civil rights bill in a House committee.

19-12-A

Joseph L. Raugh Jr., national chairman of ADA, urged GOP National Chairman Meade Alcorn in a telegram to help persuade Republican members of the House Judiciary Committee to "support the president's program."

"Failure to do this," the telegram said, "will demonstrate the insincerity of the Republican platform of 1956 and the many statements of President Eisenhower."

Rights Backers Divided Over 'Punitive' Clause

Sen. Anderson Drafts Plan To Scrap Injunctive Power

Advertiser Mon. 7-15-57
Montgomery Ala. P.1

WASHINGTON, July 14 (AP)—Supporters of the administration's civil rights bill split today over the issue of scrapping a section which critics contend is aimed at "punitive" action against the South.

Sen. Anderson (D-NM) announced he is drafting an amendment paralleling one offered yesterday by Sen. Russell (D-Ga), captain of the bill's foes.

Anderson said his proposal would strike from the House-passed bill Part III. This authorizes the attorney general to seek federal court injunctions against violations or threatened violations of civil rights in general. Judges who issue the injunctions could enforce their obedience with fines and jail sentences without jury trials.

Anderson's amendment would not disturb another section permitting similar action in cases involving voting rights. President Eisenhower has said the protection of such rights is the primary objective of the legislation.

TWO-YEAR STUDY

Other sections of the bill would establish a civil rights commission to make a two-year study of civil rights problems, and create a Civil Rights Division in the Justice Department headed by an assistant attorney general.

Sen. Mundt (R-SD), describing himself as a "neutral" in the fight, announced yesterday he will offer a substitute bill which would strike out Part III and also include a so-called jury trial amendment previously offered by Sen. O'Mahoney (D-Wyo). This would provide for jury trials in federal court contempt cases where the facts are in dispute.

Mundt's plan also would restrict the subpoena powers of the proposed civil rights study commission.

SEPARATE INTERVIEW

Sen. Douglas (D-Ill), like Anderson a supporter of the House bill, said in a separate interview he will fight any effort to eliminate Part III.

"I shall resist any amendment," Douglas added. "The bill is okay the way it is. It is a moderate bill."

There were no concrete signs that removal of the controversial Part II would ease strong Southern opposition to the bill. Sen. Ervin (D-NC) said in a televised debate he couldn't conceive of any one amendment that would make it a "wise" measure.

MONSTROUS BILL

"It can't be patched up enough to be palatable," Ervin said, adding that it was "the most monstrous bill ever proposed."

Sen. Eastland (D-Miss), who appeared with Ervin in debating against Sens. Case (R-NJ) and Carroll (D-Colo), ignored several questions about possible amendments to the bill.

Case said the civil rights bill is "an utterly appropriate measure" and he believes that within a month the Senate would pass a "reasonable" version.

Carroll said he was not as optimistic as Case about the bill's aim of guaranteeing civil rights. He said it was "only a first step," that it would take years to correct inequities that exist and Americans would have to exercise "patience and tolerance."

Advertiser P. 8-A

Anderson, who led an unsuccessful fight last January to eliminate filibusters by changing the Senate's rules, said he has become convinced the House bill is "too stringent."

"When millions of people in the South register opposition to this bill, as they have through their senators, it is time to stop and think about its enforcement," Anderson said. "We should remember prohibition as an example.

"I want the Negroes to vote and I believe that if Congress passes a bill guaranteeing them the right to vote it will be respected. But if the South does not then cooperate to let them vote, it will not be difficult to amend the bill to put some enforcement teeth in it."

Russell hailed Anderson's statement as "highly encouraging" in advance of a vote Tuesday by which the Senate is expected to bring the administration bill officially before it.

"Sen. Anderson is an acknowledged leader of the civil rights forces," Russell said. "I am encouraged when he agrees that punitive measures should not be taken against the South."

The Senate resumes debate tomorrow on a motion by Senate Republican Leader Knowland of California to take up the bill. Southern opponents, who blasted at the measure during six days of debate last week, seemed likely to consume most of the time until the Senate votes, by unanimous agreement, late Tuesday.

Douglas, who has joined Sen. Javits (R-NY) and others in urging the bill's backers not to talk of compromise, said he thinks Part III of the bill should be preserved to provide additional methods of enforcement of the "good decisions" of the Supreme Court in civil rights matters, including school desegregation.

He scoffed at Southerners' contentions that these enforcement methods would entail "punitive" action against a whole section of the country. He said desegregation should be gradual.

Civil Rights Backers Split On Provisions

Post-Herald
B'ham Ala
Mon. 7-15-57 P.1

Anderson Will Offer Amendment To Cut Section From Bill

BY JACK BELL
Associated Press Staff Writer

WASHINGTON, July 14—Supporters of the administration's Civil Rights Bill split today over the issue of scrapping a section which critics contend is aimed at "punitive" action against the South.

Sen. Anderson (D., N. M.) announced he is drafting an amendment paralleling one offered yesterday by Sen. Russell (D., Ga.), captain of the bill's foes.

Anderson said his proposal would strike from the House-passed bill Part III. This authorizes the attorney general to seek Federal Court injunctions against violations or threatened violations of civil rights in general. Judges who issue the injunctions could enforce their obedience with fines and jail sentences without jury trials.

Anderson's amendment would not disturb another section permitting similar action in cases involving voting rights. President Eisenhower has said the protection of such rights is the primary objective of the legislation.

Other sections of the bill would establish a civil rights commission to make a two-year study of civil rights problems, and create a civil rights division in the Justice Dept. headed by an assistant attorney general.

Sen. Mundt (R., S. D.), describing himself as a "neutral" in the fight announced yesterday he will offer a substitute bill which would strike out Part III and also include a so-called jury trial amendment previously offered by Sen. O'Mahoney (D., Wyo.). This would provide for jury trials in Federal Court contempt cases where the facts are in dispute.

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Sen. Douglas (D., Ill.), like Anderson a supporter of the House bill, said in a separate interview he will fight any effort to eliminate Part III.

"I shall resist any amendment," Douglas added. "The bill is OK the way it is. It is a moderate bill."

There were no concrete signs that removal of the controversial Section III would ease strong Southern opposition to the bill. Sen. Ervin (D., N. C.) said in a TV roundtable debate he couldn't conceive of any one amendment that would make it a "wise" measure.

"It can't be patched up enough to be palatable," Ervin said, adding that it was "the most monstrous bill ever proposed."

Sen. Eastland (D., Miss), who appeared with Ervin in debating against Sens. Case (R., N. J.) and Carroll (D., Colo), ignored several questions about possible amendments to the bill.

Case said the civil rights bill is "an utterly appropriate measure" and he believes that within a month the Senate would pass a "reasonable" version.

Eastland and Ervin insisted several times during the debate that the basic aim of the measure is to circumvent normal legal processes in the South. Eastland said it would mean "shotgun government" because the bill would permit the President to send troops into the South to enforce its provisions.

Anderson, who led an unsuccessful fight last January to eliminate filibusters by changing the Senate's rules, said he has become convinced the House bill is "too stringent."

Post-Herald

"When millions of people in the South register opposition to this bill, as they have through their senators, it is time to stop and think about its enforcement," Anderson said. "We should remember prohibition as an example.

P. 3

"I want the Negroes to vote and I believe that if congress passes a bill guaranteeing them the right to vote it will be respected. But if the South does not then co-operate to let them vote, it will not be difficult to amend the bill to put some enforcement teeth in it."

Russell hailed Anderson's statement as "highly encouraging" in advance of a vote Tuesday by which the Senate is expected to bring the administration bill officially before it.

"Sen. Anderson is an acknowledged leader of the civid rights forces," Russell said. "I am encouraged when he agrees that punitive measures should not be taken against the South.

Mon. 7-15-57

"Some folks seem to believe that the South needs a guardian in the form of the attorney general, but I don't believe that is the majority sentiment of the country."

The Senate resumes debate tomorrow on a motion by Senate Republican Leader Knowland of California to take up the bill. Southern opponents, who blasted at the measure during six days of debate last week, seemed likely to consume most of the time until the Senate votes, by unanimous agreement, late Tuesday.

Douglas, who has joined Sen. Javits (R., N. Y.) and others in urging the bill's backers not to talk of compromise, said the primary objectives of the measure is to protect the right of Negroes and others to vote.

Douglas scoffed at Southerners' contentions that these enforcement methods would entail "punitive" action against a whole section of the country. He said desegregation should be gradual.

"No one with any sense is going to try to enforce integration in the common schools of Mississippi now," he said. "But if this bill can be passed as it is, it should help progress in that direction in some of the border states."

Sen. Chavez (D., N. M.), who has not taken any active part in the squabble, said he will not vote for any bill that does not contain a jury trial provision.

Russell hailed Chavez's statements as an indication of increasing support for such an amendment.

Warren, Br[ownell] Blasted By

Post-Herald Wed. 7-17-57

B'ham Ala.

WASHINGTON, July 16 (U.P.)—Chief Justice Earl Warren and Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell Jr. were targets of Virginia's Sen. Harry Flood Byrd in perhaps the bitterest blast in the whole Southern attack on the administration's civil rights bill today.

Byrd spoke only a few hours before the Senate voted to take up the bill.

He likened Warren to Thaddeus Stevens, the South's chief foe during reconstruction, and said he "has done and is doing more to destroy the form of government we have in this country than any chief justice in history."

He said the civil rights bill, if finally enacted, would make the attorney general a "20th Century Caesar."

Sen. William F. Knowland immediately sprang to the defense of the two officials. He said Byrd's language was so strong it might not be possible for senators backing civil rights legislation to work with the South in drafting any amendments acceptable to both sides.

But he added that he "will not give up" his efforts toward that end.

Byrd, referring to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and Americans for Democratic Action as the "Golddust Twins," said he did not charge that Warren conspired with them to push civil rights. But he said all three knew what was in the bill.

Byrd also denounced other [ord]er Warren, including the Girard College case in Philadelphia in which the court held that Negroes could not be barred from an all-white orphans school.

Brownell Says South Can't Alter Rights Bill, Russell Certain It Can.

Jury Trial To Be Added, Senator Says

Constitution Mon. 7-22-57 Atlanta, Ga.

By DAYTON MOORE

WASHINGTON, July 21 (UP)—Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell Jr. and the chief foes of President Eisenhower's civil rights bill clashed sharply today about the outlook for the legislation in the Senate.

p. 1

Brownell, chief administration spokesman for the bill, predicted in a television interview that the Senate would pass the House-approved measure without making any major concession to its Southern foes.

Sen. Richard B. Russell (D-Ga), veteran leader of the Southern bloc, promptly disagreed. He said he would be "very much surprised" if the Senate does not write a jury trial provision into the bill.

ELIMINATE INJUNCTION

He also predicted that the Senate would vote to eliminate the bill's controversial part III, which would authorize the attorney general to seek federal court injunctions to protect civil rights.

Interviewed on the CBS television program, "Face the Nation," Russell reiterated his earlier proposal that the bill be submitted to a national referendum of all the voters—a suggestion already rejected by the President.

In such a vote, Russell said, "People everywhere in the country would oppose this bill." He said his proposal was an attempt to "appeal to the people for the politicians" who, he said, are convinced they need such legislation to win votes.

POLITICAL PURPOSES

He also said that Brownell might be tempted to use part III in the future for political purposes; for example "to insure the election of a governor in New York." He said the bill would have an effect on the people of all sections, not just the South.

Sen. Joseph S. Clark (D-Pa) predicted a "very close vote indeed" on the bill's section III. Clark, who appeared on the NBC television program "Meet the Press," also said he thought President Eisenhower was at least partially motivated by politics in presenting the bill.

He said he thought the bill would hurt the Democrats and help the Republicans politically. Clark called Eisenhower a "weak" President who didn't know what he wanted on the Middle East resolution, the budget or civil rights.

Constitution

TROUBLE AND VIOLENCE

Sen. Sam J. Ervin (D-NC), another foe of the bill, said on the ABC television program, "College News Conference," that passage of the legislation would "quite possibly" provoke a "tremendous amount of trouble and violence" in the South.

p. 17

He said he was counting on a "good vote" this week to pass the amendment to eliminate part III. Despite Brownell's opposition to such a move, other key senators were included to believe that the amendment would be approved.

The Southerners have made part III th prime target of their fight on the bill. They have said its provisions could be used by the administration to end segregation in the schools and other public places in the South.

Brownell said he would not use part III to enforce school integration. Under the Supreme Court's 1954 decision, he said, this is the responsibility of the federal district courts.

KEY TEST

The key test will come tomorrow or Tuesday on an amendment by Sen. Clinton P Anderson (D-NM) to delete part III completely. Supporters of the amendment claimed upwards of 50 votes for it, barring unforeseen developments.

Russell predicted that "a substantial majority" of the Senate will vote to eliminate part III unless there is "terrific pressure" from the White House to retain it.

Asked about Brownell's blanket opposition to any major compromise, Russell told a reporter that the attorney general is the chief administration advocate of the legislation.

"It would be most extraordinary for a parent to find anything wrong with his child," Russell said.

CLOSE VOTE

Even advocates of part III were not optimistic about keeping it in the bill. Senate Republican Leader William F. Knowland (Calif) would predict only that vote on Anderson's amendment would be "close."

Adoption of Anderson's proposal would make the bill essentially a "right to vote" measure. Elimination of part III would also tend to curtail a threatened Southern filibuster.

But Chairman Emanuel Celler (D-NY) of the House Judiciary Committee, chief House sponsor of the legislation, served notice he will not accept "any crippling amendments."

As Judiciary chairman, Celler would have a powerful voice in the deliberations of any Senate-House conference committee, which eventually may have to resolve any differences in Senate and House versions of the legislation.

NO COMPROMISE

Sen. Irving M. Iives (R-NY) also said that any talk of a compromise "is futile." He noted that the Southerners would vote against the bill no matter what major change are made in it.

"We've got to fight this issue out, head-on," he said in a radio address over several New York stations. "I am opposed to compromise on a moral issue. I am also practical enough to recognize that a onesided compromise is worthless."

He aid civil rights advocates are "reasonably sure" of at least 55 Senate votes to cut off any southern filibuster by imposing a "gag" rule. A minimum of 64 votes is required to impose cloture on Senate debate.

Brownell said "public opinion is so aroused" in support of the bill that he believes the Senate will reject any attempt to compromise or water-down its provisions. He came out against all compromise proposals offered so far.

NO FORCE

The attorney general assured Southerners, however, that the administration does not intend to use the legislation to try to enforce school segregation on the South. Under the Supreme Court's 1954 decision, he said, that is the responsibility of the federal district courts.

Brownell, now en route to a law meeting in Europe, discussed the civil rights bill in a filmed television interview with Rep. Kenneth B. Keating (R-NY), a leading civil rights advocate in the House. The program was designed for showing over several upstate New York stations.

The Senate tomorrow will enter its third week of debate over the civil rights issue and Eisenhower's House-approved bill. Southern foes of the measure have threatened to filibuster against the measure for weeks.

As approved by the House, the bill would: (1) Establish a civil rights commission; (2) create a civil rights division in the Justice Department; (3) authorize government court suits to protect civil rights; and (4) throw safeguards around voting rights.

SOUTHERN GRIPE

Southern senators have concentrated their fire on the bill's controversial part III, which would authorize the attorney general to obtain federal court injunctions to forbid threatened violations of civil rights.

They also have been critical of the failure of the House bill to provide for jury trials for persons accused of violating these injunctions or court orders forbidding any interference with Negro voting rights.

Some of the bill's supporters have sought a compromise on these issues in order to curtail the southern talkathon. Most of the compromise plans involve a revision or the elimination of the bill's part III.

After a week of cloak-room maneuvering Knowland said last Friday that civil rights supporters have abandoned efforts to reach a compromise. He said they would fight for part III as it now stands.

Brownell defended the controversial action. He said that he would be opposed to any compromise "taking away or modifying civil rights that are guaranteed to all of our citizens by the Constitution."

He said he was opposed to proposals to limit the bill merely to a guarantee of the right to vote.

"There are other civil rights that are awfully important in this country," Brownell said. "The civil right to vote is of tremendous importance, but I don't think we should overlook these other civil rights, too."

Brownell belittled the fears of

Ike Urges New Efforts To Keep Rights 'Teeth'

Advertiser Mon. 7-22-57 Montgomery, Ala.

P. 1

WASHINGTON, July 21 (AP)—The White House was reported urging Republican senators today to make fresh efforts for an agreement with Northern Democrats that might save some of the broad enforcement powers in the civil rights bill.

Atty. Gen. Brownell made it clear in a television broadcast the administration wants to retain in the House-passed bill now before the Senate at least limited federal sanctions to enforce school integration and other civil rights.

The attorney general said in a broadcast recorded with Rep. Keating (R-NY) he would not favor any compromised aimed at "taking away or modifying civil rights that are guaranteed to all of our citizens by the Constitution."

Nevertheless, White House aides were reported to be urging Senate Republicans to try again for a meeting of minds with Northern Democrats that might stave off a major defeat for civil rights supporters. This could come this week if the Senate adopts the Anderson-Aiken amendment to the pending bill.

Sens. Anderson (D-NM) and Aiken (R-Vt) have sponsored an amendment to wipe out a section which would authorize federal intervention in the schools and other areas Its adoption would confine the bill's enforcement powers to the narrowed field of voting rights.

Sen. Knowland of California, the Senate Republican leader, temporarily abandoned attempts last week to draft a substitute for the Anderson-Aiken proposal. Northern Democrats said then he was offering too soft a compromise to Southern opponents of the measure.

There was some talk of a compromise that might retain a portion of the section that would authorize individuals to take directly to the federal courts cases in which they claimed they were threatened with or had been denied the right to vote.

This would permit the bypassing of state courts, but would not authorize the attorney general to intervene.

There were some indications that Southern opponents would not fight too hard against such a proposal, since its adoption still would leave the measure confined to the field of voting rights.

Advertiser P. 5-A

Sen. Russell (D-Ga) said in an interview he thinks opponents "have the votes to eliminate the entire section." This view seemed sustained by polls and other indicators of Senate sentiment.

Russell, leader of the Southern forces, said also in a radio interview he would be "surprised" if the Senate failed to write in a jury trial provision in the section of the bill dealing with voting rights.

Describing the bill as "a vicious piece of legislation" in its present form, Russell said he could support only a civil rights bill that has "universal application throughout the United States" guaranteeing voting rights in all cases. He mentioned in this connection "any coercion" of labor unions by their leaders.

"The right to vote how you want is as important as the right to vote," he said.

Brownell said the administration wants authority to prevent in advance the denial of voting rights to Negroes and other minorities. But he said there are "other civil rights that are awfully important in this country."

Brownell went on to say, "The Supreme Court decision in the school case left the responsibility on the local school boards and educational authorities to start the implementation of the school decision and they have to move in the first instance.

"There is no thought of changing that at all," he said.

Brownell reiterated his opposition to any jury trial amendment. Several have been offered in the Senate.

Brownell said one amendment, which would authorize jury trials when some of the facts regarding compliance with a court's order were in dispute, "would do away with the traditional experience we have had in this country, that when a court orders a thing to be done, then the court should be able to enforce it," he said.

Southerners who contend that the bill would revive an old Reconstruction era law authorizing the president to send troops into the South, if necessary to enforce court decrees on civil rights.

He said the use of troops was the "furtherest from the President's thought in developing this civil rights program under the administration."

Knowland already has introduced an amendment specifically to repeal the old, long-dormant troops statute, which was enacted immediately after the Civil War by an anti-South Congress.

10 1957

REV. WILLIAM HOLMES BORDERS
ATTY. AUSTIN T. WALDEN

Prominent figures at the civil rights hearings held in Washington before a Senate subcommittee included, front row, left to right: Clarence Mitchell, NAACP Washington head; the Rev. William Holmes Borders of Atlanta, and Atty. A. T. Walden, Atlanta. Bock Row: The Revs. A. Bell and B. J. Johnson of Atlanta, and Ben T. Shorter, Cuthbert, Ga.

10 1957

REV. WILLIAM HOLMES BORDERS
ATTY. AUSTIN T. WALDEN

2 ATLANTANS ASK SENATORS FOR OK OF CIVIL RIGHTS

Herald B'ham, Ala.

3-6-57

...NGTON — Approval ...rights legislation, to help ...the South "a more decent ...all its citizenry," was ...Thursday by two promi... ...anta leaders before a ...States Senate Subcom...

p. 4

...were the Rev. Wil... ...Borders, Pastor of ...Street Baptist Church, ...Austin T. Walden, ...figured in many civil ...in the South.

...Walden more temperate ...than the minister ...been arrested in a civil ...but offering legal ...quickly took issue with ...which had been made ...Georgia Attorney Gen... ...Cook.

"...SPOKESMAN"

...told the committee that ...do not desire integration," ...filed figures, and named ...declared:

"...I am a little better ...for Negroes than is our ...General."

...he pointed out in... ...the right to vote had... ...Out of a Negro popula... ...more than a million in ...Walden said only 165,000 ...compared to 1,250,... ...registered out of the ...million white popula...

...IC IDEALS

...declared that the ...object of the proposed ...bills is the implemen... ...democratics ideals. ...bills should not be ..."narrow, partisan, ...He pointed out that ...made here that Negroes are totally free from racial discrimination anywhere in our country."

The attorney told the subcommittee he loves Georgia, which is his native state, and has faith in "the basic sense of justice of his fellow Georgians."

He said he felt that Georgia is "fair minded but afraid to be vocal.'

MANY DENIED

The committee was told, that registration among Negroes in Georgia is concentrated in the cities and that many have been denied the right to vote in rural areas.

He declared that in the immediate past "lives have been lost and property practically confiscated. Negroes have been driven out of the community; their homes fired into at night because of their efforts to register and vote. Threats, intimidations, economic reprisals and cross burnings" have been used to intimidate them, Walden held.

He blamed much of this on what he termed "political demagogues" and the county unit system. He singled out Pierce and Burke Counties as areas where Negroes have been denied the right to vote.

Walden, Borders Appear Before Sub-Committee

REV. BORDERS

The Rev. Mr Borders who was one of six ministers recently arrested in Atlanta on a state charge of violating segregation laws during a bus riding test, had some extent of praise to offer his home city, but hastily pointed out the need for segregation's end.

He told the subcommittee of his work as chairman of the "Love, Law and Liberation" movement in churches. While Atlanta i s"from many angles a wonderful and marvelous city," segregation is a harmful thing the minister declared.

Both he and Attorney Walden testified under oath. This was their second trip to the nation's capital to take part in the hearings which preceded a vote on Civil Rights March 5.

Many Southern whites have testified previously. They have all attacked the bill and its alleged purposes.

Rev. Borders declared.

"I want, Negroes want, Democratic and Christian people everywhere want the civil rights bill passed. It will help make the South and our country a more decent place for all its citizenry........the only way whites can keep democracy for themselves is to give it to everybody.

"Thank God that bread is being thrown to Hungarians over there. It is a shame that bombs are being thrown at Negro homes and churches over here because they asked to be seated in buses as other people."

"In the name of decency, in the name of democracy, in the name of world leadership, in the name of God, let us pass strong civil rights legislation," he urged.

Atlanta Minister Tells of Georgia Non-Violence Plan

Courier Sat. 3-16-57 Pittsburgh, Pa. P. 1

By ALICE A. DUNNIGAN

WASHINGTON (ANP)—The Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights last week heard testimony from several Southern leaders on the problem of segregation which they are now trying to combat in that area.

• Leading off the array of witnesses was the Rev. William Holmes Borders, pastor of Wheat Street Baptist Church in Atlanta.

• The Baptist minister outlined the method which the Negro preachers of Atlanta used to attack this evil through a non-violent movement.

They schooled the people on an eight-point non-violent program for carrying out their aim. They told the Mayor of their plans to ride the buses on an integrated seating arrangement. They alerted the chief of police, and informed the president of the bus company.

They related their plans to the District Attorney. In each of the conferences they were treated with courtesy. But when a group of ministers boarded the bus on Jan. 9, it caused some excitement.

■

FIRST THE operator claimed that the bus was out of order. Next he changed the name of the bus to "Special." They remained in their seats and read their Bibles as the bus proceeded through town.

On the following day they held a meeting at Wheat Street Church and planned to go again to the heart of Atlanta to board eight buses. After the prayer meeting and instructions, six ministers were arrested for violating the Georgia segregation law on the previous day. They were put in jail, and the cases are now in court.

• "I want, Negroes want, Democratic and Christian people everywhere want the Civil Rights Bill passed," said the Rev. Mr. Borders. "It will hlep make the South and our country a more decent place for all its citizenry. Implementing the constitution, the Supreme Court decision on education, and the Montgomery bus protest takes nothing from whites. It will give something to Negroes which is rightfully theirs. The only way whites can keep democracy for themselves is to give it to everybody."

Others who testified along this same line were the Rev. W. D. Ridgeway of Mississippi and Ben T. Shorter of Georgia.

THE REV. Mr. Ridgeway, pastor of the Truelight Baptist Church in Hattiesburg, told the committee that he had lived in Forrest County, Miss., for more than 30 years. He has always "honored and obeyed the many ordinances and statutes enacted by the state, county, and city governments.

"He has always paid his state, county and city taxes promptly. He has preached and taught good citizenship for many years, but until this day, he said, "I have not been permitted to register and vote like other Americans.

He declared this to be "deplorable in a democracy as liberal as America's." He called this an inexcusable condition in the 20th century in the United States of America.

IT, IS very confusing for Negroes to explain to their children "why it is easy for foreigners to spend only five years in America and Mississippi then enjoy "all" of the freedoms and privileges that our United States Constitution calls for, but, on the other hand, "native born" Negro-Americans and Mississippians are denied the very basic guarantees that our constitution provides—the right to vote and petition one's Government without intimidations and economic reprisals."

He claimed that he was confident that America does not condone these anti-American acts, "but the echoing silence of the legislative branch of our United States Government has been encouraging to those among us who would defy and destroy our constitution rather than make it applicable to all."

Witnesses

The Rev. William Holmes Borders (top) and Atty. A. T. Walden, both of Atlanta, Ga., were two of the several colored witnesses testifying before the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional rights hearing arguments pro and con on civil rights legislation.

Rev. Mr. Borders was leader of Atlanta ministers recently arrested in a test case on bus segregation laws. Mr. Walden has handled many cases involving violations in Georgia and elsewhere in the South.

From left to right: Clarence Mitchell, director of the Washington Bureau, NAACP; the Rev. W. D. Ridgeway, Hattiesburg, Miss.; Mrs. Beatrice Young, Jackson, Miss., and the Rev. Gus Courts, formerly of Belzoni, Miss. The witnesses from Mississippi testified before the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights.

At Civil Rights Hearing

News & Observer
Raleigh, N.C., Fri. 2-15-57

Ervin Challenges Brownell On Issue of Negro Voters

WASHINGTON, Feb. 14 (AP) — Atty. Gen. Brownell said today that many more Southern Negroes could have voted last year if the administration's civil rights program had been in effect.

He told a Senate Judiciary subcommittee that from 4,000 to 6,000 Negroes had been stricken from registration rolls in Ouachita Parish in Louisiana after being challenged by the White Citizens Council of the parish.

Brownell said most of the Negroes were subsequently denied any opportunity to establish their qualifications.

Had the administration's program been in effect, the Department of Justice would have been able to initiate a civil action "for the purpose of restoring the Negro voters to the rolls of the registered voters in time to vote in the November elections," he said.

Also, Brownell testified, registrars in three North Carolina precincts imposed technical requirements that kept Negroes from qualifying for the vote.

In these Carolina and Louisiana cases, Brownell said, "the proposed legislation would have been of great assistance in protecting the right to vote."

"In most of these situations, civil remedies would enable the government to take affirmative action to deal with attempts at what amounts to mass disenfranchisement of Negroes in time to be effective," he said.

Sen. Ervin (D-NC) challenged Brownell's description of the situation. The senator said there are approximately 7,500 local election officials in North Carolina and Brownell had been able to criticize the actions of only three of them.

Ervin, a former member of the North Carolina Supreme Court, said that "until today I never heard of a single individual in my state that's been denied the right to vote."

Reporters asked Ervin later if he saw any particular significance in Brownell's citing North Carolina cases to the subcommittee.

"I'll say this. If there's no more iniquity in other states than there is in North Carolina, there is no need whatever for this legislation," he replied.

He added that he had lived in North Carolina 60 years, and been active in politics much of that time.

News & Observer

In questioning Brownell, the senator pointed out that his state has approximately 7,500 local election officials, and said the attorney general had been able to criticize the actions of only three.

Ervin said that the sections of the administration's program dealing with voting rights had the effect of giving to a federal judge the right to decide qualifications of the citizens to vote.

Fri. 2-15-57

Brownell disputed this, arguing that the bill would "take away no powers" now properly exercized by the states in this field.

He said he would hope that the states always would decide such questions properly, "But we know from experience this is not universally true."

Ervin argued the effect of the bill was to put the federal government into a civil dispute on one side so that "in trying to protect one person's civil rights, you will be denying them to others."

He said a judge might issue a restraining order granting an individual the right to vote solely on the basis of affidavits and that, if this action were in error, the case would not be decided until long after the election.

However, the attorney general insisted that judges long had been acting in a similar way on the basis of affidavits in many types of cases, and that he was sure that justice had been done in the overwhelming majority of them.

Ervin also contended that the bills would upset the balance of powers between the federal government and the states by making the former supreme in the area of voting rights.

But Brownell argued that, on the contrary, the bill would do much "to maintain the proper balance between the federal and state systems."

He said that at present his agency must rely entirely on criminal prosecutions in the area covered by the voting rights section of the bill, and that these disturb federal - state relations.

The senator sought to poke fun at one of the antilynching bills before the subcommittee with a story of two Methodists and a Presbyterian who got into an argument over predestination.

If the Methodists got mad enough to hit the Presbyterian, he said, they could be held to be a "lynch mob" under terms of the bill because it states that "two or more persons" form such a mob if they "commit. . .violence upon any person. . .because of his or their race, creed, color, national origin, ancestry, language, religion."

Brownell said, "I can't imagine any Methodists doing that."

The attorney general also pointed out that he was not supporting the antilynching bills.

Mississippi Case.

Commenting that Brownell had referred to the Emmet Till murder case in Mississippi, Ervin said he considered it an "atrocious murder." But he added that there were many other murders "just as atrocious" not singled out for comparable publicity.

Atty. Gen. T. C. Callison of South Carolina said that in his state relations between the races are so good they constitute "one of our greatest assets in attracting industry."

Callison said South Carolina needs no antilynching laws. He gave the subcommittee several instances of mob violence averted by strenuous efforts of state law enforcement officers, including himself.

In one case, Callison said, he personally patroled the highways when a group of Negroes who had killed a storekeeper and fled to another state were being returned for trial.

He said it would "do the country a disservice to advertise to the world that we need an antilynching law."

"The elimination of lynching has not been a result of federal law," Callison said.

South Carolina Views.

The South Carolina attorney general said he and other state officers had cooperated fully with the FBI in conducting civil rights schools in the state, attended by more than 450 peace officers.

"I lent the FBI one of my best men to help," he said.

"We don't want to have such splendid relations disturbed by unnecessary federal regulations," Callison said.

C. T. Graydon, a South Carolina attorney who appeared as spokesman for Gov. George Bell Timmerman, told the subcommittee, "We are trying to do something and we are doing something — we only ask you to leave us alone so we can try to solve our problems our own way."

"You can't change the civilization of a people with a paint brush or with a new set of furniture but only by gradual methods," Graydon said.

"We have abolished lynching, we have abolished the poll tax, we have abolished the Ku Klux Klan," he said.

He said nine Negroes served on a jury in his county last week, and he added, "We don't apologize for them, they have a right to be there, we put them there."

The administration proposes, among other things, that the attorney general be given authority to go into federal courts to get injunctions in behalf of citizens who say they are being illegally kept from voting.

Brownell noted that present law permits criminal prosecutions to protect voting rights but these cannot be started "until after the harm actually has been done."

"No amount of criminal punishment can rectify the harm which the national interest suffers when citizens are illegally kept from the polls," he said.

Brownell testified in hearings which are following a familiar pattern. Backers of federal civil rights legislation are trying to get it through committee and to the Senate floor early enough to weaken the impact of a filibuster by Southern opponents. The Southerners, insisting on detailed hearings, are fighting a delaying action.

Never Reached Vote.

Last year the House passed a bill patterned on the administration's request but it was taken up in the Senate so late it never reached a vote.

Today's senate committee hearings were recessed until tomorrow atfer Sen. Long (D-La) objected because the Senate was in session.

Chairman Hennings (D-Mo) of the subcommittee, who is pressing for action, said the subcommittee would meet tomorrow morning and afternoon and all day Saturday. He said there may be night sessions later.

Hearings continued on civil rights legislation before the House Judiciary Committee.

Rep. Mathews (D-Fla), a witness today, took special exception to a proposal that the attorney general be authorized to file, at public expense, suits on behalf of persons who contend their civil rights are violated.

Matthews said it is conceivable under this proposal that "will of the wisp rumors will descend upon the household of some innocent citizen and he, to clear his name and protect his honor, will have to deprive himself of all his material possessions and yet the accuser enjoys the vast resources of the United States for his prosecution."

"This is tyranny at its worst," Matthews said.

Rights plan guards Negro, Brownell says

News P.1
Thurs. 2-14-57
B'ham, Ala.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 14—(AP) —Atty. Gen. Brownell said today the administration's civil rights program would give the federal government power to deal effectively with what he called "mass disenfranchisement of Negroes."

Brownell emphasized protection of the right to vote in testimony marking the start of hearings by a Senate judiciary subcommittee on the administration's program and other civil rights measures.

Across the Capitol, meantime, a House judiciary subcommittee continued it hearings with further testimony from officials of Southern states who have contended generally that the proposals would be an unwarranted extension of federal power.

THE HOUSE HEARINGS are tagged for a windup Feb. 25-26, but no limit has been set for the close of Senate hearings.

Sen. Hennings (D., Mo.), chairman of the Senate subcommittee, sought to put a two-week time limit on the hearings but was voted down 4-3. Foes of the bills hope to keep them tied up in committee as long as possible.

As the Senate hearings began, it developed that Sen. Eastland (D., Miss.), chairman of the full judiciary committee, has appointed a committee lawyer, Robert Young, to act as counsel for opponents of the bills.

Rights bills may hurt B'ham labor—Huddleston

BY JAMES FREE
News Washington correspondent

WASHINGTON, Feb. 14—Labor-management relations in Birmingham and other industrial cities might be hurt by proposed civil rights bills, Rep. George Huddleston told a House judiciary subcommittee today.

The Birmingham congressman said he meant that part of the program that would let the attorney general start legal action against a person "about to engage" in a violation of these civil rights laws.

HUDDLESTON'S POINT was this:

If an employe is fired for joining a union and he claims this is a violation of his civil rights, the attorney general could sue the company. Also, if a union violates the rights of a person not to join the union, the attorney general could file suit against the union.

"By plaguing either company or union with suits," said Huddleston, "the attorney general could destroy or bankrupt either or both."

Brownell Says Civil-Rights Plan Would Have Let More Negroes Vote

Courier-Journal Fri. 2-15-57 P.6
Louisville, Ky.

Tells of Bars South Raised

Washington, Feb. 14 (AP)—Attorney General Brownell said today that many more Southern Negroes could have voted last year if the Administration's civil-rights program had been in effect.

He told a Senate judiciary subcommittee that from 4,000 to 6,000 Negroes had been stricken from registration rolls in Ouachita Parish in Louisiana after being challenged by the White Citizens Council of the parish.

Brownell said most of the Negroes were subsequently denied any opportunity to establish their qualifications, and added:

"Had the Administration's program been in effect, the Department (of Justice) would have been able to initiate a civil action for the purpose of restoring the Negro voters to the rolls of the registered voters in time to vote in the November election."

Also, the Attorney General testified, registrars in three North Carolina precincts imposed technical requirements that kept Negroes from qualifying for the vote.

In these Carolina and Louisiana cases, Brownell said, "the proposed legislation would have been of great assistance in protecting the right to vote."

Senator Ervin (D., N. C.) challenged Brownell's description of the situation. The senator told the Attorney General there are approximately 7,500 local election officials in North Carolina and Brownell had been able to criticize the actions of only three of them.

Ervin, a former member of the North Carolina Supreme Court, said: "Until today I never heard of a single individual in my state that's been denied the right to vote."

The Administration proposes, among other things, that the attorney general be given authority to go into federal courts to get injunctions in behalf of citizens who say they are being illegally gept from voting.

ATTY. GEN. BROWNELL PUSHES RIGHTS PROGRAM

Brownell Says Dixie Denies Negro Rights

Advertiser P.1
Fri. 2-15-57
Montgomery, Ala.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 14 (AP)—Atty. Gen. Brownell said today that many more Southern Negroes could have voted last year if the administration's civil rights program had been in effect.

He told a Senate Judiciary subcommittee that from 4,000 to 6,000 Negroes had been stricken from registration rolls in Ouachita Parish in Louisiana after being challenged by the White Citizens Council of the parish.

Brownell said most of the Negroes were subsequently denied any opportunity to establish their qualifications.

Had the administration's program been in effect, the Department of Justice would have been able to initiate a civil action "for the purpose of restoring the Negro voters to the rolls of the registered voters in time to vote in the November elections," he said.

GREAT ASSISTANCE

Also, Brownell testified, registrars in three North Carolina precincts imposed technical requirements that kept Negroes from qualifying for the vote.

In these Carolina and Louisiana cases, Brownell said, "the proposed legislation would have been of great assistance in protecting the right to vote."

"In most of these situations, civil remedies would enable the government to take affirmative action to deal with attempts at what amounts to mass disenfranchisement of Negroes in time to be effective," he said.

Sen. Ervin (D-NC) challenged Brownell's description of the situation. The senator said there are approximately 7,500 local election officials in North Carolina and Brownell had been able to criticize the actions of only three of them.

Ervin, a former member of the North Carolina Supreme Court, said that "until today I never heard of a single individual in my state that's been denied the right to vote."

Reporters asked Ervin later if he saw any particular significance in Brownell's citing North Carolina cases to the subcommittee.

"I'll say this. If there's no more iniquity in other states than there is in North Carolina, there is no need whatever for this legislation," he replied.

Advertiser P.2-A

The administration proposes, among other things, that the attorney general be given authority to go into federal courts to get injunctions in behalf of citizens who say they are being illegally kept from voting.

Brownell noted that present law permits criminal prosecutions to protect voting rights but these cannot be started "until after the harm already has been done."

"No amount of criminal punishment can rectify the harm which the national interest suffers when citizens are illegally kept from the polls," he said.

Brownell testified in hearings which are following a familiar pattern. Backers of federal civil rights legislation are trying to get it through committee and to the Senate floor early enough to weaken the impact of a filibuster by Southern opponents. The Southerners, insisting on detailed hearings, are fighting a delaying action.

Last year the House passed a bill patterned on the administration's request but it was taken up in the Senate so late it never reached a vote.

NEED TO PROTECT NEGRO VOTE CITED

Times 7th Ed.
New York

Brownell Says Many More Could Have Cast Ballots in South Last Year

Fri. 2-15-57

WASHINGTON, Feb. 14 (AP)—Herbert Brownell Jr., the Attorney General, said today that many more Southern Negroes could have voted last year if the Administration's civil rights program had been in effect.

He told a Senate Judiciary subcommittee that from 4,000 to 6,000 Negroes had been stricken from registration rolls in Ouachita Parish (county) in Louisiana after challenges by the White Citizens Council of the parish.

Mr. Brownell said most of the Negroes subsequently had been denied opportunity to establish their qualifications, and added:

"Had the Administration's program been in effect, the Department [of Justice] would have been able to initiate a civil action for the purpose of restoring the Negro voters to the rolls of the registered voters in time to vote in the November election."

Cites North Carolina

The Attorney General also testified that regisrars in three North Carolina precincts had imposed technical requirements that had kept Negroes from qualifying to vote.

Senator Sam J. Ervin Jr. challenged Mr. Brownell's description of the situation. The Senator told the Attorney General there were approximately 7,500 local election officials in North Carolina and said Mr. Brownell had been able to criticize only three.

Senator Ervin, a former member of the North Carolina Supreme Court, said that "until today I never heard of a single individual in my state that's been denied the right to vote."

The Administration proposes, among other things, that the Attorney General be given authority to go into Federal courts to get injunctions in behalf of citizens who say they are being illegally kept from voting.

Mr. Brownell noted that present law permitted criminal prosecutions to protect voting rights. But these cannot be started "until after the harm actually has been done," until after the election is over, he said.

In any event, he continued, "no amount of criminal punishment can rectify the harm which the national interest suffers when citizens are illegally kept from the polls."

Mr. Brownell testified in hearings that are following a familiar pattern. Backers of Federal civil rights legislation are trying to get it through committee and to the Senate floor early enough to weaken the impact of a filibuster in the Senate by Southern opponents. The Southerners are insisting on detailed hearings and are fighting a delaying action.

The hearings are recessed until tomorrow after Senator Russell B. Long, Democrat of Louisiana, objected to their continuation in the afternoon while the Senate was in session.

Mr. Brownell Speaks Again

Courier Sat. 5-4-57 P.9
Pittsburgh, Pa. 10

In presenting his annual report for the fiscal year, Attorney General Herbert Brownell has again called for the enactment of civil rights legislation which will enable his department to intervene in "shocking" civil rights violations mainly in the South where presently its hands are tied.

There is unfortunately little prospect that the Administration's civil rights bill will be passed by Congress at this session because of the opposition of Dixie demagogues allied with certain Northern politicians.

It is now May, and experience has shown that if such controversial legislation is not enacted into law by this time in the Congressional session, it will wither on the vine.

The 1958 Congressional elections are now a long way off, and many Senators and Representatives in Washington who might be constrained next year to speak up for a civil rights bill are not exerting themselves now—unless inundated by a tidal wave of letters and telegrams from an aroused citizenry.

Brownell Argues for Rights Bill

Herald Tribune New York Date. 2-5-57

Tells House Hearing Federal Action Should Prevent Violations

By Don Irwin

WASHINGTON, Feb. 4.—Attorney General Herbert Brownell jr. told a House Judiciary subcommittee today that need for civil-rights legislation has been "underscored" by "the turbulent events and unfortunate incidents" of the last year.

The Attorney General, lead-off witness at a scheduled four-day cycle of hearings, urged "early enactment" of the four-point civil-rights program first proposed last year by President Eisenhower and reintroduced this year with his support.

Mr. Brownell emphasized that the bill asks neither for "new and untried powers" nor for extension of Federal jurisdiction. He said the Justice Department seeks only new civil remedies as flexible supplements to criminal laws drawn to protect constitutional liberties.

"The time has come to make civil rights meaningful," Mr. Brownell said. ". . . I think 165 years is long enough to get this thing working right."

The Attorney General made the comment in an exchange with Rep. Edwin A. Willis, D., La., a member of the Judiciary Committee, but not of the Civil-Rights subcommittee. Rep. Willis challenged Mr. Brownell's view that, in the absence of state action to enforce civil rights, the Federal government has equal jurisdiction.

Meanwhile, on the House floor, the first of a series of expected Southern delaying actions totok place. Rep. William M. Colmer, D., Miss., refused to join the unanimous consent resolution required to permit the subcommittee to hold hearings while the House is in session. His action didn't interfere with today's schedule because the House adjourned early, but Rep. Emanuel Celler, D., N. Y., the subcommittee's chairman, moved tomorrow's morning session an hour earlier to avoid possible conflicts.

House civil-rights advocates hope to get the bill through the Judiciary Committee and out of the Rules Committee by early March. Such prompt scheduling would lessen the likelihood that

Associated Press

Attorney General Brownell

the threat of a Senate filibuster would bottle up the issue at the session's end.

Mr. Brownell concentrated today's testimony on arguments for the bill's major points. He held:

1. That a proposed bipartisan Presidential fact-finding commission, armed with subpoena powers, is necessary because there is now no agency empowered to compile data concerning "the most vital function of our governmental life—our Federally - protected constitutional rights." He said he saw no objection to creation of a separate Congressional committee to survey the matter.

2. That an Assistant Attorney General is needed to head up a civil-rights division in the Justice Department os that all such activities can be handled "logically and sensibly."

3. That enforcement of laws assuring civil rights and especially the right to vote would be made effective by sections of the requested legislation authorizing United States Attorneys to bring civil proceedings. Criminal actions now authorized can be invoked only "after the harm is actually done," he said, and are sometimes "unduly harsh."

Rep. Kenneth B. Keating, R., N. Y., sponsor of the Administration program, left the subcommittee rostrum and took the witness chair to urge early action without "substantial" alteration of the President's "moderate, realistic and progressive" program.

Brownell Girds for Row On Civil Rights Program

Star Dat. 2-16-57 P. 5-A Washington D.C.

Attorney General Brownell was recalled today for a Senate hearing on civil rights legislation for the third consecutive day.

With no apparent progress being made in narrowing the differences of opinion among those now participating in the civil rights debate, Senator Ervin, Democrat of North Carolina asked that Mr. Brownell return for further examination.

Another witness scheduled to appear before the Senate Judiciary subcommittee on constitutional rights is Senator Talmadge, Democrat of Georgia. His views against the legislation will more nearly conform with those of the North Carolinian.

Clash Repeatedly

Senator Ervin and Attorney General Brownell clashed repeatedly at yesterday's session. Senators Douglas of Illinois and Clark of Pennsylvania, both Democrats, also indorsed the Eisenhower civil rights program.

But Senator Stennis, Democrat of Mississippi, assailed the legislation as a device by which the Federal Government could bypass not only State courts but both State and Federal administrative bodies. He said enactment of the pending bills would be the "final, knockout blow of the States as independent units of government."

Senators Stennis and Ervin complained that the proposed law, by providing Federal civil injunctive processes in school discrimination suits, would reverse the fundamental concept of American law. They said the proposed legislation would deny local officials the right of trial by jury and the right to cross-examine accusers when the Justice Department named them defendants in civil rights suits.

Blasts Political Controls

Senator Stennis noted that Attorney General Brownell testified the legislation would be of help in enforcing the Supreme Court's decision on segregated schools.

"It is a sad day for any nation and the children of that nation, of whatever color, when the public schools are handled by the courts and politicians in such a fashion that they have to be operated through injunctions and criminal statutes," the Mississippian said.

"A public educational system should be grounded on the neds and the feelings of the people rather than on the modern trend for basing it on criminal statutes and injunctive processes."

Senator Douglas termed the legislation "substantial and meaningful" and declared it represents the overwhelming sentiment of the American people.

Senator Clark said he hoped the 50 Senators from 32 States who are sponsors on civil rights bills now pending will speak out for enactment because the Senate, itself, will be on trial in the court of world opinion when the issue comes to a showdown.

In an apparent effort to shorten hearings, some proponents of the legislation asked that their written statements be incorporated into the hearing record, instead of being read to the subcommittee.

Civil Rights Questions Protested by Brownell

Star Jan. 2-17-57 Washington, D.C. P. 1

Sees Implication That Eisenhower Would 'Recklessly Use Troops'

By ROBERT K. WALSH

Attorney General Brownell angrily accused Senate subcommittee questioners yesterday of implying that President Eisenhower would "recklessly and unconstitutionally" use troops to enforce Federal court orders in civil rights cases.

The verbal explosion climaxed increasingly bitter exchanges between Mr. Brownell and Senator Ervin, Democrat of North Carolina, shortly before the Attorney General finished three days of testifying before the Senate's constitutional rights subcommittee.

The North Carolina Senator and Robert Young, a committee staff lawyer assigned as "counsel to the opposition," cited what they called an unrepealed law enacted about 90 years ago. This would allow the President to use armed forces, including State militia to enforce constitutional rights.

They asked whether the President could use that old statute to obtain compliance with Federal court injunctions that might be obtained by the Attorney General under the administration's proposed civil rights bill.

"I believe there is an implication in this line of questioning that the President of the United States would act recklessly and unconstitutionally," Mr. Brownell declared. "I personally cannot sit by and allow any such implication to show in the record. This has gone far enough. It has no place in these proceedings."

Mr. Brownell backed up his protest by asking Subcommittee Chairman Hennings, Democrat of Missouri, to rule that the line of questioning was not germaine to the subcommittee's purpose in studying some 15 civil rights bills.

The Missouri Senator remarked that the subcommittee seemed to be entering "the realm of Alice in Wonderland." He suggested that some of the interrogation by Senator Ervin and Mr. Young seemed argumentative as well as repetitious.

Star P. 6-A

But he reminded Mr. Brownell that the subcommittee was not a court. He explained that as chairman he was inclined to put no limit on questioning so long as the queries were not "degrading or insulting."

Question Finally Withdrawn

Senator Ervin broke in to explain that "we don't imply President Eisenhower is going to call out the militia or use the Army and Navy to enforce orders against segregation." He insisted, however, that the questions were pertinent because the old law still exists and conceivably could be used to enforce future court orders.

Mr. Young finally withdrew the questions. He offered to appear personally next week as a witness to tell why he thought the presidential power under the Reconstruction era law was germaine to discussion of the proposed civil rights legislation.

"Perhaps it would be more appropriate if I testified and if the Attorney General were not subjected to questioning by a staff employe," Mr. Young then said.

Mr. Brownell then was excused, at least temporarily.

Despite Senator Ervin's explanation that he was engaged solely in "an educational process" by questioning witnesses at great length, Senator Hruska, Republican of Nebraska, served notice he would object strenuously if he became convinced that such prolonged questioning amounted to a filibuster.

Talmadge Takes Stand

Senator Talmadge, Democrat of Georgia, testified at the subcommittee's afternoon session. His prepared statement had been released Friday but in the course of questioning by Senator Watkins, Republican of Utah, he asserted that civil rights violations in Georgia were greatly exaggerated.

He charged that most complaints of that kind originated in Northern States and "are used by politicians to try to get Negro votes in big cities." He denied that Negroes face undue difficulties in voting in Georgia or that they lack ample opportunity to obtain redress in State as well as Federal courts.

The tension between Attorney General Brownell and Senator

BROWNELL VEXED BY RIGHTS INQUIRY

Times P. 64-L

Says Ervin Hints President Would 'Recklessly' Use Troops in the South

Sun. 2-17-57
New York

WASHINGTON, Feb. 16 (UP)—Attorney General Herbert Brownell Jr. protested today Congressional questioning that he said had implied that President Eisenhower would "recklessly" use troops to enforce civil rights rulings in the South.

Mr. Brownell, testifying before the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, clashed with Senator Sam J. Ervin Jr., Democrat of North Carolina, and Robert Young, a subcommittee attorney. They were questioning him about laws of Civil War reconstruction days that authorized the President to use the military to enforce judicial processes.

The laws were brought up during today's hearings on the Administration's civil rights legislation. The program would give the Attorney General the right to seek Federal Court injunctions to protect voting and other rights.

Mr. Brownell said:

"I believe there is, in here, an implication that the President would act recklessly, if not unconstitutionally * * * I cannot sit by * * * I feel this has gone far enough. I personally cannot stay here and allow any such implication to stand."

Questioning Defended

Senator Ervin said he was not concerned that General Eisenhower would employ such force. But he said the question of the old law was germane to the hearing and that he was concerned about the "power," regardless of who was President.

The question, Senator Ervin said, is whether Congress will "authorize a new type of [civil rights] suit to be brought by the Attorney General * * * while the President has the power to call out the armed forces or the militia to enforce those decrees."

Earlier, under pressure from Senator Ervin, Mr. Brownell had agreed to seek removal of secrecy tags from reports by the Federal Bureau of Investigation on denial of Negro voting rights in the South. He said he would like them put "in the public record" if possible and not just given to the Senate in confidence.

It was Mr. Brownell's third day of testimony.

Mr. Brownell also clashed with Senator Ervin over John Kasper, a New Jersey segregationist found guilty of contempt by a Federal court for inciting opposition to school desegregation in Clinton, Tenn.

He gibed at Mr. Ervin for using Kasper as an example of one whose civil rights had been denied. Senator Ervin retorted that all people were entitled to civil rights.

Senator Herman E. Talmadge, Democrat of Georgia, took the witness stand and made a detailed attack on the Administration's program.

In addition to the court orders, the Administration bill calls for creation of a bipartisan commission to investigate civil rights violations, a civil rights division in the Justice Department and added protection for Negro voting rights.

Senator Ervin today sought repeatedly, as he did previously, to get Mr. Brownell to admit the injunction power could be used to punish people without traditional criminal procedures of grand jury indictments and jury trials.

Mr. Brownell would not concede that was the case.

At one point Senator Thomas C. Hennings, Democrat of Missouri, the subcommittee chairman, complained that Senator Ervin's questioning was "repetitious." Mr. Ervin said he had been trying for three days to get a simple answer to his question and could finish quickly if Brownell would answer.

"I'll ask it again," Senator Ervin said. He turned to Mr. Brownell and demanded again whether the Administration bill would circumvent constitutional court procedures.

"No," Mr. Brownell said.

Ervin started building up almost as soon as Mr. Brownell resumed his testimony yesterday morning.

The North Carolina Senator suggested a possibility that under the proposed civil rights bill, some officials of the Justice Department could get inside information from confidential FBI reports and use it as background for public testimony.

Brownell Is "Nettled"

Mr. Brownell said he was "a bit nettled by the inference" that any Justice Department official would make improper use of FBI material which ordinarily is classified. He promised he would do everything he could to give the committee information obtained by the FBI concerning complaints of civil rights violations in some Southern States. This would depend on whether he can obtain the consent of the original complainants to disclosure of such material, he said.

Still another line of questioning by Senator Ervin dealt with a provision in the administration's bill that would allow the Attorney General to seek Federal court remedies such as injunctions even without the consent of individual citizens directly affected.

Mr. Brownell declared that such power would be in line with similar authority which the Justice Department already has in 28 statutes including the anti-trust laws.

Brownell Irked by Quiz on Using Troops to Curb Bias

Inquirer P. 6

WASHINGTON, Feb. 16 (UP).—Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., today angrily protested against Congressional questioning, which, he said, implied President Eisenhower would "recklessly" use troops to enforce civil rights rulings in the South.

Sun. 2-17-57
Philadelphia

Brownell, testifying for the third straight day in support of the President's civil rights program before the Senate subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, clashed with Sen. Sam J. Ervin (D., N. C.) and Robert Young, subcommittee minority attorney, when questioned about the so-called "force laws," enacted in Civil War Reconstruction Days, which authorized the President to use the military to enforce judicial processes.

UPSET BY QUESTIONS

Brownell balked at a series of questions on the laws and was visibly upset. He pursed his lips, placed his hands in his pockets, and stared at the domed ceiling of the hearing room.

Then he said crisply:

"I believe there is, in here, an implication that the President would act recklessly, if not unconstitutionally . . . I can not sit by . . . I feel this has gone far enough.

"I personally cannot stay here and allow any such implication to stand."

Earlier, under pressure from Ervin, Brownell had agreed to seek removal of secrecy tags from FBI reports alleging denial of Negro voting rights in the South. He said he would like them put "in the public record" if possible and not just given to the Senate in confidence.

CLASH OVER KASPER

Brownell also clashed with Ervin over John Kasper, segregationist found guilty of contempt by a Federal court for inciting opposition to school desegregation in Clinton, Tenn. He derided Ervin for using Kasper as an example of one whose civil rights have been denied.

Ervin retorted that all people were entitled to civil rights.

"You couldn't have chosen a worse illustration," Brownell shot back.

During the troop discussion, Ervin said he was not concerned that Mr. Eisenhower would employ such force. But he said the question of the old law was germane to the hearing and that he was concerned about the "power," regardless of who is President.

The question, Ervin said, is whether Congress will "authorize a new type of (civil rights) suit to be brought by the Attorney General . . . While the President has the power to call out the armed forces or the militia to enforce those decrees."

Ervin said specifically that the subcommittee should have access to FBI reports supporting Brownell's assertion that Negro voters in Camden, Brunswick and Greene counties, N. C., were treated unfairly by voting registrars.

Brownell, saying he was a "little bit nettled by your inference," added that he will try to "get permission" to make the reports public. He indicated this would require permission of the Negroes who gave the statements to the FBI.

If permission is obtained, he emphasized, he would want to put the reports "in the public record."

Brownell vs. Ervin and Young—

News Sun. 2-17-57

Rights hearing erupts into dispute on troops

B'ham, Ala. P.1

BY FRED S. HOFFMAN

WASHINGTON, Feb. 16—(AP)—A Senate hearing on civil rights erupted Saturday into an angry dispute over a suggestion that President Eisenhower might try to back up court decrees with federal troops.

Atty. Gen. Brownell, who was testifying at the time, protested what he said was an implication that the president "would act recklessly, if not unconstitutionally."

Brownell said no one ever had given thought to using federal troops to enforce the Supreme Court's decisions banning school segregation.

For parts of three days Brownell had been before a Senate judiciary subcommittee, undergoing rigorous questioning by Sen. Ervin (D., N. C.), an opponent of proposed civil rights bills, including those of the administration.

Brownell nettled

TENSION HAD BEEN rising gradually. Brownell described himself as "a little nettled" by the line of Ervin's remarks.

The blowoff came after the questioning of Brownell was taken over by Robert Young, a member of the judiciary committee staff assigned by Chairman Eastland (D., Miss.) to help foes of the civil rights measures.

Young immediately raised the question as to whether the president had power under a post-Civil War law to send federal troops into the states to enforce court decrees.

The committee lawyer prefaced this question by saying there has been "a great deal of worry" about how far the federal government might go in trying to enforce the Supreme Court's school desegregation rulings.

Bristling, Brownell said he was "rather disturbed" that Young should raise this question. The attorney general said he could see no reason to bring it up "except to confuse the issue." He said he thought it "rather irresponsible" to bring the matter into a hearing on civil rights legislation.

BROWNELL SAID he and others had said time and again there was no thought of using federal troops to enforce the high court's school decisions.

When Chairman Henning (D., Mo.) asked the purpose of Young's questioning, Ervin said the point was that the attroney general has asked for authority to obtain injunctions to protect civil rights. Ervin said the 1866 law Young referred to gives the president power to call out federal troops to enforce court decrees. Ervin said that Reconstruction era law still is on the books.

One recommendation by the Eisenhower administration is for authority to go into federal courts to seek civil injunctions to protect voting and other rights. Other proposals call for creation of a civil rights division in the Justice Department and establishment of a bipartisan commission to consider complaints of civil rights violations.

Brownell asked Hennings to rule that Young's line of questioning was irrelevant, but Hennings said he had no power to do so.

'Show respect'

WHEN HENNINGS said the subcommittee was not bound by court rules, Brownell retorted that the Senate group certainly is bound by rules "to show respect for the President of the United States."

Brownell said the Young line of questioning should be dropped because of what the attorney general said was the "danger of misunderstanding" that might result from it.

But Ervin insisted questions about the 1866 law were "very germane" to the subcommittee's hearing.

The North Carolinian said he wanted the people to know just what they would be getting if the administration proposals were enacted.

The dispute ended when Young agreed to withdrew his question. He said he believed it would be more appropriate if he testified next week as a witness before the subcommittee.

Then Brownell was excused.

Earlier, the attorney general and Erwin continued to dispute over Brownell's contention that there had been "mass disenfranchisement of Negroes" in the South.

BROWNELL HAS said the proposed legislation would enable the government to cope with denial of voting rights. Erwin, however, has insisted Brownell failed to demonstrate the necessity for what Erwin called such a "drastic" remedy.

Erwin has expressed skepticism about instances of voting right denials cited by Brownell in North Carolina. Saturday, the senator asked if it would be possible for the subcommittee to see the FBI report on which Brownell said he had based his testimony—"so that we can see if the inferences you have drawn are correct."

Erwin said it didn't seem "cricket" for a public official to see FBI reports and draw inferences from them while others could not see the reports to decide if they agreed with those inferences.

At that point, Brownell said he was "nettled" by Erwin's remarks. Brownell said he would see if he could get the consent of the persons interviewed to make the FBI reports public.

Following Bronnell, Sen. Talmadge (D., Ga.) testified that complaints that Southern Negroes are being deprived of their voting rights "are originating in the metropolitan cities of the East, where they are using the issue to get the Negro vote."

This was the reply he gave when Sen. Watkins (R., Utah) asked "why we get these complaints" if, as Talmarge had testiifed, he knew of no discrimination against Negro voters in Georgia.

After **Talmadge's testimony**, the subcommittee recessed until next week.

Brownell Asks Speed on Civil Rights; Senate Delays; 3rd Party Talk Heard

Post + Times Herald Fri. 2-15-57 P. 2-a

Washington, D.C.

By Robert C. Albright
Staff Reporter

Attorney General Herbert Brownell Jr. yesterday "urgently" called for passage this session of the Administration's four-point civil rights program to prevent what he termed "mass disenfranchisement of Negroes" in some areas of the South.

But even as he testified before a Senate Judiciary Subcommittee the program ran into a Southern delaying action in the Senate and a warning in the House that "you'll have a third party in the South" if Congress enacts such legislation.

The Senate delaying move came in the form of an objection by Sen. Russell B. Long (D-La.) to a request for permission for the **Senate Subcommittee** to proceed with civil rights hearings while the Senate was in session. The lone objection was enough to block the request, which required unanimous consent.

Sen. Thomas C. Hennings Jr. (D-Mo.), subcommittee chairman, said he was nonetheless hopeless of concluding hearings on the program in about two weeks. Hennings arranged to resume hearings this morning and said later on it may be necessary to hold night hearings.

Third Party Warning

The warning that a third political party will be formed if Congress passes civil rights legislation was voiced by Rep. Jamie L. Whitten (D-Miss.) in testimony before the House Judiciary Committee.

"The multiplicity of parties will really be set in motion the minute you pass the civil rights bill, on the basis the South has got to do something," said Whitten.

The Mississippi Congressman said Federal intervention in a Smith County, Miss., racial disturbance in 1946, "brushing aside" remedial efforts by the State, was the real "origin of the Dixiecrat Party in the South."

Despite renewed Southern opposition to civil rights legislation, prospects for passing a middle-of-the-road measure were seldom brighter. Current strategy is aimed at passing the bill first through the House, then pushing this identical House measure through the Senate, by midterm. This tactic would avoid a prolonged House-Senate conference, which would afford Southern opponents another chance to kill the bill.

During yesterday's Senate subcommittee hearing, a special "minority counsel" assisted Southern members of the subcommittee in presenting their questions. He was Robert Young, a member of the full Judiciary Committee staff. Young told the Associated Press he had been assigned by Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss.), chairman of the full Senate Judiciary Committee, to work with Sen. Sam J. Ervin Jr. (D-N.C.) and other opponents. Charles Slayman, counsel for the Constitutional Rights Subcommittee, sat beside Hennings, chairman of the subcommittee.

Cromwell Asks Action

Urging "right to vote" legislation now, to enable more eligible Negroes to vote in the South Brownell told the subcommittee the number of registered voters was reduced from 4000 to 694 in Ouachita Parish, Luoisiana, alone, after they were challenged by the white Citizens Council of the parish.

Said Brownell:

"Had the Administration's program been in effect the Department would have been able to iinitiate a civil action for the purpose of restoring the Negro voters to the rolls of registered voters in time to vote in the November election."

The Attorney General also mentioned three North Carolina precincts, where he said registrars had rigidly applied reading, writing and other technical tests to keep Negroes from voting.

Challenging Brownell's testimony, Ervin said he had never heard of anyone being denied the right to vote in North Carolina. He said there are 7500 local election officials in North Carolina, and Brownell had questioned the actions of only three of them. Erwin aske d if alleged disenfranchisement of Negroes in on parsh in Louisina and three precincts in North Carolina was sufficient to justify Brownell's call for sweeeping legislation.

Brownell said disenfranchisement of Negroes certainly wasn't confined to these three instances, that he could cite many others investigated by the FBI. He added: "We feel the problem is widespread enough to urgently call for action this session of Congress."

Brownell said that "in most of these situations, civil remedies would enable the Government to take affirmative action to deal with attempts at what happens to mass disenfranchisement of Negroes, in time to be effective.

Brownell's Ire Aroused By Questions

Post + Times Herald P.1 Sun. 2-17-57

By Rose McKee
International News Service
Washington D.C.

Attorney General Herbert Brownell Jr. ended his testimony on civil rights legislation yesterday in anger over what he termed an implication that President Eisenhower would use troops to enforce the program.

Brownell protested that "there is an implication here that the President would act recklessly if not unconstitutionally." He exclaimed: "I cannot sit by—I feel this has gone far enough. I cannot stay here to allow any such implication to stand."

The Attorney General was being questioned before a Senae Judiciary Subcommittee by Robert Young, counsel for senatorial opponents of the legislation, and Sen. Sam Ervin (D-N.C.).

Young, backed up by Ervin, said there is a post-Civil War law on the books empowering a President to call out the armed forces or the militia to enforce judicial decrees. In effect, they wanted to know if it would apply to court decrees handed down under the proposed bill.

Brownell, his anger rising visibly, declared that the line of questioning was "irresponsible." He said no one in the Administration had any thought of using the militia for such a purpose. Post + Times Herald

When Young declared that the President has the power to do so, Brownell asked Chairman Thomas C. Hennings (D-Mo.) to rule out the line of questioning as irrelevant. The Attorney General said he could not answer the questions because of "danger of misunderstanding" that might arise.

Hennings replied that the committee does not function like a court and is not "bound by rules" of relevancy.

Brownell protested: "You are certainly bound by rules of what is proper respect to the President."

In many clashes with Congress, the executive department has refused to make FBI reports public. But Brownell said he would put the FBI papers in question into the committee's public record if he can get permission from persons who complained they have been deprived of voting rights.

The Attorney General confessed he was "nettled" after Ervin said that "I feel it is not too much cricket, as the English say," for Government officials to look at the FBI reports and testify to inferences from the reports "which we cannot see."

Brownell said: "I'm nettled a little by your inference. If I can get the permissions of the persons, I'd like to put them into the public record. I don't want the inference that I make statements I can't back up."

As a preference to bringing up the question of the FBI reports, Ervin noted that in the last three days he and Brownell have disagreed widely on interpretations of the law although "we read the same books." Ervin is a former North Carolina Supreme Court justice.

Senator Ervin Tangles Again With Brownell On Civil Rights

News + Observer Sat. 2-16-57 P.1

Raleigh N.C.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 15 (AP)—Peppery exchanges between Atty. Gen. Brownell and Sen. Ervin (D-NC) today marked a Senate hearing on civil rights legislation.

Ervin contended the Eisenhower administration had failed to show any need for the legislation it proposes. Brownell, in response, promised to submit a list of criminal prosecutions for civil rights violations which he said probably would "run into the hundreds."

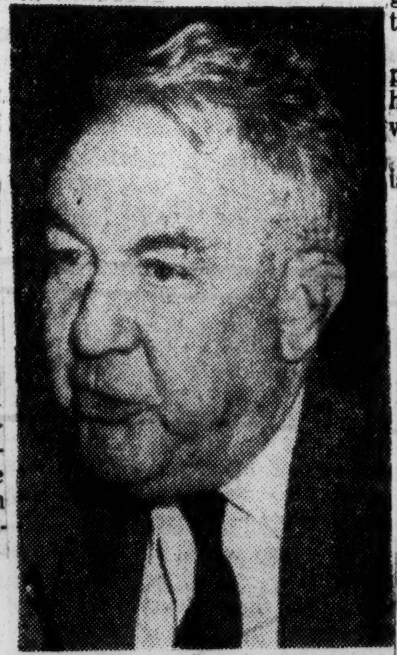
What It Wants.

The Eisenhower administration wants authority, among other things, for the attorney general to handle such cases in the civil courts, through injunction proceedings.

Ervin, spearheading Southern opposition to the administration program, argued that Brownell had failed to show "any specific conditions" warranting enactment of what he called such a "drastic remedy."

The exchange took place at a Senate Judiciary subcommittee hearing that developed into a sparring match between the two lawyers. Brownell is a product of Yale Law School, class of '27, and Ervin took his law degree at Harvard in '22.

"I'd have to grade you zero on that," Brownell told Ervin at one **point during the argument.**



SENATOR ERVIN
. . . Asks a Question.

"If we're going in for grading," replied Ervin, a former member of the North Carolina Board of Law Examiners, "I'd say you were 99 and 99-100 per cent wrong on that."

Ervin frequently accused the attorney general of dodging his questions.

The attorney general said that over the years, and in recent years too, "there have been a great many violations of the civil rights of our citizens," such as the right to vote.

Pressed for examples, Brownell snapped that he couldn't be expected to "turn myself into an FBI." He said he would submit court records of criminal prosecutions of the type the civil rights legislation is designed to deal with.

At present, a private citizen may apply for an inunction to enforce his rights. But Brownell said in some instances people have not done this because of "economic pressures," apparently meaning they were unable to afford a lawyer.

Under the administration plan, the attorney general would go into court and seek the injunction for them, at government expense.

Ervin contended this would deprive other citizens of the right of trial by jury. Under the present system, he said the government must follow the criminal indictment route in such cases, and this guarantees the defendant a jury trial.

Brownell said that Ervin, in expressing fears about what might happen under the injunction plan, was in this position:

"What it comes down to, Senator, is that you, an ex-judge, do not have confidence in the judicial system of this country. I'm amazed that you take this position."

News + Observer

Ervin replied: "What it comes down to is that I consider the right of indictment, of trial by jury and cross-examination of witnesses so sacred that I never want them taken away from any individual."

P. 2

Ervin said he feared "a politically minded attorney general" could use the proposed legislation **"to intimidate election officials throughout the United States."**

Excused Until Today.

After a 2½-hour morning session, Brownell was excused until tomorrow. Ervin said he had a lot more questions to ask.

Ervin said he could not estimate how much longer his interrogation of Brownell would last. He said he also wanted Robert Young, a committee staff member, to question Brownell.

Young said yesterday that he had been assigned by Sen. Eastland (D-Miss), chairman of the full committee, to assist Ervin and other subcommittee members opposing the legislation.

During his questioning of Brownell, Ervin said injunctions to protect voting rights would be brought in the weeks before elections "when the air is surcharged with political emotions."

He said this would be more likely to stir up strife and antagonism than a criminal prosecution after campaign emotions have subsided.

The attorney general cited several cases in which he said Southern Negroes had sought injunctions to give them the right to vote. In cases where the facts justified, injunctions were granted, he said, and in others they were not.

"It has worked very well," he said.

As Ervin continued to assert that the "practical effect" of injunction power would be to deprive citizens of the right of jury trial, Brownell asserted:

"You're 100 per cent wrong. You're not able to put forth an iota of evidence for that."

The senator then demanded to know if it were not true that the decisions as to whether to seek an injunction would not be solely up to the attorney general and "the other 160 million Americans would have nothing to say about it."

"That is not government by law, nor even government by men," he declared. "It is government by the nod of the temporary occupant of the office of attorney general."

"I'd have to grade you zero on that," Brownell told him. "The attorney general has no powers to deprive any citizen of any rights. These rights are passed on by the federal judiciary."

After one exchange, Ervin said, "Mr. Attorney General, the trouble with us is, you're squirrel-hunting, and I'm looking for rabbits."

Later, the senator said bluntly that he wanted "responsive answers" to his questions.

Charges Implication Back Of Troops To Enforce Law

Daily World P.1 Atlanta, Ga. Sun. 2-17-57

WASHINGTON — (INS) — Attorney General Herbert Brown[ell] Jr., ended his testimony on Civil Rights legislation Saturday [in] anger over what he termed an implication that President Ei[sen]hower would use troops to enforce the program.

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The Attorney General was being questioned before a Senate Judiciary Subcommittee by Robert Young, counsel for senatorial opponents of the legislation, and Sen. Sam Ervin (D) N. C.

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Brownell, his anger rising visibly, declared that the line of questioning was "irresponsible." He said no one in the administration had thought of using the militia for such a purpose.

When Young declared that the President has the power to do so Brownell asked chairman Thomas C. Hennings (D) Mo., to rule out the line of questioning as irrelevant. The Attorney General said that he could not answer the questions because of "danger of misunderstanding" that might arise.

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Brownell protested: "You are certainly bound by rules of what is proper respect to the President."

Brownell, who had been on the stand for three days of cross-examination by Ervin, appeared irked when Young was permitted to take over the questioning.

Jury trials in contempt cases clearly defined by Brownell

Afro-American Baltimore, Md. P. 13
Sat. 6-22-57 P. 13

ROGERS OLNEY BROWNELL KEATING

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON (NNPA)—Opponents of civil rights legislation are making a specious argument when they assert that provisions of the pending bills would deprive persons of the right to jury trials.

There is no constitutional right to a jury trial on contempt cases. The Constitution guarantees jury trials only in criminal cases and in lawsuits where the amount in controversy exceeds $20.

The law respecting jury trials in contempt cases appears to be correctly set out in the letter of Attorney General Herbert Brownell to Sens. Thomas C. Kuchel of California and Clifford P. Case of New Jersey and Rep. Kenneth B. Keating of New York, Republicans.

* * *

MR. BROWNELL pointed out that—

"In 1914 Congress passed a statute...extending the right to jury trial in criminal contempt cases where the acts constituting the contempt also constitute criminal offenses under federal or local law.

"This statute expressly excepted contempts arising out of disobedience to court orders entered in suits brought in the name of the United States. Since criminal contempt proceedings are not often sought in private litigation . . . this statute has had little impact upon the enforcement of federal court orders."

A major argument advanced for the jury trial amendment is that the Norris-LaGuardia anti-Labor injunction act of 1931 provided for jury trials in contempt cases arising out of injunctions issued in labor disputes.

Rep. Howard W. Smith of Virginia, chairman of the powerful House Rules Committee, who is as much opposed to protection of the rights of labor as he is to protecting civil rights secured by the Federal Constitution, argues that the jury trial provision of the Norris-LaGuardia Act is still in effect.

* * *

ATTORNEY General Brownell and the American Civil Liberties Union are agreed that the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947 should not apply to injunctions sought under the latter law.

As to the harm that would be done to the federal judicial system if a jury had to determine whether a person who refused or failed to comply with a court order was guilty of contempt, there appears to be no better statement than that of President (later Chief Justice) William Howard Taft, to which attention was directed by President Eisenhower at his press conference on June 5.

President Taft concluded:

"The administration of justice lies at the foundation of government. The maintenance of the authority of the courts is essential unless we are prepared to embrace anarchy.

"Never in the history of the country has there been such an insidious attack upon the judicial system as the proposal to interject a jury trial between all orders of the court made after full hearing and the enforcement of such orders."

The civil rights bill would give the Attorney General the authority to seek injunctions where a person is about to be deprived of his right to vote or his civil rights are about to be violated.

UNQUESTIONABLY, in drafting this proposal the Administration had in mind the fact that federal grand juries in the South will not indict white persons for depriving colored persons of the right to vote or for violating their federally-secured rights.

The Justice Department has had ample experience in such cases. As a matter of fact, the Justice Department is reluctant to proceed in voting on civil rights cases unless it believes it has an airtight case in which it can get an indictment and conviction. And it has not always succeeded in getting an indictment or a conviction in such cases.

The record of state juries is worse than that of federal juries. Grand juries in southern state courts will not indict except in the most heinous of crimes—and even then, petit juries will not convict.

The Emmett Louis Till and the Montgomery (Ala.) church bombing cases are in point.

There is another type of case which illustrates the respect for the court which is engendered by the power of federal judges to punish for contempt of court.

After the U.S. Supreme Court decided that colored persons could not legally be barred from voting in white Democratic primaries in the South, the South Carolina legislature repealed all state laws relating to primaries.

* * *

THIS LEFT the power to make rules and regulations governing Democratic primaries in South Carolina in the hands of the State Democratic Executive Committee.

The committee set about reorganizing the Democratic party in South Carolina as a private, voluntary association with power to choose its own members and to permit only white persons to vote in its primaries.

Both federal and state officers were chosen in these primaries. Nomination in a Democratic primary in South Carolina is still equivalent to election.

The NAACP sued in 1947. There was talk that the streets of cities in South Carolina would run red with blood if the white Democratic primaries were opened to colored voters.

When Judge J. Waties Waring of the Federal District Court at Charleston (now retired) was ready to rule, he summoned into his courtroom the 86 defendants, including all members of the State Democratic Executive Committee and county chairmen of 45 of the 46 counties in the state. (Richland County was omitted because colored voters were enrolled there.)

* * *

IN THE tiny courtroom, three fourths filled with colored people, Judge Waring ruled with finality that colored persons must be admitted to the Democratic party in South Carolina.

He warned state and county party leaders, who were defendants, that any party official who failed to comply with the spirit of his order would be held in contempt of court and sent to jail.

William P. Baskin of Bishopville, chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, who was a delegate to the 1948 Democratic national convention in Philadelphia fighting inclusion of a civil rights plank platform, said the order "will be carried out fully."

Today there are 100,790 registered colored voters in South Carolina, representing 34 per cent of the total population of voting age and 16 per cent of the total registration.

Dixie Forces Gird For Rights Bill Fight

Constitution Sun. 5-26-57 Atlanta Ga. P.16-a

House Approval Appears Certain; Hopes Lie With Russell in Senate

By **HAROLD DAVIS**
Atlanta Journal Washington Correspondent

Atlanta Journal Bureau 1426 G Street, NW

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WASHINGTON, May 25—The outnumbered Southerners in the U.S. House of Representatives will organize next week for a last-ditch but probably futile stand against the Brownell civil rights bill.

The House Rules Committee, after long hearings, has scheduled the rights measure for House floor action in the week beginning Monday, June 3. Four days of debate are allotted before the measure is voted on.

The House passed essentially the same bill last year. The Senate let it die.

This year, House approval is again considered certain. The key issue is whether Sen. Richard B. Russell and his allies can again hold the line in the upper body.

Since last session, the complexion of the Senate has changed somewhat due to the election of a spate of new liberal solons from the West. They all favor the measure.

* * *

ALL OPPONENTS of the bill — mostly Southerners — regard their position now as extremely grave. Nevertheless, they are girding for a fight. In the House, the Southern members will caucus this week to select their leaders for the struggle which will take place the following week.

Rep. Howard W. Smith of Virginia, head of the Rules Committee, is regarded the most likely choice as Southern leader.

Rep. E. L. Forrester of Leesburg, Ga., probably will be in charge of trying to amend the bill to remove the features which Southern traditionalists regard as most offensive. Rep. James C. Davis, parliamentarian in last year's fight, may fill that post again.

* * *

AMENDMENTS are now being drafted by Southerners on the Judiciary Committee, of which Mr. Forrester is a member.

The Leesburg solon said Saturday he is sure several amendments will be offered from the floor. These will attempt to:

Kill the paragraphs setting up a special civil rights commission to investigate alleged violations of civil rghts.

Kll the section providing for an additional U.S. attorney general in charge of civil rights. This officer, if his position is authorized by this bill, will seek temporary and permanent injunctions in the name of the U.S. Government to facilitate enforcement of the civil rights law.

* * *

KNOCK OUT the section which says aggrieved individuals can go directly into federal courts without first exhausting the remedies their states have provided.

Put in an amendment providing for a jury trial for defendants cited for violation of a federal injunction. Trial by jury would be denied under the bill if it is passed as drawn.

Mr. Forrester, aware that those in Congress who share his point of view are a minority, says he has little more than "a hope" that some of the amendments will carry. He is trying to persuade some of his conservative Northern and Eastern colleagues to sponsor the amendments. He feels if they are offered by a Southerner, that is "the kiss of death."

Once the bill is passed by the House, its supporters will put pressure on the Senate to take quick favorable action on it.

IF THE PROPOSAL gets out of Senate committee, Sen. Russell will probably lead the floor battle against it. He has pledged a "fight to the last extremity." This presumably means a filibuster if necessary and if the Senate does not shut off debate.

Of the 22 Southerners in the Senate, 21 will probably vote against the measure if and when it comes to a vote. Sen. Estes Kefauver is in favor of it.

Of the 21 opponents, however, observers predict that only about 13 can be depended upon to participate in a lengthy filibuster. The other eight will probably make about one speech apiece in order to get on record, and then shut up.

Supporters of the bill have two years in which to persuade the Senate to act. If the measure is not passed this year by the upper body, it will still be alive throughout all of 1958 before dying again with the outgoing Congress.

Brownell In New Appeal For Civil-Rights Powers

Herald Tribune Thurs. 4-25-57 New York

10 P.4

WASHINGTON, Apr. 24 (UP).—Attorney General Herbert Brownell jr. said today the Justice Department came under "great pressure" in the last year to intervene in "shocking" civil-rights cases. But he said the department lacked the authority to act.

He called on Congress in his annual report to pass the Administration's four-point civil-rights bill to give his department "more flexible" powers in civil-rights cases.

Among the cases cited by Mr. Brownell were the murder of the Rev. George W. Lee and the shooting of Gus Courts, both officials of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in Mississippi. He also mentioned the Emmett Till case.

"Many thousands of letters were received with demands from all over the country for intervention by the department," he said. But he said no action was possible "because in each instance, investigation showed" the incidents involved violations only of state laws.

In the field of labor racketeering, Mr. Brownell said his department has carried on a "concerted drive" against the "hoodlums and racketeers" who have infiltrated the labor movement.

He said a number of union officials have been convicted of receiving or extorting illegal payments from employers, of forcing the employment of unnecessary workers under threat of labor strife, and of similar violations of the anti-racketeering laws.

Mr. Brownell's also reported that the United States Communist party has suffered such heavy losses in membership and influence that it is in a critical condition. The department has prosecuted and obtained conviction of 102 Communist leaders on Smith Act charges. Twenty-eight others now await trial.

He said the department has cut the number of cases pending in United States attorneys' offices from 29,979 on June 30, 1055, to 24,253 to June 30, 1956.

Part III Of Civil Rights Bill Was No Secret -- Javitts

Afro-American Sat. 7-27-57
Baltimore, Md. P.1

New Yorker says clause is needed

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON (NNPA) — There's nothing hidden or secret about Part III of the Brownell Civil Rights Bill, the Senate was told Friday by Sen. Jacob K. Javitts (R., N.Y.) in a vigorous defense of the measure.

He took sharp exception to what he termed "misleading" statements by Southern opponents of the legislation.

He pointed out that Attorney General Brownell testified before the Senate Judiciary Constitutional Rights subcommittee that Part III might be useful in school segregation cases like the one which arose in Hoxie, Ark.

* * *

IN THAT CASE, the Hoxie School Board decided to desegregate the public schools in compliance with the Supreme Court decision. The White Citizens Council and other hate organizations threatened the school board and the superintendent with violence, and also threatened some parents.

The school board and the superintendent brought suit in the Federal District Court for an injunction to prevent the defendants from interfering with the operation of the school on an unsegregated basis.

The injunction was issued. On appeal, the Justice Department came in as a friend of the court and filed a brief in support of the school and the superintendent.

* * *

Both Democrat and Republicans have had their fill "of either apologizing for Part III or saying it has just been discovered," Mr. Javits said, adding:

"Nothing could be further from the truth. It was considered, debated, testified to, and it is an answer to a specific wrong which has created violence."

Afro-American

Sen. Paul H. Douglas, (D., Ill.), told the Senate Wednesday that it was embarrassing to have the "rug pulled from under our feet" whenever Senators seek to defend the President's program. P. 2

Mr. Douglas' remark was occasioned by press reports of statements made by President Eisenhower on civil rights at his press conference Wednesday morning.

While speaking on the Anderson-Aiken amendment strike Part III out of the Administration's civil rights bill Sen. Clinton P. Anderson, (D. N.M.) read an item stating that Mr. Eisenhower had said he did not favor permitting the Attorney General on his own motion to go into court to enforce school integration.

* * *

SENATOR DOUGLAS repeated an earlier statement that he was not an authority on what the President has in mind.

"If this latest press release is true," he said, "then it probably represents some withdrawal on the part of the President from the position he took yesterday (Tuesday) afternoon."

Continuing, Douglas said:

"Even if he withdrew to the point that is indicated by the latest press release, it would still permit the Attorney General to assist local school districts, such as Hoxie, Ark., which wanted to desegregate but which could not receive any aid from the Department of Justice."

* * *

DOUGLAS SAID . the Senate should discuss Part III of the bill until its "full meaning is brought out.

"If we discuss it for several days, we may be ablee to convince the President that he should return to his original position of yesterday (Tuesday) and go back on his disavowal of this (Wednesday) morning," Douglas said, adding:

"I say that because very frankly it leaves those of us who support the President's program in a very embarrassing position: whenever we rise to defend the administration, the rug is pulled out from under our feet by the administration, which presumably we of the opposite party are generous enough to defend."

* * *

SENATOR ANDERSON remarked that he had heard much about "extended debate" but did not know its purpose.

"If the purpose is to persuade the President to change his mind, then, of course, I have no objection to it," said Anderson, a foe of the filibuster.

Anderson added that he himself "do not intend to fight for a provision which I believe will give the Attorney General authority to enforce desegregation by injunction."

Douglas replied that he was very glad to see Russell "licking his chops over the prospects of a victory on the Anderson amendment."

* * *

SEN. GEORGE D. AIKEN, (D., Vt.) who is a co-sponsor with Senator Anderson of the amendment to strike out Part III of the bill, argued that Part III appeared to go "far beyond the matter of voting rights, or even matters concerned with integration or segregation and into other fields."

Sen. Frank J. Lausche, (D., O.) who has shown inclinations during the civil rights debate to play "footsie" with the Dixiecrats, agreed with Aiken that legislation should be enacted as if it were to be administered by enemies and not friends.

Dixiecrats have levelled their heaviest personal barrages at Attorney General Herbert Brownell. They contend that the bill would make him a czar, enabling him to sue to enjoin deprivations of the right to vote or other civil rights, whether the aggrieved persons wanted suits brought or not.

* * *

SEN. ESTES KEFAUVER, (D., Tenn.) who voted to take up the civil rights bill and then voted to send it to the Senate Judiciary Committee with instructions to report it back within seven days, offered an amendment providing for trial by jury to punish contempts of court growing out of civil rights cases.

A bipartisan amendment was offered to the bill to repeal the provision in the United States Code which the Dixiecrats contend the President may use to compel racial integration in the south at the point of a bayonet.

The authors of the amendment are Sens. William F. Knowland, of California, the Senate GOP leader, and Sen. Hubert Humphrey, (D., Minn).

NKRUMAH GIVEN PICTURE

LONDON — The Australian Prime Minister, Mr. Menzies, has presented Dr. Nkrumah, Prime Minister of Ghana, with a painting as a souvenir of the meeting of the two Prime Ministers in London and to mark Ghana's attainment of Independence.

Brownell Wrote A Bill Of Attainder

Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.
Mon 8-5-57

FURTHER evidence of the profound impact of Southern senators' exposures of the evils inherent in Brownell's civil rights bill are the opinions of Gerald W. Johnson in *The New Republic.*

The New Republic, in case you don't know, is not a conservative magazine.

Brownell, Johnson says, outwitted himself by loading the bill with repressive measures designed, he implies, to fill the needs of "political quacks fishing for the Negro vote." As *The Advertiser* has said, the very viciousness of the bill was the South's best ally.

Had Brownell been content with a moderate measure to quarantine the right to vote without abolishing the civil rights of white Southerners in the process, Johnson says, the South would not have been able to fight the bill on its merits, and would have been forced to use the filibuster which, there seems good reason to believe, might have been halted by the necessary two-thirds vote.

However, Brownell's cockiness made him greedy. He loaded the bill with "steeltraps, deadfalls and spring-guns so thickly that a law-abiding citizen could approach it only at grave risk," Johnson comments.

Whatever the legal status of the bill, as originally introduced, might have been ruled to be by the Supreme Court, he continues, its moral foundation is highly questionable:

> It is based upon the assumption that no Southern jury can be relied on in cases under to the law to respect its oath to be guided solely by the evidence presented. No such assumption is a morally sound basis of legislation.

JURIES are frequently presented with incontrovertible evidence of guilt, only to acquit. This happens in all of the nation, Johnson says:

> . . . It happens in Massachusetts and Illinois, as well as in Georgia and Alabama, and nowhere does it happen often enough to justify abandonment of trial in criminal cases. Therefore legislation based on the assumption that it would be the rule, not the exception, in the South is in effect a bill of attainder working corruption of the blood in a whole population.

"Corruption of the blood" was the old legal concept whereby a man lost his rights of citizenship because of criminal conduct. So attainted, he was thereafter ineligible to appear as a witness or serve as a juror. So abhorrent was this concept to the framers of the U. S. Constitution that they wrote in barriers to "bills of attainder." And England abandoned what remained of the doctrine in 1870. But, says Johnson:

> . . . When the law assumes that any jury drawn from a certain population is to be regarded as perjured in advance, then that entire population is in effect attainted. One of its rights of citizenship is deemed forfeited.

It was Edmund Burke who said, "I do not know the method of drawing up an indictment against a whole people." Yet whoever it was who wrote the bill tried just that. He failed — so completely, says Johnson, that "liberals were hamstrung while the filibuster gained a measure of sympathy and even respect."

★

THE favorable vote for the jury trial amendment was a convincing and heartening example of many senators rejecting political expediency and their pre-judgments of the bill.

The Knoxville conviction of the Clinton troublemakers is evidence supporting Johnson's conclusion:

> There will be juries in the South who find their verdict according to the evidence, however much they may dislike the law; and convictions will steadily increase with the passage of time. It will be found difficult to make a hero of a man sent to jail by a jury of his peers; but Americans sent to jail by a judge without trial by jury will be ideal material for a new martyrology.

Johnson wrote his column, we suppose, before the Knoxville verdict. But imagine what would be the standing of the addle-brained John Kasper if he had been convicted by a judge and not a jury of 12 Southern white men?

He might not be a folk hero, but he would certainly not be the justly convicted punk he is now.

The Civil Rights Bill—II

[This is the concluding part of a summary of the civil rights bill passed by Congress. The first part appeared on this page Saturday.]

Advertiser

POWERS OF THE COMMISSION

The President may appoint a full-time staff director for the Commission and pay him up to $22,500 a year. The Commission may appoint "such other personnel as it deems advisable." It may not, however, use volunteers.

If it "deems advisable," the Commission may set up advisory groups within the states and consult with state officials. P. 2 B

Subcommittees of two or more members of the Commission may hold hearings and issue subpoenas "at such times and places" as the Commission desires.

If a subpoena is ignored, the U.S. attorney may apply to the local district court for an order forcing the witness to appear. If the court grants the order and the witness still holds out, he may be cited for contempt.

APPROPRIATIONS

Montgomery Ala

There is hereby authorized to be appropriated . . . so much (money) as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this act.

PART II—AN ADDITIONAL ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL

The title is explanatory. There is no mention of the new assistant's duties, but it isn't likely that he will be looking for Weights and Standards violators.

PART III—TO STRENGTHEN THE CIVIL RIGHTS STATUTES

This is the part that brought on the storm. In its original version, Senator Russell found an obscure citation that would have permitted use of federal troops to enforce all Supreme Court decisions, including school integration. Even the bill's most ardent supporters professed surprise and disclaimed responsibility. The Senate knocked out the provision.

Sun. 10-27-57

As it remains, Part III is innocuous.

PART IV—SECURING AND PROTECTING THE RIGHT TO VOTE

This forbids any person, "whether acting under color of law or otherwise," from interfering with any person's right to vote for national offices—president, vice president, presidential electors, senators, representatives and territorial delegates—at any general, special or primary election.

Whenever any person has engaged, or there are reasonable grounds to believe that any person is about to engage, in any act or practice which would deprive any other person of any right or privilege . . . [to vote], the attorney general may institute . . . a civil action or other proper proceeding for preventive relief, including any application for a permanent or temporary injunction, restraining order, or other order.

The district courts of the United States shall have jurisdiction of proceedings instituted pursuant to this section and shall exercise same without regard to whether the party aggrieved shall have exhausted any administrative or other remedies that may be provided by law.

Any person cited for alleged contempt shall have the right of court-appointed counsel if he is unable to provide his own.

PART V—TRIAL BY JURY

Southern senators, led by Senator Ervin of North Carolina, waged a long fight to secure jury trials in cases of criminal contempt. In the end, they prevailed by a vote of 51-42.

Jury trial is not assured in all criminal contempt cases—only if the penalty imposed by a judge is more than $300 in fines or 45 days in jail. Thus a person fined $301 or sentenced to 46 days in jail may demand and get a *de novo* trial by jury. A person fined $1 less or sentenced to one day less hasn't that right.

Advertiser

Civil contempt is another matter. It carries no trial by jury. Civil contempt is imposed to get compliance with a court order. Criminal contempt is punishment for failing to comply.

QUALIFICATIONS OF FEDERAL JURORS

Sun. 10-26-57

This provides that any person 21 years or older is eligible to serve as a federal grand or petit juror unless: He has been convicted of a crime carrying punishment of one year or more and his civil rights have not been restored; he is unable to read, write, speak or understand the English language; he is mentally or physically incapable of rendering jury service. P. 2 B

That is the civil rights law—the first passed by Congress since Reconstruction days. The South should know it, for it must live with the law—or harsher successors—for a long time.

A Good Measure, or Bad?

Courier p.3
Pittsburgh, Pa.
Sat 9-7-57

Mixed Feelings Are Expressed On Rights Bill

(By Courier Press Service)

As the Old South's last defiant act in Congress against the controversial civil rights bill came to an end with South Carolina Senator's Strom Thurmond ending his long filibuster, voices arose in the land either hailing or deprecating the new legislation.

• **Whether the new bill meets the challenge offered by so-called American ideals of "democracy" and "fair play" seemingly depends upon one's own point of view.**

Although the NAACP had stated that the measure was "better than nothing at all," New York's Congressman Adam Clayton Powell sounded off with, "I strongly disagree with the weak position of the NAACP on the emasculated civil rights bill passed by the Senate.

• **"Responsible citizens reject their compromising 'half-a-loaf' policy. After an 80-year wait, no bill is better than half a bill. The President, Secretary of Labor and Joe Martin are absolutely correct in their views."**

And as Mr. Powell's words hung in the air, a contradictory voice arose from within the ranks of the Eisenhower Administration. Attorney General Herbert Brownell, fresh from a talk with the President in the White House, announced that the bill went a long way toward safeguarding voting rights.

AND, SEEMINGLY, Senator Russell of Georgia agreed, for he claimed that the measure would cause "forcing of the registration of a large number of Negroes who, in fact, cannot meet the qualifications prescribed for all electors under the laws of some states."

• **The Georgia Senator also offered his opinion that Vice President Nixon would apply constant pressure to Attorney General Brownell to see to it that he uses the powers granted to him under the measure. Under the terms of the legislation, the bill authorizes the Attorney General to bring Federal Court injunction suits against interference or threatened interference with voting rights.**

The bill was viewed as a compromise measure with a trial-by-jury provision used as the glue to guarantee its passage. In short, if an individual is accused of contempt of the Federal Court, it's up to the judge to decide whether or not the case should be tried with or without a jury.

IN EITHER event, the accused could not be punished with more than six months in prison and a $1,000 fine. However, if the judge imposed a sentence greater than 45 days or a $300, the convicted individual could demand a new trial before a jury.

Minority leader Lyndon Johnson of Texas voiced the opinion that the bill is "not the big bad wolf with sharpened fangs ready to leap upon people."

• **Despite the opinions, pro and con, it remained to be seen just what effect the bill would have, in actual practice, throughout the South in not only guaranteeing the Negro his right to vote but encouraging him to cast his ballot as though he were a first-class citizen.**

Defender p.1
Chicago, Ill.
Sat 9-7-57

OK Patched Up Civil Rights Bill

By ETHEL L. PAYNE

WASHINGTON — President Eisenhower early this week was preparing to sign into law the battered, almost unrecognizable version of the civil rights bill passed by Congress after virtually all the teeth had been pulled from the original administration measure.

At 11:45 p.m. Thursday, August 29, the Senate made history by passing the first civil rights bill since 1879.

The moment was marked not so much with rejoicing by supporters of the legislation; but by weary relief that at long last the ordeal was over and they could pack their bags and go home.

BILL GUTTED

Many were frank to admit that the final version of the House bill had been gutted and weakened so that it was a mere shadow of itself; but they philosophically consoled themselves with the saying, "well, at least, it's a step forward."

FILIBUSTER DELAYS BILL

When the vote came 26 hours after the futile one-man filibuster staged by Sen. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, only 75 of the full complement of 96 senators actually cast their yeas and nays.

The South was able to muster only 15 votes against the bill. Some of their ranks had gone home to give away sons and daughters in marriage.

Four senators who signified they would have voted aye paired their votes with absentee Southerners who would have voted nay and thus these votes were not recorded.

An amused moment occurred when Sen. Murray of Montana, arriving late, hat in hand announced that he paired with Sen. Olin Johnston of South Carolina who was not present only to learn that Sen. Milton Young of North Dakota had beat him to the punch. Young then withdrew his pair and voted aye.

The newly elected Sen. William Proxmire of Wisc., was on hand to vote aye in a loud clear voice. After a hassle, the house finally modified the jury trial provision, in its original bill, to apply only to cases where the fine involved more than $300 and 45 days in jail.

The President was expected to sign the bill into law almost immediately.

Before the roll call, a round of speechmaking took place; but these were prudently limited since Sen. Thurmond had already delayed action 24 hours and 18 minutes by holding the floor.

CALLS PROVISION "REMOTE"

Senator Johnson, the majority leader, termed the revised jury trial provision, as "remote" in the possibility of actually trying cases without juries.

He said no prudent judge would try a case without a jury at the risk of having to try it twice. Johnson praised the bill as the first to pass Congress in 82 years.

Perhaps the most enlightening speech came from Sen. Herman Talmadge of George who laid down some political facts of life. unusual from the standpoint of rabble rousing segregationists.

COULD HARM SOUTH

Said Talmadge in substance: "The South could only do itself harm by attempting to filibuster the amended bill to death and would invite the possibility of swift invoking of cloture at the next session, plus renewed determination to pass a stronger civil rights bill.

Talmadge with rare political astuteness told his colleagues who had been clamoring for a full dress filibuster on the part of all the southern senators, that he did not intend to be stampeded into acts which would only bring down speakable havoc on the South.

Hence, he said, southerners had voted not to engage in a filibuster.

Severe criticism has been leveled at civil rights organizations for their support of the first bill passed by the Senate, the bill in which the jury trial amendment was included.

Sat 9-7-57

Time Magazine said last week:

"A major force behind the weak civil rights bill passed by the Senate a fortnight ago was the support given it by the NAACP and the Americans for Democratic Action. A major reason for last week's agreement on a stronger bill was the angry reaction of Negro leaders against the organizations' capitulation."

The magazine said that "in defense, the NAACP finally moved to shore up the strong-bill position of House Republican Leader Joe Martin."

Citizens Wire Ike: "Veto 'Rights' Bill"

Courier Sat. 8-31-57
Pittsburgh, Pa. P. 2

WASHINGTON—When the Senate chopped up the Civil Rights Bill and returned it to the House, the White House was flooded with telegrams and letters. Most of the messages were critical of the measure as it now stands and called on the President to do all within his power to give the bill new strength. Contents of many of the telegrams and letters were released this week by the President's press secretary, James C. Hagerty:

■

Speaking in my capacity as an American citizen, I say that the bill in its present form is disappointingly weak. I heartily support every effort now being made to strengthen it.

Dr. Ralph J. Bunche

■

As Grand Exalter Ruler of the Improved Benevolent Protective Order of Elks of the World, I wish to inform you that the Order of Elks is against the Senate Civil Rights Bill in its present form. Please establish for your records our position that the bill should be vetoed in its present form.

Robert H. Johnson, Grand Exalted Ruler, Philadelphia, Pa.

■

Am opposed to Civil Rights Bill in its present form. Have been in touch with a number of my friends. We disagree that half loaf better than none. Have waited this long for bill with meaning—can wait a little longer.

Jackie Robinson

■

The long effort to obtain a civil rights law have reached the point where the Nation's morale at home and its prestige abroad require fulfillment of these efforts. But the value of the measure will be judged by its effectiveness. May we urge you, therefore, to exert all of your great leadership at this crucial moment to obtain an improved and strengthened version of the Senate bill before the Congress adjourns.

Henry Edward Schultz Chairman, Anti-Defamation League, B'nai B'rith

■

Every one of the more than a dozen responsible Negro citizens with whom I have discussed the current Civil Rights legislation today joins me in supporting your position 100% against the jury trial amendment.

Asa T. Spaulding, Vice President and Actuary, North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company

■

Speaking on behalf of the Negro press, I sincerely urge you to exert all influence at your command to have the House of Representatives strengthen to the greatest extent possible the Civil Rights bill now pending in the House Rules Committee.

In this hour when Civil Rights for millions of American citizens are at stake, Mr. President, you have the responsibility of intelligent leadership.

The Negro publishers urge you to use this leadership to the end that this Congress will carry out yours and our desire, that an effective and meaningful Civil Rights bill be passed.

William O. Walker, President National Newspaper Publishers Association

■

Senate Civil Rights Bill is unsatisfactory. Urge you to continue your efforts to have the House version approved.

Carl Murphy, president Afro-American Newspapers

■

Thousands of right-thinking Americans commend you for the stand taken on the present lifeless so-called Civil Rights Bill. They hope you remain firm in your attitude, and you can feel assured they support your position. Even though it might mean no Civil Rights Bill in this session, we believe you would be morally honest to call a special session to get the type of bill you could sign with a clear conscience. There is no substitute for right.

Mrs. Robert L. Vann, President, The Pittsburgh Courier Publishing Co.

■

We respectfully urge you to veto the Civil Rights Bill if and when it comes to you in its present form. The jury trial amendment makes the Bill ineffective and is in fact a signal victory for the advocates of segregation.

John H. Sengstacke Publisher, Chicago Defender

National Fraternal Council of Churches of 14 denominations and 10 million members in its annual session endorsed your Civil Rights Bill. Ninety per cent of colored Americans favor the bill passed by the House. Personally I would rather have no bill passed at this Congress than the one passed by the Senate.

Rev. W. H. Jernagin, Chairman, Executive Board of National Fraternal Council.

■

As a private individual, I urge veto of Civil Rights Bill. It is worse than no bill at all.

A. Philip Randolph, International President Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

■

The half million Christian Methodists of our Church are backing and praying for you, as you contend for Civil Rights legislation passage, without jury trial, for all humanity. Right will win. Hold your ground.

Bishop Arthur W. Womack, CME Church

■

We are grateful for the courageous stand that you have taken as relates to Civil Rights Bill. Such a stand is a challenge to all citizens to exercise their influence to maximum effectiveness on behalf of good government.

We hope for a Civil Rights Bill that embodies powers that assure every citizen first class citizenship. Any bill with less than these powers deserves your veto.

Dr. George D. Flemmings National Board of Directors, NAACP

House Set to Pass Civil Rights Legislation; Senate Uncertain

News & Observer Mon. 6-17-57 P.1
Raleigh, N.C.

WASHINGTON, June 16 (AP) — Rep. Keating (R-NY) predicted today the Senate will follow the House lead in rejecting jury trial amendments to President Eisenhower's civil rights bill. It is scheduled for House passage tomorrow.

Keating has had the principal Republican role in shaping the bill and, along with Rep. Celler (D-NY) handling it during six days of House debate.

No Doubt.

The defeat, Friday, 199-167, of the attempt by House Southerners to write into the measure a larger role for local juries left no doubt that the House will pass the bill tomorrow without substantial changes. The House has agreed to close debate not later than 6 p.m.

The jury trial amendment concededly was the one for which the Southerners had the best chance of attracting support outside their area.

However, the bill has a clouded future in the Senate, which filibustering Southerners in the past have made a graveyard for such legislation.

Its prospects brightened somewhat yesterday with news that Vice President Nixon, president of the Senate, and Republican Leader Knowland of California were teaming up in an attempt to rush the bill onto the Senate calendar without the usual preliminary of routing it to the Judiciary Committee.

Such procedure, if successful, would get the bill past one pitfall, but would not eliminate an eventual filibuster.

Sen. Eastland (D-Miss), a vigorous foe of civil rights legislation, is chairman of the Judiciary Committee. It voted to attach a jury trial amendment but has otherwise taken little action.

Keating said in an interview, "Even if the Senate gets a bill with the jury trial feature, I think it will vote to strike out such a provision."

And Keating, while he would not flatly predict that the Senate would pass a civil rights bill, said he thinks, "the prospects are very good — the best in years."

While Southerners in the House have not stopped fighting, from all indications tomorrow's session will be mainly a mopping-up operation by the victorious coalition of Northern and Western Democrats and Republicans.

The civil rights bill provides for the attorney general to go to federal court for injunctions to ward off or undo violations of civil rights. Persons defying such injunctions would be subject to punishment for contempt of court.

The Southerners sought to require that trials of such persons for contempt of court must be held before juries, although in many other cases judges enforce their orders without juries. The Southerners said it was a matter of protecting a basic constitutional right; the proponents of the bill said in practice jury trials would mean no enforcement in parts of the South.

Rights Bill OK Predicted Today

Post-Herald Mon. 6-17-57 P.2
B'ham, Ala.

WASHINGTON, June 16 (U.P.)—Supporters of President Eisenhower's civil rights bill predicted today the House will pass the measure late tomorrow after rejecting a last-ditch Southern effort to water it down.

Southern foes of the bill conceded privately they lacked the votes to defeat it, but they hope to force a roll call vote on the once-beaten jury trial amendment.

Rep. Edwin E. Willis (D., La.) predicted if the parliamentary situation permitted a roll call, the House would reverse its 199 to 167 teller vote against the amendment last week.

But Republican Leader Joseph W. Martin Jr. (Mass.) said the amendment would be defeated by a bigger margin than before if it came to a vote again. He said the civil rights fight was as good as won.

A final vote on the bill was set for no later than 6 p.m. In the Senate, civil rights advocates already were geared for a move to bring the measure directly to the floor, thus by-passing the Judiciary Committee where similar legislation has been bottled up in the past.

But even if the bill reaches the Senate floor, Southern foes plan to try to talk it to death. Such filibuster tactics have succeeded in blocking civil rights legislation in the past.

In addition to possible revival of the jury trial issue, Southern House members were prepared to offer eight or 10 other amendments tomorrow.

HOUSE MAY APPROVE CIVIL RIGHTS TODAY

Commercial Appeal

Southern Foes Lack Votes To Defeat Bill

Mon. 6-17-57
Memphis Tenn. P.1

WASHINGTON, June 16. — (UP) — Supporters of President Eisenhower's civil rights bill predicted Sunday that the House will pass the measure late Monday after rejecting a last-ditch Southern effort to water it down.

Southern foes of the bill conceded privately they lacked the votes to defeat it. But they were hopeful of forcing a roll call vote on the once-beaten jury trial amendment.

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CIVIL RIGHTS BILL OK'd FOR HOUSE DEBATE

Daily Tribune Wed. 5-22-57
Chicago Ill.

Date for Bringing Up Measure Not Set

P. 19

BY PHILIP DODD

[Chicago Tribune Press Service]

Washington, May 21 — The house rules committee today cleared the Eisenhower administration's civil rights bill for house debate and four days for consideration of the controversial measure.

But the date for bringing up the bill was left to the house leadership. Rules Chairman Smith [D., Va.] told reporters he would confer with Speaker Rayburn [D., Tex.] and Majority Leader McCormack [D., Mass.] on the matter.

Smith was asked how the committee voted on clearing the bill for debate.

Guess Is 8 to 4 Vote

"We never say what the vote is in this committee," the Virginian said, "but you'll make no mistake if you guess."

Based on the states from which committee members hail—the deep south is traditionally opposed to civil rights legislation—and on their statements at the rules committee's recent hearing on the bill, reporters "guessed" the vote was 8 to 4.

The four opponents were assumed to be Smith and Rep. Colmer [D., Miss.], Rep. Trimble [D., Ark.], and Rep. Thornberry [D., Tex.]. Those voting for the measure, it was further assumed, were Rep. Allen [R., Ill.], Rep. Brown [R., O.], Rep. Latham [R., N. Y.], Rep. Scott [R., Pa.], Rep. Madden [D., Ind.], Rep. Delaney [D., N. Y.], Rep. Bolling [D., Mo.], and Rep. O'Neill [D., Mass.].

Little Time Left

Next week's house schedule called for consideration of the defense appropriation bill and a possible long week-end over Memorial day. This would indicate the civil rights bill would not be called up until the first week in June.

That timing would make it unlikely that senate could make such progress with the bill in this session.

The senate judiciary committee is making time on the measure and when it does finish, a senate filibuster and a fight over proposals to change the rules to prevent filibusters seem inevitable.

Attacked by Southerners

The civil rights bill has been described by its supporters as a "mild" or "minimum" measure but its provisions for authorizing the attorney general to seek civil injunctions to prevent civil rights violations and to protect the right to vote have been attacked bitterly by southerners.

Opponents claim the injunction provisions are a denial of the right to trial by jury because federal judges would be able to jail for contempt violators of injunctions.

Other provisions of the bill would create a civil rights commission to investigate allegations that civil rights have been violated and would set up a civil rights section in the justice department.

South's Sam Rayburn Rejects Move To Block House Civil Rights Bill

Advocate
Jackson, Miss.
Sat. 6-8-57

Move To Recommit Bill Defeated In First Day's Debate

P. 9

Washington, D. C., June 10—The South lost its first floor attack on Presidents Eisenhower's civil rights program in the House of Representatives last Thursday. It lost through a parliamentary ruling by a Southern, Speaker Sam Rayburn of Texas.

Sat. 6-15-57

An effort was made to withhold the controversial bill from consideration by the House Representative Howard W. Smith, Democrat of Virginia, contended that the measure has been taken to the floor under a violation of House rules. Mr. Smith is the chairman of the House Rules Committee that released the bill for floor consideration but is widely regarded as "the coach" of Southern strategy to block the measure.

P. 8

In a surprise move, Representative Smith raised a point of order against the entire program as it had been presented to the House. Under Clause 3 of Rule XIII, he stated, any report accompanying a bill must point out to House members just what changes of existing law may be made. He contended that the Judiciary Committee's report, instead of doing this, had made members hurry to their law books to find out what changes might be made. He cited two instances in which he contended this had not been done in the report.

Advocate

Southerners Back Move

Other Southern members quickly

supported Mr. Smith's point of order. Debate consumed nearly an hour. If the point of order had prevailed the bill would have to go back to committee for revision of its report, perhaps causing a delay that could block the program for this session.

Sept. 15-57

Proponents of the program argued that the clauses cited by Mr. Smith would add to existing law but not amend it. This group was led by Representative John McCormack of Massachusetts, the majority leader, and Representative Kenneth B. Keating, Republican of Upstate New York, sponsor of President Eisenhower's Civil Rights proposals.

At issue were proposals that the proposed commission to investigate complaints of violations of civil rights would be exempted from existing conflict-of-interest provisions of statutes, and that a new assistant attorney general for civil rights action might not have to be a lawyer.

Speaker Rayburn ruled that neither of these provisions would change law, and that the committee report had cited changes in existing law to a "substantial degree."

before Congress adjourns.

SHOW DOWN FINAL

Knowland indicated he favors keeping the Senate in session as long as necessary to wage a show-down fight on the civil rights issue

Knowland reportedly has the backing of 35 to 40 Republicans and at least 15 Democrats in a plan to force early consideration of the controversial bill.

The strategy was to bypass the Senate Judiciary Committee, where chairman James O. Eastland (D) Miss., has had a companion bill bottled up for months.

The strategy has been opposed as a violation of traditional Senate rules by Democratic leader Lyndon Johnson, Texas, and Sen. Wayne morse (D) Ore., who supports the bill but not the strategy.

The final vote in Tuesday's House action, for passage, saw 118 Democrats, and 168 Republicans voting for the measure against 107 Democrats and 19 Republicans.

POINTS IN BILL

The bill, which underwent two weeks of debate in the House, would:

Authorize a bapartisan commission to investigate civil rights problems legal developments and government policies, and recommend new legislation in the field.

Attempt To Halt Measure Again By South Killed

Daily World Atlanta Ga.

Tues. 6-18-57

House rejected Monday a new Southern attempt to write a "Jury Trial" guarantee into the Civil Rights Bill with a final vote on the measure slated for today.

P. 1

CHIEF OPPONENT

Rep. Howard Smith (D) Va., chief southern strategist, proposed the amendment, saying it would force members to state clearly where they stand on the issue of trial by jury.

His chief opponent, Rep. Emanuel Celler (D) N. Y., said the House had already passed on the issue and that Smith was "as wrong as a two foot yardstick."

The proposed southern amendments would allow defendants in federal court cases stemming from Civil Rights violations to demand they be tried by juries rather than by individual judges.

TOOTHLESS IN SOUTH

Proponents of the administration sponsored bill have argued such a provision would make the legislation virtually toothless in the South.

The somewhat slimmer majority on the issue encouraged Southern House opponents of the bill, who said that they have a number of other amendments to offer before debate ends at 6 P. M. EDT.

Despite the favorable House action, the fate of the Bill is still uncertain in the Senate.

SENATE COMMITTEE

The Senate Judiciary committee failed at a half hour meeting to make any further progress with its Civil Rights bill. Sen. Thomas C. Hennings (D) Mo., said he served notice he will try to bring up the House bill and substitute it for the one before the committee at the proper time.

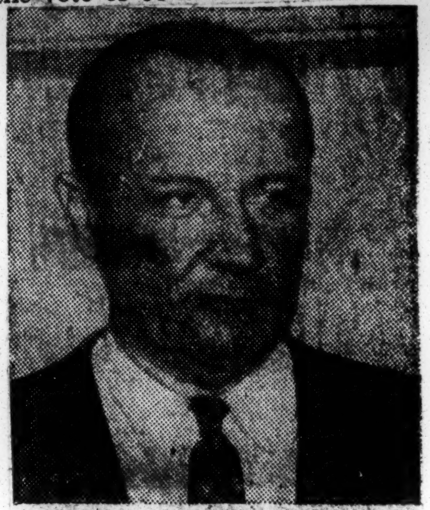
His move is expected to be opposed strongly by Southerners since the jury trial amendment they backed is now a part of the Senate committee's bill.

Majority leader Lyndon B. Johnson insisted Hennings move would violate Senate rules and "destroy the committee system."

Minority leader William K. Knowland argued however there were precedents for bypassing a committee. He pointed out that the Judiciary committee has had a civil rights bill under consideration for six months and "no indication has been shown" that it will act.

In another development, Sen. Jacob K. Javits (R) N. Y., said that no civil rights legislation can pass the senate unless the rule against filibusters is tightened.

Javits made the statement as a two-man rules subcommittee opened hearings on proposed changes in the Senate's present rule which permits shutting off debate only on the vote of 64 lawmakers.



Senator William Knowland

Civil Rights Bill Attacks Foiled

Post-Herald

Fri. 6-14-57

2 Dixie-Sponsored Revisions Beaten

B'ham Ala.

WASHINGTON, June 13 (AP)—The House continued to wrestle with the civil rights bill today, with supporters of the legislation winning two trials of strength.

P. 1

An attempt to attach a "right to work" amendment to the bill was ruled out of order after a brisk debate.

Another amendment, which would have stricken all references to race, color and creed from a section of the bill on the right to vote, was defeated 139-119. It had been strongly supported by Southerners.

Meanwhile Vice President Nixon met in his office with two prominent Negro pastors from Alabama to discuss racial problems.

Secretary of Labor Mitchell sat in on the conference in the vice president's Capitol office just off the Senate chamber, with the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. and the Rev. Ralph G. Abernathy, leaders in the long boycott by Negroes of buses in Montgomery.

There was no immediate statement on what took place at the meeting, but it was considered significant because Nixon, as presiding officer of the Senate, may have to rule on any attempt to bypass the Senate Judiciary Committee with any civil rights legislation passed by the House.

A civil rights bill has been locked up in the Judiciary Committee for months, and Southern senators would like to see it stay there.

The "right to work" amendment was offered by Rep. Alger (R., Tex.). It would have included in the bill a provision against any labor contract requiring union membership as a condition for working.

Rejection of the move to strike all references to race, color and creed from the bill came earlier. Rep. Dies (D., Tex.) offered the amendment, saying there was "too much emphasis on these words."

VOTE CALLED "SIGNIFICANT" VICTORY FOR THE PRESIDENT

Daily World Wed. 6-19-57

Atlanta Ga.

BY ARTHUR KRANISH

P. 1

WASHINGTON — (INS) — The House decisively passed an administration-sponsored Civil Rights Bill Tuesday, sending it to the Senate where a drive for quick action was gaining ground.

The House endorsed the "right to vote' package by a 286 to 126 final roll call vote, after beating down 251 to 153 a last-ditch Southern attempt to write in a "jury trial' guarantee.

19 HOUSE REPUBLICANS

Civil rights advocates won by mustering the support of Northern Democrats and all but a 10 House Republicans. Southerners lost Tuesday's roll call by even heavier margins than in early non-recorded votes.

House sponsor, Rep. Kenneth B. Keating (R) N. Y., called the votes "a significant victory for President Eisenhower's program and the greatest advance for this cause in a generation."

In the Senate a similar coalition worked backstage to place the House measure on the calendar for early consideration.

Senate Republican leader William F. Knowland, California, served notice that ranking GOP members will fight to the finish in an effort to break any filibuster and send the bill to the White House

Set up a powerful new civil rights division in the Justice Department under a $20,000-a-year assistant attorney general.

Establish broad new laws, permitting the government to move in on a wide variety of civil rights abuses, even before they occur.

NEW AUTHORITY

Should the bill become law, the Federal Courts would have new authority to take jurisdiction in civil rights matters, bypassing state courts.

Knowland said at the White House Tuesday that the Senate has waited with "prolonged patience" for the Judiciary Committee to report out a civil rights bill.

House Clears Way For Rights Vote; Dixie Defeat Seen

Constitution Tues. 6-11-57 Atlanta, Ga. P.1

WASHINGTON, June 10 (UP)—The House wound up general debate on President Eisenhower's civil rights bill tonight and cleared the way for voting tomorrow on amendments.

The House stayed in session until 7 p.m. EST to allow a parade of Southerners to speak out against the measure.

The House was not expected to reach a final vote on the bill before Thursday. And the Southerners, if they chose, conceivably could delay House passage still further.

SEES DIXIE SETBACK

As the general debate drew to a close, Democratic and Republican leaders joined in predicting that the House will reject an all-out drive by the Southerners to attach a jury trial amendment to the bill.

Rep. George W. Andrews (D-Ala), the last speaker, announced he would offer a substitute bill "to test the sincerity" of the backers of the bill who hail from areas where Negroes comprise less than one per cent of the population.

Rep. George M. Grant (D-Ala) singled out for attack two of the three Negro members of the House who have denounced Southern states for depriving Negroes of voting rights. Grant said Reps. Charles C. Diggs Jr., (D-Mich), and Adam Clayton Powell (D-NY), "have done more to injure the Negro race in the South than any two persons since the republic was founded."

SOME OPTIMISTIC

As the House plowed through its last day of formal debate on the measure, some Southern leaders still clung to their forecast that their drive for the amendment would be successful.

But they conceded after a secret Southern caucus that their expected margin of victory has been reduced since last week. Some blamed "pressure from White House lobbyists" for changing the minds of some Republicans who previously were for the proposal.

Under the Southern proposal, anyone accused of violating a court order protecting civil rights would be guaranteed a trial by jury. Under the pending bill, the court could punish the offender summarily without any jury trial.

Northern supporters of the civil rights bill have waged an all-out fight against the Southern-sponsored amendment. They have contended that the jury trial requirement would nullify the bill's provisions authorizing the courts to protect civil rights.

With northern and southern Democrats split on the issue, the Republicans hold the key to the success, or failure, of the Southern jury trial proposal.

On the House floor, Chairman Emanuel Celler (D-NY) of the House Judiciary Committee which drafted the bill, said a jury trial requirement would result in "deliberate procrastination" in civil rights cases.

Besides authorizing court protection of civil rights, the pending bill would also establish a civil rights division in the Justice Department, set up a presidential commission on civil rights, and provide greater protection for minority voting rights.

SOUTH DEFEATED IN MOVE TO BLOCK HOUSE RIGHTS BILL

Times P.1 Fri. 6-7-57 New York

Rayburn Rejects Virginian's Bid to Recommit Plan in First Day's Debate

By C. P. TRUSSELL

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, June 6—The South lost its first floor attack on President Eisenhower's civil rights program in the House of Representatives today. It lost through a parliamentary ruling by a Southerner, Speaker Sam Rayburn of Texas.

An effort was made to withhold the controversial bill from consideration by the House. Representative Howard W. Smith, Democrat of Virginia, contended that the measure has been taken to the floor under a violation of House rules. Mr. Smith is the chairman of the House Rules Committee that released the bill for floor consideration but is widely regarded as "the coach" of Southern strategy to block the measure.

In a surprise move, Representative Smith raised a point of order against the entire program as it had been presented to the House. Under Clause 3 of Rule XIII, he stated, any report accompanying a bill must point out to House members just what changes of existing law may be made. He contended that the Judiciary Committee's report, instead of doing this, had made members hurry to their law books to find out what changes might be made. He cited two instances in which he contended this had not been done in the report.

Southerners Back Move

Other Southern members quickly supported Mr. Smith's point of order. Debate consumed nearly an hour. If the point of order had prevailed the bill would have to go back to committee for revision of its report, perhaps causing a delay that coudl block the program for this session.

Proponents of the program argued that the clauses cited by Mr. Smith would add to existing law but not amend it. This group was had by Representative John W. McCormack of Massachusetts, the majority leader, and Representative Kenneth B. Keating, Republican of Upstate New York, sponsor of President Eisenhower's Civil Rights proposals.

At issue were proposals that the proposed commission to investigate complaints of violations of civil rights would be exempted from existing conflict-of-interests provisions of statutes, and that a new assistant attorney general for civil rights action might not have to be a lawyer.

Speaker Rayburn ruled that neither of these provisions would change law, and that the committee report had cited changes in existing law to a "substantial degree."

The opponents of the rights program took their defeat calmly. They appeared to be settling back to wait until about next Tuesday when the bill will enter the amending stage.

Few, if any, new arguments were made today. Not many members were on the floor to hear them.

Debate became legalistic and technical and the spectators gathered in the galleries for the fight soon thinned out. Some members admitted privately that they had become lost in the swamps of argument.

Southerners Take Count

Meanwhile, the Southerners were counting those who had stayed in the debate. On two occasions the floor attendance was so meager that Southerners noted the absence of a quorum. This demanded roll calls, each consuming about twenty-five minutes.

Representative Emanuel Celler, Democrat of Brooklyn and chairman of the Judiciary Committee, underwent rough questioning by a bloc of Southern opponents for more than an hour on many points of the President's program.

Most of the questioning focused upon new proposals to guarantee the right of jury trial to persons or groups accused of violating civil rights. Under the bill, as now written, the Attorney General could enter injunctive proceedings against denials of civil rights and have a Federal judge, rather than a jury, deliver the verdict. The Senate Judiciary Committee has amended the program to guarantee jury trials. Such an amendment is awaiting action on the House floor.

Jury Omission Assailed

The charge was made today that jury trials had been denied deliberately in the pending legislation on the ground that Southern juries would not be inclined to convict persons accused of contempt of court orders.

Senate Clifford P. Case, Republican of New Jersey, told the Senate that, while Southerners were calling such action an overriding of state courts, jury trials were being denied in the same state courts in contempt cases involving civil rights.

Meanwhile, Representative Adam Clayton Powell Jr., Democrat of Manhattan, sent a letter to all of his colleagues from the Naval Hospital at Bethesda, Md., where he is undergoing treatment.

He said the "jury trial" proposal was "a loaded shotgun aimed at the voting rights of colored people," designed to keep them in "sub-citizen status."

Senator A. Willis Robertson, Democrat of Virginia, censured President Eisenhower from the floor. He said:

"For us in Virginia there is irony in the fact that in the midst of celebrating the 350th anniversary of the Jamestown settlement, where representative government on the North American Continent was started, we must pause to fight a proposal sponsored by the President of the United States to abridge one of the most valued rights of self-government, namely, trial by jury."

RIGHTS BILL GETS TENTATIVE OKAY

Times-Picayune

Formal Vote Scheduled in House Today

Tues. 6-18-57

By WILMOT HERCHER

WASHINGTON, June 17 (UP)—The House today tentatively approved a civil rights bill without a jury trial provision. A formal vote on passage was put off until tomorrow, however.

Ending several days of debate as a committee of the whole, the House membership recommended that the House formally send the administration-backed measure to the Senate in substantially the form it was approved by the House Judiciary Committee.

Southern Democrats and a score or more Republicans were beaten in every effort to make major alterations in the bill. They lost three times in their fight to guarantee a jury trial for any person accused of contempt of federal court injunctions in civil rights cases.

Foes Threaten Delay

All the voting thus far has been on a tentative basis and without roll calls. Roll-call votes on the jury trial amendment and on final passage of the bill were scheduled for tomorrow.

When debate began today it looked as though a decision could be reached tonight on the controversial legislation. The vote was put over until tomorrow after Southern foes of the bill threatened to force an overnight delay by parliamentary means if necessary.

Meanwhile the House defeated on a standing vote of 163-141 a proposal by Rep. Smith (D-Va) to write into the measure a statement of congressional policy favoring trial by jury for persons charged with contempt of court after violations of civil rights injunctions.

Supporters of civil rights legislation contended it was substantially the same proposal as that which was voted down 199-167 in a key test of the legislation Friday. They argued both proposals would have drained the bill's power to

enforce observance of voting rights by court injunction.

Brooks Plan Defeated

Rep. Hoffman (R-Mich) protested in vain that "the right to vote is no good if you can't get a trial by jury."

Another amendment by Rep. Ray (R-NY) to require the use of state court remedies in civil rights cases before any federal action is taken was defeated 146-127.

Rep. Brooks (D-La) tried unsuccessfully to amend the measure to limit trials in contempt of court cases to the judicial district in which the contempt occurred. This was defeated 118-108.

The House is expected to pass the bill, probably tomorrow. It passed civil rights legislation July 23, 1956, on a 279-126 vote, but the bill died in the Senate.

Judiciary Group

Those who are fighting to prevent the same thing happening this year got a setback when a plan to bypass the Senate Judiciary Committee and bring the bill directly to the Senate floor began to lose support.

Sen. Morse (D-Ore), for one, announced he felt the short-cut idea "would do great damage to the whole committee procedure of the Senate." Morse made it clear he is for early passage of civil rights legislation. He said he would take the lead in discharging the Judiciary Committee from consideration of the bill if it stalls.

The committee, headed by Sen. Eastland (D-Miss), has had the bill for months. Eastland is an avowed foe of civil rights legislation.

Sen. Knowland of California, Republican leader of the Senate, urged his colleagues to give serious consideration to the bypassing strategy.

"It is not a circumvention of the rules," he said, adding that it was a device that in this case would give a majority of the Senate "opportunity to express themselves on a very important matter of public policy."

Sen. Hennings (D-Mo) said he had notified the Judiciary Committee during a brief closed session that he would move to substitute any House-approved bill for the measure the committee is now considering.

Hennings added in a statement he was "happy to be associated" with the move to bypass the committee and to take the House bill directly to the Senate floor.

Attempts to Dilute Civil Rights Beaten Down; Final Vote Delayed

News Tues. 6-18-57 Raleigh, N.C. P.1

WASHINGTON, June 17 (AP)—The House defeated three more attempts to water down the civil rights bill today but Southern foes of the measure appeared to have staved off a final vote on passage until tomorrow.

When debate began it looked as though a decision could be reached tonight on the Eisenhower-backed legislation.

Southern Foes.

But then the Southern opposition announced it would demand a reading of the formally engrossed bill. Engrossing is a special type of printing which requires an overnight operation by the Government Printing Office.

Any member may demand an engrossed copy of the bill, and no final voting is allowed until the bill is produced in that form.

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Vain Protests.

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News & Observer

Great Damage.

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Amendment

WASHINGTON, June 17 — The House today, by thunderous affirmative voice vote, to a few scattered nays, adopted an amendment to the Civil Rights bill introduced by Rep. Basil Whitener of Gastonia, calling for provision of counsel for defendants in cases brought by the government for alleged deniel of Civil Rights.

The administration-sponsored bill would establish a new assistant attorney general for Civil Rights, who would be authorized to initiate cases in behalf of any individual or group whose rights had been denied. The entire prosecution in such cases would be carried out at government expense.

CIVIL RIGHTS POLITICS

Times P. 30-C Thurs. 6-13-57 New York

When the House votes—possibly today or tomorrow—on the jury-trial amendment to the civil rights bill, it is the Republican tally that will be watched with a special political interest.

The two Democratic positions are clear: Southern Democrats for the amendment because it will pull the teeth out of the bill; Northern Democrats mainly against it, for the same reason. But Southern opponents of civil rights legislation say that if they can get as many as seventy of the House's 200 Republicans to vote with them, they have a chance of adding this destructive amendment to the measure.

From a purely political point of view the Republican party as such faces something of a problem on this question. The G. O. P. says it is now trying to solidify and extend the gains it made in the South in the last two Presidential elections; and as an indication that it is at last in earnest, the appointment of a Southern director for the Republican National Committee has just been announced. But the Administration's position on civil rights, moderate though it is, is hardly soft enough to woo Southern voters over to the Republicans. In any event, the G. O. P.'s efforts to recapture from the Democrats the increasingly important Negro vote in the North provide a strong political incentive to go all-out in the opposite direction.

On top of these divergent political pulls, there is the fact that some conservative Republicans believe with most Southern Democrats that even the mildest civil rights legislation is wrong, no matter what the President may say, and that the jury-trial amendment offers at least a partial antidote. The old alliance between right-wing Republicans and Southern Democrats, that has played an important part in American legislative history of recent generations, also crops up here, as on so many other occasions.

However, when all is said and done, one may hope that the combined votes of the Administration's "moderns" and the "liberal" Democrats will succeed in pushing through this civil rights bill without the specious jury-trial amendment.

The amendment would not increase civil rights, as its proponents claim, but reduce them. It would require jury-trial for any person cited for contempt of court for violating a Federal injunction to refrain from interfering with voting. Such a rule would mean that convictions would be impossible to get, or hopelessly delayed, with consequent undermining of court authority as well as of the elementary guarantee to every American citizen of the right to the ballot. The jury-trial amendment may be superficially attractive but is actually an unwarranted device to make it possible to continue to keep Negroes away from the polls.

HOUSE BID FOR JURY IN BIAS CASES EBBS

Times Thurs. 6-13-57 New York

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, June 12—A proposed amendment that possibly could kill President Eisenhower's civil rights bill lost ground in the House of Representatives today.

The amendment was a demand by the South for jury trials for persons who violated Federal court injunctions forbidding denial of voting rights to Negroes. It called also for jury trials in all cases involving violations of court orders against denials of civil rights in other fields.

Herbert Brownell Jr., the Attorney General, has insinuated that white juries in the South might be reluctant to vote convictions in such cases. The South has resented this implication in its efforts to impose a jury trial guarantee upon the Administration program.

A few days ago it appeared that many Republicans were joining the Southern Democratic contingent. There was a different picture today.

"If the [Republican] members had been left alone," said Representative William M. Colmer, Mississippi Democrat who is one of the leaders of the Southern fight, "there would be no doubt that the jury trial amendment would be adopted. But pressure has come from the White House and other sources and now it is a nip-and-tuck proposition."

HOUSE DEFEATS SOUTH ON JURY RIGHTS STAND

Showdown Vote On Civil Rights Measure Monday

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.
Sat. 6-15-57

By ARTHUR KRANISH

WASHINGTON — (INS) — The House Friday crushed Southern demands that a "Jury Trial" be written into President Eisenhower's Civil Rights bill and agreed to a showdown vote on the entire measure Monday night.

TO CRIPPLE BILL

South's main effort to cripple the administration bill or make it unworkable.

A Northern Republican -- Rep. Russell W. Keeney of Illinois -- introduced the amendment which was the focal point of a week-long debate. He said trial by jury has been "a refuge for our citizens from time immemorial."

A parade of House members took the floor to attack and to defend the proposal to guarantee a jury trial for persons accused of violating court orders in civil rights measures.

DEMOCRATIC WHIP

Some, such as Rep. John D. Dingell (D) Mich., argued that "juries are not going to convict" in civil rights cases in the South. Others, such as Democratic whip Carl Albert, of Oklahoma, said the issue was between "liberty and bonlage" and cited the American jury trial tradition.

Defeat of the jury trial amendment was the most important of a series of Southern losses. The bill has so far survived every major attempt at amendment, chiefly through the efforts of a coalition of Northern Democrats and most Republicans.

A stack of other amendments was still to be debated when the House agreed to adjourn until Monday, with a final vote on the measure to come by 6 p. m. (EDT) that day.

OPPOSED ATTEMPT

Early in today's deliberations civil rights advocates tried, but failed, to prevent the jury trial issue from reaching the floor.

Rep. Emanuel Celle (D) N. Y., argued that the amendment was not "germane" to the civil rights bill. Southerners opposed his attempt so have the amendment ruled out of order.

The dispute was settled when Rep. Aime J. Rorand (D) R. I., who was presiding, ruled that the amendment was pertinent since it dealt with procedures for court injunctions and other matters in the bill.

This opened the door for formal debate, in which Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D) N. Y., acused jury trial advocates of "hypocrisy and dishonesty" and added: "God knows our cause today is right, is just, is honest, is holy, is legal and moral."

Final Approval By House On Rights Expected Today

Advertiser Mon. 6-17-57
Montgomery, Ala. P. 2-A P. 1

WASHINGTON, June 16 (AP) — Rep. Keating (R-NY) predicted today the Senate will follow the House lead in rejecting jury trial amendments to President Eisenhower's civil rights bill. It is scheduled for House passage tomorrow.

Keating has had the principal Republican role in shaping the bill and, along with Rep. Celler (D-NY) handling it during six days of House debate.

The defeat, Friday, 199-167, of the attempt by House Southerners to write into the measure a larger role for local juries left no doubt that the House will pass the bill tomorrow without substantial changes. The House has agreed to close debate not later than 6 p.m

The jury trial amendment conceededly was the one for which the Southerners had the best chance of attracting support outside their area.

However, the bill has a clouded future in the Senate, which filibustering Southerners in the past have made a graveyard for such legislation.

Its prospects brightened somewhat yesterday with news that Vice President Nixon, president of the Senate, and Republican Leader Knowland of California were teaming up in an attempt to rush the bill onto the Senate calendar without the usual preliminary of routing it to the Judiciary Committee.

Advertiser

Such procedure, if successful, would get the bill past one pitfall, but would not eliminate an eventual filibuster.

Sen. Eastland (D-Miss), a vigorous foe of civil rights legislation, is chairman of the Judiciary Committee. It voted to attach a jury trial amendment but has otherwise taken little action.

Keating said in an interview. "Even if the Senate gets a bill with the jury trial feature, I think it will vote to strike out such a provision."

And Keating, while he would not flatly predict that the Senate would pass a civil rights bill, said he thinks, "the prospects are very good — the best in years."

ALL INDICATIONS

While Southerners in the House have not stopped fighting, from all indications tomorrow's session will be mainly a mopping-up operation by the victorious coalition of Northern and Western Democrats and Republicans.

The civil rights bill provides for the attorney general to go to federal court for injunctions to ward off or undo violations of civil rights. Persons defying such injunctions would be subject to punishment for contempt of court.

The Southerners sought to require that trials of such persons for contempt of court must be held before juries, although in many other cases judges enforce their orders without juries. The Southerners said it was a matter of protecting a basic constitutional right; the proponents of the bill said in practice jury trials would mean no enforcement in parts of the South.

HOUSE VOTES BACK CIVIL RIGHTS UNIT, LIMIT ON POWERS

Times P. 1
Wed 6-12-57
New York

Bid by Northern Republican to Kill the Administration Bill Is Shouted Down

By C. P. TRUSSELL
Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, June 11 — President Eisenhower's civil rights program won two major victories in the House of Representatives today. It lost a minor point.

First, the House shouted down a motion that the whole program be nullified by striking out the enacting clause of the pending bill.

Then it gave tentative approval, by a vote of 127 to 88, to the creation of a new Commission on Civil Rights, as urged by the President.

This commission of three Democrats and three Republicans would investigate charges that voting rights were being denied to citizens. It also would study and collect information on the denial to citizens of equal protection of the laws in any other field.

A tentative vote of 116 to 89 would bar the commission from issuing subpoenas to defendants or witnesses requiring them to travel beyond their home-state boundaries. The original program would confine such subpoenas to judicial circuits that might comprise five states.

Travel Called Hardship

Representative J. Carlton Loser, Democrat of Tennessee, asserted that persons accused of civil rights violations could be made to travel from El Paso to Miami Beach, with their witnesses. This would be hardship, he contended, even with the Government footing the travel bills.

A rebel yell went up as his amendment was accepted.

This was how the long-stymied program started through its voting stage after three days of general debate.

Surprisingly, the first two proposals that, if adopted, would have hurt seriously or wrecked the program were made by northern Republicans. The fight against the measure was operated by a solid South, however.

The motion to kill the entire program was made by Representative Clare E. Hoffman, Republican of Michigan.

The amendment to forbid creation of the commission was offered by Representative H. R. Gross, Republican of Iowa.

The northern authors of the crippling proposals spoke briefly. The southern backers of their

CIVIL RIGHTS FOES SET BACK IN HOUSE

Bill's Defenders Beat Off Six Amendments — Victory Now Appears Assured

By C. P. TRUSSELL

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, June 13—Defenders of President Eisenhower's civil rights bill defeated six attempts to amend it in the House of Representatives today.

Some of the votes were close, but they were taken while the House was in committee status in which the full membership did not participate.

However, the defeats appeared to be final. All of the amendments, some of which struck at key provisions, were supported by the South, which is fighting the whole program.

Only those amendments that win when the House is in committee status may be brought to a roll-call showdown. The only way to revive the lost issues is through a motion to recommit the whole measure with instructions to delete the provisions under assault. Such motions usually fail.

Bigger Fights Looming

The voting indicated that the House bill would be passed without material change. When the passage vote would come was in doubt. At adjournment, the House had still not dealt with all of the first part of the measure. There are four parts, and even bigger fights are in the offing.

The House goes into committee status to eliminate time-consuming quorum calls. A quorum of the full membership is 218. While bills are being considered, it is virtually impossible to keep 218 members on the floor constantly because of their other duties.

Therefore, in committee status a quorum of only 100 members is demanded for the transaction of preliminary business. With the civil rights battle going on, however, the attendance at times reached 258.

Meanwhile, the Rev. Martin Luther King, leader of the recent Negro bus boycott in Montgomery, Ala., conferred with Vice President Richard M. Nixon and James P. Mitchell, Secretary of Labor.

Conditions Described

Bayard Rustin, Mr. King's secretary, said later that the purpose of the conference had been "to lay before the Administration * * * the conditions Negroes face in the South, and expresses the united determination of the Negro people to struggle endlessly for their constitutional rights.

The six amendments, two of which were offered by a northern apponent, sought to attack the program as follows:

Representative Martin Dies, Democrat of Texas, proposed that the commision for investigating allegations of rights violations not be confined to such fields as race, religion or national origin.

Mr. Dies contended that this would not prevent the commission of investigating these fields of complaint but that it would make the investigations all inclusive. Other Southerners supported the amendment on the ground that the citing of these categories "pointed a finger at the South." The amendment lost by 139-119.

Representative William M. Tuck, Democrat of Virginia, proposed that only the word "religion" be stricken as a reason for the denial of civil rights. He held that no record showed that any person had been denied voting rights because of his religion, and that religion should not be brought into the bill.

At first a voice vote adopted the amendment. It was killed later by a standing vote of 114—106.

Representative William M. Colmer, Democrat of Mississippi, sought to put in a states' right amendment. Under it, the commission would be assigned to study not only legal developments concerning denials of equal protection, but also the rights of states and their residents. This lost by a vote of 128 to 95.

Labor Right Brought In

Representative Bruce Alger, Texas' only Republican member, offered a "right-to-work" amendment, which would subject union membership as a condition of employment. This brought a point of order by representative Emanuel Celler, Brooklyn Democrat, who heads the House Judiciary Committee and is in charge of the bill.

Representative Aime J. Forand, Democrat of Rhode Island, in the chair, ruled Mr. Celler's point well taken, since the bill dealt principally with political rights, while the Alger amendment dealt with labor rights.

The point of order was supported by Representative Kenneth B. Keating, Republican of Upstate New York and sponsor of the President's civil rights programs. It was sustained.

Representative Clare E. Hoffman, Republican of Michigan, demanded that an investigation be made as to whether the votes of all eligible persons had been counted in elections. He hinted at illegalities in the counting. His amendment was beaten, 99—53.

Mr. Hoffman sought to kill the provision for a study of legal developments concerning a denial of equal protection.

He held that Congress had committees dealing constantly with such problems, and that the bill would only add another costly Executive Branch commission to the concentration of power within the Federal Government. His move lost by a voice vote.

The biggest issue, the South's fight for a guarantee of jury trials to persons or groups accused of violating civil rights, had not yet been reached.

Another issue still pending was the bill to set up a civil rights division in the Justice Department.

amendments took the floor in almost parade formation to argue that the proposals from the North were on sound premise. Southern debaters outnumbered the North at about five to one.

Debate persisted to a point where Representative Emanuel Celler, the Brooklyn Democrat handling the bill, called a halt. He won a limitation on debate on the Gross amendment.

House leaders appeared to lose hope that a final vote on the bill could be reached by Friday night.

It still was expected that a civil rights measure, in some form, would be passed by the House and sent to the Senate. Predictions were being made in debate this afternoon that no civil rights bill would pass the Senate.

The House will rest from the Civil rights fight tomorrow to let members attend a naval review in Hampton Roads, Va. It will resume on Thursday.

OLD SAYBROOK, Conn., June 11 (AP)—The chairman of the New York State Commission Against Discrimination urged President Eisenhower today to take the initiative on civil rights.

"The Executive is the pivot around whom the fate of the civil rights issue must ultimately revolve," Charles Abrams, the chairman, said. "If exercised properly, Executive action could make the current civil rights fight in Congress look like a sideshow."

Mr. Abrams' remarks were made before the ninth annual conference of Commissions Against Discrimination.

What Secretly Worries Northern Congressmen

THERE is a growing sensitivity in Washington to the fact that President Eisenhower's civil rights program is far more than just a dagger aimed at the wayward South. Instead it is now seen as a two-edged sword which could be used with equal effectiveness above or below the Mason-Dixon Line.

And in recent weeks during the vigorous debates on the legislation many Southerners have taken heart at the sight of congressmen who know not of magnolias and corn pone fighting side-by-side with the cornered forces of the South. For instance, the man who led the fight in the House Judiciary Committee in support of the jury trial amendment comes not from Alabama, Georgia or Mississippi—he is Rep. Russell W. Keeney, a Republican of Wheaton, Ill.

Nor is Keeney an exception. There are many others from beyond the bounds of the Confederacy who feel as he does. Not all of them will side with the South on the final votes, but their concern is at least encouraging.

There is every reason to believe, Alabama congressmen tell us, that the entire civil rights program would be junked if the vote was taken in secret.

Since the vote will certainly not be secret the measure will clear the House by a margin no less comfortable than it received a year ago. Many House members who privately oppose the bill do not dare vote against it publicly.

INDICATIVE of the feeling of House members on the bill was demonstrated clearly by the recent release of the so-called "Northern Manifesto." Congressman Jimmy Roosevelt, the California Democrat, circulated a petition seeking signatures from House members who would agree to vote for the President's bill as is, without any amendments. The best Roosevelt could do was 83 signatures from among the 435 members. These 83 would certainly vote for the bill even in secret, but it is doubtful they would get much additional support.

The out-South congressional concern over the bill has some unspoken orgins. Among other things the measure would authorize the U.S. attorney general, backed by federal cops, to go anywhere in the country to investigate elections in which there was some evidence of civil rights violations. If such investigations turned up enough evidence to satisfy the attorney general, a political appointee, he could set aside the election and order another. It is hardly necessary to point out the political potency of this tool, for the party holding the White House.

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AND this section of the law, there are reasons to believe, would be used far more effectively in the North than in the South. In most Southern states the Democrats can usually be counted on to prevail by such margins that little political gain could be expected by ordering another election.

But what of other states where but a few votes separate the Democratic and Republican candidates? With a Republican in the White House and a Republican appointee as attorney general the authority granted under this bill could be used with vicious effectiveness in elections where the voting was close.

And in reverse, the Democrats could do the same thing if they were in command.

It is this which explains the bipartisan concern. Both sides are afraid of what the other might do.

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BUT HERE AGAIN, as great as their concern might be, not many congressman outside the South will go so far as to vote against the bill. Reports from Washington indicated that there was some chance the Southern bloc with outside assistance would be able to stick on the jury trial amendment.

Earlier a special three-man committee, which included Alabama's Armistead I. Selden, had lined up enough support to assure passage of the jury trial clause. But since that time tremendous pressure from the White House has nullified these gains.

Alabama congressmen report that the strongest and most effective argument used against the jury amendment was given to the opposition by a Montgomery circuit court jury in its recent decision of acquittal in the cases of two white men charged with bombing a Negro church. The Montgomery ju[ry] decision could not have been timed be[tter], as far as Northern supporters of t[he] civil rights bill are concerned.

House Group Lists Rights Action

Post + Times Herald

By J. W. Davis
Associated Press

The Eisenhower Administration's civil-rights bill made some progress in the House yesterday but again got nowhere in the Senate. Tues. 5-14-57

The House Rules Committee agreed, on a vote reported to have been 8 to 4, to take a vote May 21 on sending the legislation to the floor. P. 11a

In the Senate, Southern opponents of the bill prevented any action by the Judiciary Committee and rejected a proposal by Sen. Thomas C. Hennings Jr. (D-Mo.) to take a decisive vote by Thursday.

"The South is still in control," commentd Sen. Alexander Wiley (R-Wis.).

Northerners Attack

Washington, D.C.

In side developments, two Northern Congressmen, Reps. William E. Miller (R-N. Y.) and Noah M. Mason (R-Ill.), attacked the legislation.

Miller called it "the most dangerous piece of legislation contemplated in the halls of Congress." He said it carries a threat to the jury system in a way pointing "to the wholesale destruction of every constitutional safeguard."

Mason said the legislation would violate the constitutional rights of states and would "constitute government by Federal injunction."

The bill, similar to one that passed the House last year but died in the Senate, is aimed primarily at alleged violations of Negroes' rights in the South, including voting rights.

By deciding to vote a week from today, the House Rules Committee made a House vote likely by late May. The Senate schedule calls for no action until after the House acts.

Johnson Twitted

On the Senate floor yesterday, Minority Leader William F. Knowland (R-Calif.) twitted Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson (D-Tex.) about omitting the measure from a suggested list of bills to be acted on this session.

Knowland said he was sure the omission was "by inadvertence."

Johnson told Knowland with some heat that he already had advised him he expected the civil-rights bill to be voted on by the Senate this session.

Johnson said further that "a substantial number" of the Judiciary Committee members had told him they expected action in that group on the civil rights bill "before the end of this month."

Senator Hennings (D-Mo.), a prime pusher of the legislation, offered some sarcastic remarks about a "stalwart and star" role he said Knowland now is seeking to play on civil rights.

He said that only three Republicans were at yesterday morning's Judiciary Committee meeting. He said he could tell Knowland quickly some effective steps Republicans could take to get the bill out of committee.

2 Members in Hospital

Knowland answered he was advised five Republicans were at the Committee meeting and that the other two GOP members—William Langer (N. D.) and William E. Jenner (Ind.)—were in a hospital.

Senator Sam Ervin Jr. (D-N. C.) denounced the measure "as the most damnable, most indefensible bill ever laid before Congress," and declared that to defeat it he would be willing to talk much longer than the 90 minutes he consumed yesterday morning in committee.

Ervin had the floor in committee for the entire time it was in session yesterday. Hennings never got a chance to offer a motion that the Committee meet morning, afternoon and evening this week with a view to early action.

After the meeting, Sen. John L. McClellan reported: "We had a splendid exposition of some of the evils of the bill by Senator Ervin."

Then Wiley added his comment that the South was still in control.

Dixie Senators Block Rights Bill from Floor By Stalling Panel Vote

Constitution Tues. 5-14-57 Atlanta, Ga. P. 7

A MATTER OF TIME
Sen. Ervin of North Carolina

House Group Orders Ballot For May 21

By C. P. TRUSSELL
(Copyright 1957 by The New York Times Co.)

WASHINGTON, May 13—Civil rights legislation met with advances and setbacks in Congress today. The average score, despite the new concentration by the administration upon this program, did not appear to add up to its approval by Congress at this session.

Leaders in the Senate seemed to give the program some encouragement. Sen. Knowland (R-Calif) minority leader, predicted the judiciary committee would put out a bill that might get to the floor by the end of this month. Sen. Johnson (D-Tex) majority leader, while letting everybody know that he was personally against the program, said he would not be "offended" if Knowland or Sen. Hennings (D-Mo), in charge of the bill, should force it to floor action.

On the House side another civil rights advance was made. The committee on rules, traffic director for the admittance of bills, agreed to vote May 21 on whether the House bill should go to the floor for a showdown. The rules committee line-up indicated that it would go to the floor, and win. The House has passed civil rights bills before.

SOUTH IN SADDLE

The Senate is where opponents of civil rights measures—mostly from the South—are in the strongest position. Today, at the point of committee consideration, the South remained in the saddle.

Hennings, noting that his subcommittee on constitutional rights had approved a program weeks ago, sought to force the full judiciary committee to an early vote. He and all Congress knew that if a vote were taken the bill would probably go to the floor for a test.

Congress knew, too, that if the bill got to the floor it would face a Southern filibuster—a Senate privilege of talking a bill to death—but proponents of a civil rights program were willing to take that chance at this point of the congressional session.

WANTS DAILY FORUM

Hennings had a motion that would call on the judiciary committee to meet daily, rather than for perhaps an hour and a half Mondays. He tried to propose that sessions be held in the morning, the afternoon and even at night to force a final vote by next Thursday. Tues. 5-14-57

He was warded off by a ruling from the chairman, Sen. Eastland (D-Miss), that amendments, not motions were pending. Sen Ervin (D-NC) had the committee floor. Further, he was offering a substitute to the pending amendment, the official committee business.

The basic pending business was an amendment, offered by Sen. McClellan (D-Ark) that would put "the right to work" on the same footing as "the right to vote." This would make "the right to work" a civil right, and come under the jurisdiction of the bill.

Further, the McClellan amendment might divert from support of the civil rights measure many "labor" votes. Labor experts in Congress hold that the "right to work" amendment would nullify labor's long but finally successful fight for the "union shop."

Under the Taft-Hartley act, labor may now see that men and women working will join a union soon after their employment, or be disqualified.

Ervin, and many of his colleagues, apparently knew that the McClellan right-to-work amendment would not be acceptable to the judiciary committee.

He offered a substitute and gained the committee floor — to crowd out the Hennings motion—that would abandon the "right to work" amendment but substitute one that would kill out of the bill every provision except that which would grant protection against intimidation to those, white or black, who wanted to vote in federal elections.

The Ervin substitute went under debate in committee until Eastland blew the whistle at noon.

Eastland said he would poll the committee to determine at what days and hours a majority would find it convenient to be on hand for another meeting.

Southerners Balk Vote On Rights

House Unit Sets May 21 For Ballot

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In the Senate southern opponents of the bill prevented any action by the Judiciary Committee and rebuffed a proposal by Sen. Hennings (D-Mo) to take a decisive vote by Thursday.

"The South is still in control," commented Sen. Wiley (R-Wis).

In side developments, two northern congressmen, Reps. Miller (R-NY) and Mason (R-Ill), attacked the legislation.

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Vote On Civil Rights Move Set May 21 By Committee

By MORRIS CUNNINGHAM

From The Commercial Appeal Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, May 13.—Over the protests of its four Southern members, the 12-member House Rules Committee agreed Monday to vote May 21 on clearing the Administration's controversial civil rights bill for House consideration.

Southerners conceded the May 21 vote will send the measure to the House floor. Passage there is regarded as certain, but Southerners hope to stall final action until mid-June.

The Rules Committee action came amid these other developments on the civil rights front:

1. The Senate Judiciary Committee, headed by Senator James O. Eastland (D., Miss.), devoted another of its weekly meetings to the Administration measure but took no action.

Northerner Joins

2. A Northern Republican, Representative William E. Miller of New York, joined Southerners in publicly attacking the bill as a threat to the right of trial by jury.

3. Another Northern Republican, Representative Noah M. Mason of Illinois, charged in a House speech that the bill constitutes "nothing more nor less than government by injunction."

4. Senate Republican leader William Knowland (R., Calif.) again served notice he is for the civil rights bill and is pressing for its passage this year.

Poll Planned

Senator Sam J. Ervin Jr. (D., N. C.) was recognized at the opening of the Senate Judiciary Committee meeting and spent the entire session attacking the bill. Senator Thomas C. Henning Jr. (D., Mo.) who had served notice he intended to move for a final committee vote on Thursday, could not get the floor to make the motion.

At the Missouri Democrat's insistence, Senator Eastland said he will poll committee members about holding more frequent meetings. Normally, the committee meets only on Monday mornings—from 10 to 12, at which time it must adjourn because of the start of the regular Senate session.

Mr. Miller, speaking before the Rules Committee, declared, "If we have come to the point where we eliminate jury trials in cases involving minorities, then we have started the wholesale and complete destruction of every constitutional safeguard for the protection of our liberties."

The New York Republican voted against the bill last year and earlier this year offered a jury trial amendment in the House Judiciary Committee. It was defeated 15 to 14.

He said failure of the bill to provide for jury trials in effect "indicts a whole section" of the country by saying it wouldn't give a fair jury trial.

Mr. Miller urged the Rules Committee to send the bill to the House with the "widest possible" rule on amendments so the full House can consider the jury trial issue.

Representative Kenneth A. Roberts (D., Ala.), another witness, called the bill "simply another attempt by Northern liberals to gain support of certain minority groups, using the South as their scapegoat."

Mr. Mason, who has attacked the bill before, said in his House speech that the Federal Government "should leave the field of civil rights entirely to the states."

He also accused the Supreme Court of having a "tendency . . . to encroach upon states' rights" and said Congress should establish some form of control over it.

Senate GOP leader Knowland's reiteration of his support for the bill came as he questioned the pace at which the Senate is moving this year.

He noted, after Senate Democratic Leader Lyndon Johnson (D., Texas) had listed major bills to be considered by the Senate this month, that Senator Johnson had not included the civil rights bill.

Senator Knowland said he is concerned that the bill may be lost by a filibuster if Senate consideration of it is delayed until June or July.

Senator Johnson, an opponent of the bill, replied that he understood a substantial number of Judiciary Committee members hope for action before the end of May. He said he expects the issue to be put to a Senate vote this year.

THE NATION

Senate Debates Rights

The fifteen-man Senate Judiciary Committee has long been a burying ground for civil rights legislation. Its chairman, Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi, is a leading Congressional spokesman for white supremacy. Since February he has succeeded in blocking committee action on President Eisenhower's civil rights program.

Southern opposition to that program centers on a provision that would empower the Justice Department to obtain injunctions against violations of civil rights, particularly voting rights. Violators could be fined or imprisoned for contempt of court by judges without a jury—the normal procedure in contempt cases.

Despite the Southern opposition, passage of the program by the House never was in doubt. Last Tuesday, after weeks of maneuvering by the Southern bloc, the House passed the bill, 282-126.

In the Senate, however, the story has been much different. There the Judiciary Committee recently amended the injunction provision to stipulate that "the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury." The Southerners argue that this would preserve the traditional right of trial by jury. Northerners have retorted that the amendment would negate the bill, since no Southern jury would convict in defense of a Negro's right to vote.

Last week civil rights advocates in the Senate resorted to extraordinary tactics in an effort to thwart the Southerners. A little-used provision of the Senate's standing rules was invoked. Under normal procedure all bills, whether originating in the Senate or coming from the House, are read twice and then are sent to committee. But Rule XIV provides that "every bill * * * of the House * * * which shall have received a first and second reading without being referred to a committee, shall, if objection be made to further proceeding thereon, be placed on the Calendar." The effect of placing a bill on the calendar is to by-pass the committee holding jurisdiction.

On Thursday the civil rights bill passed by the House came up for second reading in the Senate. Minority Leader Knowland objected to further action on the bill. The move touched off a debate that continued through the afternoon and evening. Most Republicans supported it. Liberal Democrats were divided. Some, strong advocates of civil rights, nevertheless opposed the Knowland move. One of them, Senator Wayne L. Morse, said: "In my judgment, it would be wrong for us, as liberals, to take any advantage of the rules * * *. **Suppose a right-to-work bill should come over * * * what would we liberals say then to such a proposal?" However, there were charges that some liberals traded their votes on the civil rights maneuver for Southern votes on a Hells Canyon bill passed by the Senate on Friday.**

Nixon's Decision

Senator Russell of Georgia raised a point of order challenging the Knowland move, which he said would "throw us into legislative chaos." This put the decision up to Vice President Nixon, as Senate President. He said: "The chair believes that the proper procedure is to submit the point of order to the Senate * * *." Senator Sparkman of Alabama said Mr. Nixon "is running for President" and called the ruling "a bid for the Negro vote."

After six hours of debate the question was put to the vote. Senator Russell was defeated, 45-39. Voting against him were 34 Republicans and 11 Democrats; for him, 5 Republicans and 34 Democrats. Thus the bill went on the Senate calendar.

The prospects are that there will be no further action on the measure until early July. The week's maneuverings showed that the civil rights forces command a majority that could conceivably pass the bill. But it does not command the two-thirds of the Senate membership needed under Senate Rule XXII to stop a filibuster. The South will have its first chance to filibuster on the motion to call the bill up for action. It would have a second chance to filibuster on the bill itself.

The South's bargaining counter is the trial-by-jury amendment. Should the opposing forces reach a deadlock and pressure for adjournment become irresistible, the Southern bloc might end its filibuster provided the Senate accepts the trial-by-jury amendment. In that way a civil rights bill could become law at this session, but it would be a law tailored to suit the South.